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ABSTRACT

This volume reports the results of the first phase of the Civic Education Study conducted by International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). During 1996 and 1997, researchers in 24 countries collected documentary evidence on the circumstances, contents, and processes of civic education in response to a common set of framing questions. They also solicited the views of experts on what 14-year-olds should know about a variety of political and civic issues. Each chapter provides a summary of these national case studies and highlights pressing issues or themes of current importance within civic education. This volume will give educators and policy-makers cross-national information to enhance consideration of the role and status of civic education within their countries, especially in light of growing concerns about youth participation in democratic society. Chapters include: (1) "Mapping the Distinctive and Common Features of Civic Education in Twenty-Four Countries" (Judith Torney-Purta; John Schwille; Jo-Ann Amadeo); (2) "Reconstructing Civic and Citizenship Education in Australia" (Murray Print; Kerry Kennedy; John Hughes); (3) "Education for Citizenship in the French Community of Belgium: Opportunities to Learn in Addition to the Formal Curriculum" (Christiane Blondin; Patricia Schillings); (4) "Challenges in Developing a New System of Civic Education in Conditions of Social Change: Bulgaria" (Peter Balkansky; Zahari Zahariev; Svetoslav Stoyanov; Neli Stoyanova); (5) "Canadian Citizenship Education: The Pluralist Ideal and Citizenship Education for a Post-Modern State" (Alan M. Sears; Gerald M. Clarke; Andrew S. Hughes); (6) "Education for Democracy in Colombia" (Alvaro Rodriguez Rueda); (7) "National Identity in the Civic Education of Cyprus" (Constantinos Papanastasiou; Mary Koutselini-Ioannidou); (8) "The Changing Face of Civic Education in the Czech Republic" (Jana Valkova; Jaroslav Kalous); (9) "Re-examining Citizenship Education in England" (David Kerr); (10) "Toward a Dynamic View of Society: Civic Education in Finland" (Sirkka Ahonen; Arja Virta); (11) "Concepts of Civic Education in Germany Based on a Survey of Expert Opinion" (Christa Handle; Detlef Oesterreich; Luitgard Trommer); (12) "The Discourse of Citizenship Education in Greece: National Identity and Social Diversity" (Dimitra Makrinioti; Joseph Solomon); (13) "Controversies of Civic Education in Political Transition: Hong Kong" (Lee Wing On); (14) "In Transit: Civic

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**Edited by Judith Torney-Purta,
John Schwille and Jo-Ann Amadeo**

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of Educational Achievement

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All of the authors of these chapters wanted to express their thanks to the members of their respective national expert panels and project teams, as well as those policy-makers, teachers and students who provided information and interviews. All of the chapter authors also deserve thanks for their understanding in dealing with editorial decisions required by limits on the length of

the book. There is much more material we could have included. Those interested in further information from a particular country are encouraged to contact the chapter's authors, who bear the responsibility for information. For assistance during this final publication phase, we are especially grateful to Richard Wolf, who reviewed the chapters on behalf of the IEA Publications Committee, to Paul Purta who edited the chapters for language usage, to Paula Wagemaker and Becky Bliss who did the final manuscript preparation, and to Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz who served as liaison to IEA Headquarters (and as a sounding board for ideas throughout the project).

Our families, Terry Judd, Matt Judd, Paul Purta and Sharon Schville have provided moral support and understanding throughout. Terry also assisted with some of the texts submitted electronically. We couldn't have done it without them.

Judith Torney-Purta
John Schville
Jo-Ann Amadeo

Foreword

This book is the first volume published as part of the IEA Civic Education Study. This study was conceived in the beginning of the 1990s as a response to the continuing interest of countries who are members of IEA in the ways in which their young people are prepared for citizenship and learn to take part in public affairs and in their societies.

IEA, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, was founded in 1959 for the purpose of conducting comparative studies focusing on educational policies and practices in various countries and educational systems around the world. In the period of 40 years, IEA has grown from a small number of countries to a group of 54 member countries today. It has a Secretariat located in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. IEA studies have reported on a wide range of topics and subject matters, each contributing to a deeper understanding of educational processes within individual countries and in a broad comparative framework.

The Civic Education Study was approved by the IEA General Assembly in 1994 as a two-phased study. The data collected during Phase 1 of the study consist of extensive documentary evidence and expert interviews describing the circumstances, content and process of civic education in 24 countries. The study also summarizes what experts in each participating country believe that 14-year-olds should know about a number of topics related to democratic institutions, including elections, individual rights, national identity, political participation and respect for ethnic and political diversity.

The chapters of this book are national case study reports, written in most cases by National Project Representatives. A second book on Phase 1 will contain cross-national analysis of this extensive documentary information, and will be published in 1999. Also in 1999, data collection for Phase 2 will take place, consisting of a test and survey to be administered in each participating country to representative samples of several thousand students in the modal grade for 14-year-olds, a questionnaire for civics-related teachers and a school questionnaire. In some countries, students in the last year of secondary education will also be tested.

IEA is very grateful to the following organizations, which are the major contributors to the financing of the international overhead of Phase 1 of the study: the Pew Charitable Trusts (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA) and the University of Maryland, especially the Department of Human Development and the Graduate Research Board (College Park, Maryland, USA). As in all IEA studies, individual participating countries also provided funding.

This book represents the results of efforts of the International Steering Committee of the study and of the National Project Representatives and National Expert Panels. Special thanks go to the Chair of the Steering Committee, Professor Judith Torney-Purta (University of Maryland), who has been the inspiring leader of this study.

Tjeerd Plomp
Chair of IEA

MAPPING THE DISTINCTIVE AND COMMON FEATURES OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN TWENTY-FOUR COUNTRIES

Judith Torney-Purta, John Schwille and Jo-Ann Amadeo

Judith Torney-Purta is Professor of Human Development in the College of Education at the University of Maryland at College Park. She served as the Chair of the International Planning Committee throughout Phase 1 of the IEA Civic Education Study, was the International Coordinator of Phase 1, and continues as the Chair of the International Steering Committee for Phase 2. John Schwille is Professor and Assistant Dean for International Studies in the College of Education at Michigan State University in East Lansing. He served on the International Planning Committee and prepared the original framing questions. Jo-Ann Amadeo is a Post-doctoral Research Associate in the Department of Human Development at the University of Maryland.

Notes:

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Introduction

All societies have a continuing interest in the way their young people are prepared for citizenship and learn to take part in public affairs. In the 1990s, this has become a matter of increased importance not only in societies striving to establish or re-establish democratic governments, but also in societies with continuous and long-established democratic traditions. What effective citizenship means and the role of formal education in building a civic culture is important not only to governments and policy-makers, but also to the public at large.

IEA, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, a consortium with a history of doing cross-national surveys in education, conducted its first study of civic education in 1971. It administered surveys to nationally representative samples of 10-year-olds, 14-year-olds and students in the last year of pre-university education in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States. About 30,000 students responded to instruments measuring knowledge and attitudes; 5000 teachers described their pedagogical practices and 1,300 principals and headmasters reported on their schools. *Civic Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study* was published in 1975 (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975). This was the first IEA study to place as much weight on attitudinal measures as on measures of knowledge.

Each country which is a member of IEA at the time a study is proposed decides whether to participate. Only western industrialized democracies chose to participate in the 1971 study. That makes it even more striking that the between-nation comparisons on attitude scales produced a diverse and complex picture—none of these participating countries had ‘a uniformly high level of success in transmitting civic values, perhaps because subtle incompatibilities [among the desired outcomes] exist’ (Torney-Purta & Schwille, 1986, p.34).

In 1993, the Standing Committee of IEA requested the senior editor of this volume to prepare a proposal for a possible second IEA study in this area. In 1994 they appointed her Chair of the International Planning Committee and established the Coordinating Center for Phase I at the Department of Human Development, University of Maryland. This chapter presents detailed information about how the study was conceptualized and conducted, along with a summary of some themes identified across countries.

Why IEA decided that a comparative study of civic education was needed

After more than a decade in which IEA's studies concentrated on mathematics, science and technology, many educational observers argued for attention to civic education, which had not been studied by IEA for more than 20 years. A second IEA civics study would be valuable in ascertaining how much certain attitudes and behaviors had changed. More importantly, changes in the world since 1971 had brought urgency to understanding, first, how students view and define their citizenship identity and, second, how their views are influenced by the political, educational and social context in countries that are democracies or striving to become democracies.

Political changes

Initiatives towards democratic reform took place in every major world region between 1989 and 1993. Two decades earlier, the first study's data collection took place primarily in well-established democracies. These data provide little basis for understanding the role of schools and other institutions in countries establishing democracy, for example, how they might prepare students to participate in competitive elections or to read about government in newspapers no longer subject to strict control. This is a special challenge because both teachers and parents in these countries received a very different kind of civic education from the one that new circumstances require. Various questions have emerged for which there are no easy answers. Should civic education be oriented towards enduring social or political values, towards rights and principles that might guide future development, or instead more towards support for current institutions and a stable political order? To what extent are political and economic reforms interdependent? Given so much information about the problems faced by governments, is it reasonable to expect that students will be optimistic about their political future?

Supranational structures have also changed rapidly. A variety of new supranational structures with aims other than security evolved in the 1990s, such as the European Union. Interdependence across the world with respect to economic, political and environmental issues has become a recognized fact of life, and the role of multinational corporations and interactions between the economies of developed and developing nations are expanding markedly. What do these new processes and organizations mean to young people, and is their national identity being reshaped as a result?

New issues have appeared and others have resurfaced on the political agenda, in particular, environmental issues and issues of political equality. In the 1980s, the ecological health of the planet and its future became of much more concern to youth than more explicitly political issues such as party choice.

Participation in environmental action has become a common introduction to political action and to the single-issue groups that play an increasingly important role in politics in many countries. Action to promote women's political equality or human rights for groups denied them has also mobilized young people's attention.

Disquieting social changes

The absence of a sense of social cohesion or a sense of belonging to the civic culture has been noticed in many societies. The personal commitment by individuals to shared identities that transcend ethnic, linguistic or other group affiliations and which contribute to social cohesion has weakened in many areas of the world.

Countries find themselves with increasing numbers of adolescents who are disengaged from the political system, partly as a result of pessimism about finding employment. Polite expressions of opinion within traditional channels, such as writing letters to the newspaper, have little appeal among youth, many of whom distrust government deeply.

There is widespread concern about violence within countries between ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. New factors in the cultural and economic sphere, as well as increased migration and moves to urban settings, have exacerbated these trends. How much can be expected of schools in dealing with these problems and conflicts when there is institutionalized and often long-standing discrimination against racial, national or linguistic groups in many societies?

Changes in the perceived role of schools

Other changes involve schools more directly. The importance of the implicit or hidden curriculum has been increasingly recognized. Nearly every discussion of education for democracy begins with a statement that one must 'practice what one preaches' and in particular create a democratic school culture. The first IEA study found that students who participated in classroom discussion of issues rather than memorizing dates or facts about politics or participating in patriotic rituals had higher scores on both the anti-authoritarianism measure and on the knowledge test. Nevertheless, much so-called democracy in school has remained superficial with little impact on student life. Some argue that the current implicit curriculum may contribute more to alienation than to a sense of competence in participatory decision-making.

The mass media have gained in power to shape attitudes. Research shows how television influences students' awareness of politics. Education about media has been initiated in many countries to bring discussion of what students experience outside class into the classroom. At the same time, CNN, MTV and the Internet have created an incipient worldwide culture with great potential impact on attitudes and behavior (Torney-Purta, 1996).

In summary, changes in the political world, the social world and the world of the school were among the reasons presented to IEA suggesting that the Civic Education Study was timely and likely to make a substantial contribution to the research literature, policy debates and public discourse.

The reasons for conducting a two-phase study

The first and overarching goal of the study is to identify and examine in a comparative framework the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their role as citizens in democracies and societies aspiring to democracy. A central focus of the study is the school, but our interest is not restricted to any particular subject matter or to the formal curriculum. We wish to obtain a picture of how young people are initiated into the various levels and types of political community in which they are likely to become members. However, IEA studies usually begin with an explication of the so-called 'intended curriculum' as embodied in official or semi-official documents that specify desired learning outcomes in particular subject matters. In civic education, however, to rely on official documents outlining the intended curriculum is likely to be insufficient even in countries with a relatively well defined and long-standing tradition of democracy and education. Official documents would have even less value in areas of the world where governments have recently undergone profound transformations.

Looking across the world, we can see many differences existing in the content and process of civic education. In societies undergoing rapid social and political change, and especially in those attempting to establish or reestablish democracies, attempts are being made to prepare young people for a political and economic order that is shifting. Even within societies with long democratic traditions, civic education differs from many other subjects in the extent of disagreement over the appropriate knowledge and attitude base.

In the development of an overall design for the project, the complexities of civic education were examined at two levels: at the policy or social level and at the individual student level. At the societal level, we need to know about a complex array of factors that potentially affect the transmission of knowledge and learning about citizenship, government and political processes. Virtually all of society's major institutions are involved, including family, economy, religion and media as well as government. Political and social movements must be considered, as well as distinctive cultural and historical traditions.

At the individual level, we need to find out how young people respond to and understand these institutions and movements. Those who live within a given society internalize and act upon only part of what is present at the broader societal level. From the point of view of the individual, civic education

consists of the process by which collective identifications are given private or personal meaning. The civic values that individuals internalize and act upon often differ substantially from those that the education system (and others) attempt to inculcate. Nor is the process all one way (Torney-Purta, 1992). The thoughts and actions of individuals can transform public political values and institutions.

We could best incorporate these levels by organizing the study in two phases: one focusing on the social and political ecology in which civic education is embedded and the other on the actual views and knowledge of young people coming of age in such a system. The former has taken the form of qualitative national case studies that are capable of capturing diverse interpretations and points of view about how young people should be prepared for political life. The latter will be implemented in a survey similar to those which IEA has conducted in the past (but also different because its questions are based on themes identified during the case study). The design and production of qualitative national case studies constitute Phase 1 of the Civics Study, and this book contains chapters that are summaries of these case studies from 24 individual countries' points of view.

A second volume reporting on Phase 1 will contain chapters addressing broader questions using qualitative data examined across nations. The design and execution of a test and survey of well-defined target populations of young people will be the core of Phase 2. However, we also need to ensure connections and common themes between the two phases. To provide this, 15 policy questions were developed to be addressed during both phases of the study, some dealing with the status of civic education within the curriculum, some dealing with the organization and priorities of programs, some focusing on students and still others on teachers and on educational materials (see Appendix 1 for a selection of these questions). A common conceptual framework also contributed to unity between the two phases.

The materials gathered during Phase 1 are intended to serve three purposes: to provide material for summary in the chapters of this book, to guide the design of the Phase 2 test and survey, and to initiate the national project representatives into ways of conceptualizing, understanding and measuring important facets of civic education nationally and internationally.

The nature of Phase 1 and its theoretical base

During preliminary discussions in 1993-1994, many IEA member countries expressed interest in the study but were wary about assessing their students using definitions and expectations developed in other countries rather than measuring their students in terms of their own objectives. Starting with country-based case studies of what is understood about civic education from exist-

ing theory, policy and practice rather than with the development of a test and survey had substantial appeal. Furthermore, some countries that had recently experienced major transitions saw in the case study a process valuable in itself to help stimulate new thinking about these aims and programs on the part of educators and the public. In other words, each country saw in the case study a chance to examine its own situation and learn from other countries as they collected the Phase 1 information. The fact that this information would then be used to develop the framework for the Phase 2 test and survey was also attractive.

Identifying a single best approach to civic education in a democracy has never been the goal. Rather the study was premised on the assumption that definitions of and approaches to civic education will be understood best by considering them within the contexts in which they are found. Common dimensions or domains of interest could then be identified (and instruments designed to measure them in Phase 2) (see also Janoski, 1998).

Although a two-phased design beginning with a set of national case studies cannot meet all of the objections made to earlier single-phase IEA designs, it has many advantages. First, in countries undergoing rapid political and economic change, it is vitally important to find out the emerging definitions of good citizenship and ideas of political identity among important groups. Second, little would have been gained by starting with a survey likely to show that in countries where new civic education programs have been implemented recently students know little about definitions of democratic principles formulated in other countries. Third, much can be gained from the opportunity for all participating countries to examine how civic education is actually organized and what its status is both in other countries with similar educational systems and in others with very different types of curricular or school organization. This function of Phase 1 is particularly important for countries where change in existing systems is underway. Fourth, some issues require preliminary investigation before being operationalized in a survey. For example, classes carrying different titles were likely to have civics-related content in different countries. Another early question was whether there was sufficient commonality in understandings of concepts like democracy or citizenship that test questions could be formulated about them. The case study material has had a vital contribution to make to the preparation of content guidelines for the test and survey.

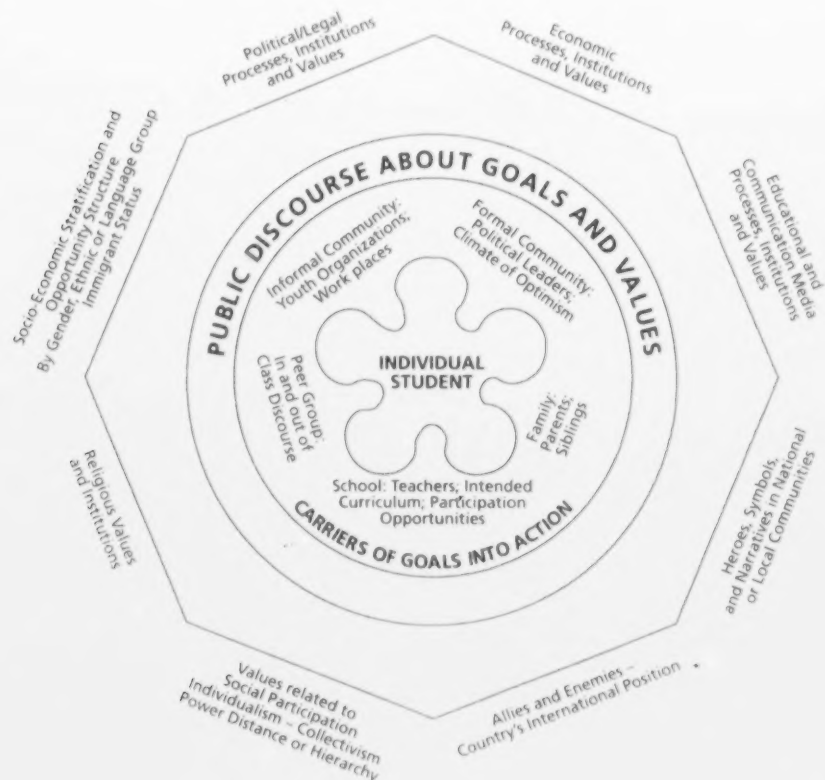
Efforts were made not to choose prematurely a conceptual model that would privilege certain schools of thought or limited sets of variables. Instead, we wanted a model that would invite the expression and analysis of many points of view that significant actors and thinkers saw as relevant to civic education in democracy. It was only after much preliminary work had been done and each country had submitted proposals for the case study that it was possible to reach an agreement on an overall approach and a graphic schema

to represent it. This occurred when the international planning committee for the project and the project representatives from each country met in the Netherlands in 1995, and collaboratively designed the model.

Although this model was inspired in part by contemporary psychological theories, namely Bronfenbrenner's views (1988) on the ecological approach to studying development and the situated cognition theories of Lave and Wagner (1991), it is equally well suited to incorporate other views and perspectives (e.g. Conover & Searing, 1994). From its schematic shape, this became known as the octagon model (Figure 1).

The model captures the individual and societal levels discussed earlier. In the center is the individual student, surrounded by public discourse or discussion of the goals, values and practices with relevance to civic education. This discussion is presumed to influence the individual student through face-to-face contact with a set of 'carriers'. These include the family (parents, siblings and sometimes extended family), the school (teachers, intended curriculum and participation opportunities), peer group (which functions both in and out of school) and neighbors (including those with whom the young person

Figure 1: Model for IEA Civic Education



works or who are met in youth organizations). In addition to these face-to-face relationships, there is also the impact through television and other media.

Theories such as that of Bronfenbrenner would call most of these carriers parts of the 'microsystem'. Previous work on political socialization has usually referred to them as agents of socialization. Our main (though not exclusive) emphasis is on the school and the peer group (especially as it functions in schools, school organizations and classrooms).

The outer octagon that circumscribes these processes includes what would be called the 'macrosystem' in theories such as that of Bronfenbrenner. This includes institutions, processes and values in domains such as politics, economics, education and religion. It also includes the country's position internationally, the canonized symbols or narratives deemed important at the national or local level and the social stratification system (including not only social class but also the way in which opportunities are shaped by ethnic and gender membership). The action of carriers is thus embedded in a cultural and institutional context as represented by these eight 'dimensions'.

The approach decided upon to operationalize this model is one of coordinated, structured case studies similar to the approach suggested by Miles (1990), that is, pre-structured case studies carried out in parallel in different settings (in his case, different schools; in our case, different countries).

How much structure was an important question. The aims for Phase 1 created a tension between two competing principles. One was the principle of inclusiveness, allowing for the inclusion of whatever participating countries thought relevant and important in analyzing civic education in their countries. The other principle was one of methodological rigor, providing guidelines and structure to elicit systematic and rigorous design, data collection and analysis to allow comparisons. This tension has been managed over the course of four years by a participatory, iterative process in which an international planning committee and national project representatives were the main (though not the only) actors. The planning committee proposed design goals, frameworks and procedures. These procedures were extensively discussed by representatives of the participating countries in face-to-face meetings, through email and, where possible, by panels of experts within these countries. Then, over time, the goals, frameworks and procedures were progressively refined and reformulated as a result of these collaborative deliberations.

The national case studies themselves took shape in response to the design decisions, and were also progressively revised and reshaped after feedback from external reviewers. Of particular importance were the corresponding advisors. Each country was assigned one member of the international planning committee as a corresponding advisor. This advisor provided feedback as the various documents were submitted in draft and revised form. Given this dynamic process, it can be said that the case studies were structured to encourage emphasis on national particularities and multiple points of view.

This methodological approach does not fit neatly into any qualitative research paradigm. But it does share certain important characteristics of post-positivist and interpretive/constructivist research as described by Highlen and Finley (1996).

It also bears some similarities to cultural studies within anthropology and allied disciplines and to what is called 'cultural psychology'. Greenfield (1997) contrasts 'cultural psychology' (in which insiders' views of phenomena influencing young people's development are sought using methods chosen for their meaningfulness within a country rather than for straightforward cross-cultural similarity) with the approach of 'cross-cultural psychology' (in which outsiders' views and standard measures predominate to make comparisons using a common set of instruments). In some respects, Phase 1 of the IEA Civic Education project may be thought of as a 'cultural psychology' study, while Phase 2 is a 'cross-cultural psychology' study.

In launching coordinated, parallel case studies of civic education in particular national contexts within an overall framework defined by the octagon model, a set of framing questions played a pivotal initial role. Before discussing these questions, it will be helpful to lay out what is found in the case study chapters that appear in this volume.

The Phase 1 process as it led to the chapters in this volume

An overview of the process

The major steps in Phase 1 were these. Eighteen framing questions were formulated by the Planning Committee. Countries submitted proposals describing the ways in which they would collect information to answer these questions and listing individuals who would serve on a National Expert Panel. Countries collected information, submitted it to an international database accessible to all participants and voted on the most important of the 18 questions. The International Planning Committee examined these votes and chose three core domains and three optional domains for further study. Countries submitted more in-depth materials on these issues to the international database, along with a review of pertinent literature.

After a period of about 18 months, during which the large majority of the participating countries engaged in this extensive data-gathering process and submitted documentary materials, the planning committee produced a short two-page outline that summarized concisely what was expected in the various sections of a chapter-length national case study. The major sections of the proposed chapter outline were:

- Background on the recent political, economic and social situation or changes in the country that are likely to have had an impact on notions of citizenship, democracy and civic education.

- Brief introduction to the national educational system and the role, status and scope of civic education within the country's curriculum.
- Information on the research methods used in the case study.
- Summary of what was learned from the case study about the international core domains.
- Discussion of one pressing issue or theme of current importance within civic education.

The authors of the case study chapters used information from their earlier lengthy submissions to prepare the first drafts of these chapters, which were then reviewed by at least one of the editors of this volume and returned with suggestions for revision. A language editor worked carefully with the revised texts to make them read more smoothly (especially when they had been prepared by several authors or translated into English). The Chair of the IEA Publications Committee read them, and the senior editor made final changes before returning them to the authors for approval prior to formatting for publication.

Countries were allowed some leeway in deviating from the chapter outline in the interest of focusing on the strengths and distinctive character of each case study. Three countries entered the study late (Australia, England and Canada) and followed a special arrangement for abbreviated case studies. In two cases (Poland and Slovenia), the respective chapter does not represent all of the data collected, but instead stands as the reflections of an expert on important aspects of the national situation.

The next several sections describe the process for the overall data collection (of which each chapter represents only a portion).

The role of the framing questions in the Phase 1 process

Assumptions and the role of the planning committee

An essential starting point for conceptualizing these case studies was the assumption that within every political system there are different and often contrasting views of what constitutes good citizenship. Competing conceptions of good citizenship give rise to different ideas about what young people should learn about their rights and obligations. There may be conflicting views about the nature and functions of the government and what is expected of citizens. In many countries, there may be statements of high-minded goals for citizenship that are not very widely carried into practice. In other countries, the whole idea of civic education has become a contested notion.

Acting on this assumption, the International Planning Committee for Phase 1 developed guidelines designed to strongly encourage countries to reflect the rich diversity of ways in which important groups and individuals think about civic education. However, the guidelines set up procedures to ensure that the participating countries would orient their work around similar topics

and would proceed in similar ways to collect data, analyze it and present it for analysis at the international level.

The International Planning Committee sought to be more interactive and collaborative than in studies where the international design is based on a pre-determined conceptual framework with variables and methods selected at an early point by a small committee. The guidelines were intended to foster quality control and ensure comprehensiveness and some comparability without aiming at uniformity. The committee's role was not primarily to see that countries complied with an *a priori* design but rather to negotiate an arrangement with each country that would produce a case study representing its distinctive situation. The key to this approach was the role of a corresponding advisor (a member of the Planning Committee) who took responsibility for reviewing submissions to the international database for a set of countries. At the same time, the national project representatives played a vital role, especially at periodic meetings, in challenging the planning committee to make the process more feasible as well as in choosing the domains for international focus. To signal the need for variation and initiative in research design, each country was asked to prepare a case study proposal with details on how it would carry out and/or deviate from the international guidelines.

The request for proposals from participating countries

To find out how the country planned to conduct its case study and to provide advice on what was planned before many steps had been taken, each country submitted this proposal.

The purpose of the national case studies was provisionally defined as 'finding out what important groups in society (including but not limited to educators and policy-makers) want children to learn about the rights and duties of citizenship, including the knowledge and attitudes concerning government that are presumed by the appropriate exercise of these rights and duties.' The groups were further specified as 'individuals, groups or organizations whose points of view are important because they are likely to be reflected in curriculum guides or educational materials, circulated in national publications or influential on occasions when civic education is discussed or policy is made.' Particular emphasis was put on young people 14 or 15 years of age, because at an early point in the process it had been decided that the Phase 2 survey would deal with one of these two age groups.

The proposals were intended to open up this study to a variety of schools of thought or groups likely to have influence on the curriculum in civic education. Some of the proposals submitted did take note of nationalistic criticisms of existing curricula while other parts detailed the arguments of those who took issue with such nationalistic perspectives. Likewise, some proposals dealt with differences of opinion regarding, for example, the education of different ethnic communities or differences with regard to encouraging or discouraging student participation in governing their schools.

The international framing questions which defined the study

To ensure comprehensiveness and comparability while not constraining the expression of multiple points of view, countries were asked initially to respond to 18 framing questions that defined the universe of domains considered relevant (see Appendix 2). For example, the first question asked if there was a 'citizenship canon' in schools. It was phrased as follows:

What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 from study of the nation's history or literature (or the arts) as a guide to understanding their country, their government and the rights and obligations of citizenship? Is a certain interpretation of history predominant in the classroom (in some countries this would be phrased as the existence of a 'citizenship canon')? What are the texts, role models, historical events, and ideas which are widely believed to be an important orienting force for all citizens to know about—for example, constitutional principles, national liberators, decisive wars, revolutions or uprisings, national traumas or periods of oppression? Who are the heroes and role models thought to be worthy of national pride, and how are they presented to students?

This was followed by questions regarding the 'norms and knowledge involved in learning about loyalty to the nation and relations with other nations', including more specifically a question and subquestions on: 'What are young people expected or likely to have acquired as a sense of national identity or national loyalty by age 14 or 15?' Still other questions dealt with whether the teaching of a state-sponsored religion and/or language has important implications for civic education.

Contrasting with these questions about loyalty to a certain sense of national identity were questions concerned with social diversity and with the protection of diverse opinions. These questions asked what young people are expected or likely to have learned about those belonging to "minority groups" or other groups which see themselves as disadvantaged or disenfranchised. The participating countries were also queried about whether political communication and active political participation are encouraged for secondary school students, and what such young people are expected to know and believe about 'dissent or protest as a way of changing government policy'.

In addition, the core traditional aspects of civic education in most countries, having to do with the law, constitution and government institutions, were inquired about in some depth. Other aspects of civic education addressed by these framing questions included relations with other countries, the role of the military and the police, gender issues, the rights of families, the relationship between economic principles (e.g. free market systems) and political institutions/practices, the importance of the environmental movement and other forces active in local community problem-solving, and the role of the media and non-government organizations.

These case study framing questions can each be fitted into one or more of the eight dimensions of the octagon model (Figure 1) or into one of the

carriers at the micro-level of this model.

Each country's proposal for data collection to answer framing questions

Countries were advised that the framing questions were to be answered by systematic data collection and not only reliance on expert commentary and secondary sources. Recommended methods included analysis of appropriate documentation and interviewing of experts and informants (either individually or in groups). Documentation was defined as curriculum material, scholarly articles, and articles in the popular press and in publications intended especially for professional educators. In their proposals, countries were asked to consult informants among persons with responsibility for civic education, such as current or former officials in ministries responsible for relevant subject matters, educational policy-makers, political leaders, inspectors, curriculum development officers, members of government commissions, representatives of teachers' or students' organizations, leaders of youth organizations, and media representatives. It was left to each country in its proposal to detail which data collection methods would be appropriate for capturing multiple points of view as well as the distinctiveness of the national context. Countries were asked, for example, to discuss who would be interviewed. In fact, the case studies do encompass a variety of data collection methods. (See the section on judging the success of the project for further discussion.)

The role of national expert panels in answering the framing questions

For the preparation of responses to the framing questions, each country was asked to form an expert panel representing various points of view considered important within the country. The intent was to have persons on the expert panel who would not only be knowledgeable about the views expressed by particular groups, but would be identified with these views. This ideal was better realized in certain countries than in others. It was sometimes impossible to arrange for persons with opposing points of view to work on the same panel, so written submission of opposing points of view were obtained. The panels have played an important role in making sure the case studies are more representative than the analysis of one or two researchers would generally be.

Country responses to 18 case study framing questions and distillation of the core domains

As a first step, each country was asked to respond to each of the 18 questions (Appendix 2) in terms of its importance within the country, whether its topic had been addressed in the official curriculum goals of the country, what sort of public discussion or controversy (if any) there had been relating to the topic of the question, what organizations had taken a well-known interest in the question, and what sources should be consulted. Each country's expert panel was also invited to submit a vote designating the most important framing questions. The responses and the votes were used by the International

Planning Committee in reformulating three international core domains that formed the basis for further Phase 1 data collection and analysis (and for guidance in Phase 2).

The *first core international domain* has to do with what young people have learned about the *meaning of democracy in their national context*. The *second* has to do with how *a sense of national identity or national loyalty* among young people can be described, as well as the nature of *relations with other countries and supranational organizations*. The *third* is concerned with what young people have learned about issues of *social diversity and social cohesion*. There was a great deal of agreement on the centrality of these issues to civic education across countries (ascertained by the balloting described above) and at the same time an expectation that there would be a great deal of difference between countries on how civic education dealt with them. Three optional domains were also designated: economics, local and national problems and the media.

Country responses to three core domains

At the next step, countries were expected to respond for each of the three core international framing domains with details concerning official curriculum coverage, pertinent examination questions, typical class activities and assignments, extracurricular and out-of-school activities and use of the media regarding the core topic in question (see Appendix 3). Most countries also chose one of the three optional domains for response. The results provide an expanded curriculum analysis, covering not only official curriculum guides and textbooks, but also other sources of information that may not be fully congruent with what is officially prescribed. If teachers are not in agreement with official curriculum documents, they may well find something they prefer in the positions taken by organizations or in professional publications on these issues. In many countries, this also includes experimental civic education projects developed by non-government organizations and materials from the current news media.

Review of relevant literature

In addition to responding in these ways to the framing questions, each country was required to conduct a review of pertinent literature organized around the policy questions that had been developed early in the study. These literature reviews drew on other surveys of young people's views to supplement the data collection undertaken specifically for the case study. For example, the literature in certain countries documents the negative or alienated views of young people not only towards the existing government but towards participation in politics in general.

The results of the Phase 1 process

The international database

The country responses to the various guidelines and framing questions were received at the University of Maryland Coordinating Center and stored in both hard copy and electronic form. The international electronic database exists on a restricted-access Web site where the authors of the cross-national analyses of these case studies (to be published in a second volume) could access the data from locations anywhere in the world. This database includes the following:

- Each country's proposal for how it planned to carry out the case study.
- Each country's review of the existing national research literature organized around 15 policy questions.
- Each country's response to the 18 original international framing questions.
- Each country's more in-depth discussion of its approach to the three international core domains (democracy, national identity and social cohesion/diversity), including material about textbooks, curriculum objectives, teaching and the role of community and out-of-school groups, as well as one of three optional domains (economics, mass media, local and national problems).
- A case study summarizing the most important aspects of all this material and highlighting a pressing issue for civic education (often longer versions of the chapters in this volume).
- Responses to a questionnaire detailing the methods used in the Phase 1 data collection and analysis.

Review of these materials by the three designated corresponding advisors helped to even out variations in the length of these submissions, but because of the volume of materials (and delays within countries given the heavy workload), there are still differences in depth of coverage.

At the same time as these materials were being submitted to the Coordinating Center at the University of Maryland for storage on the Web Page, the Content Guidelines for the Test and Survey were taking shape. Organized under the three international core domains, these guidelines dealt in outline form with general topics to be measured in Phase 2. To help ensure that the test and survey construction process was faithful to the material being gathered in different countries, quotations from individual country submissions were included.

Phase 1 evaluated in terms of its goals

The overall goal of Phase 1 was to identify and examine in a parallel comparative framework the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their role as citizens in democracies and societies aspiring to democracy. In particular, we wanted to obtain a diverse picture of how young people are initiated into the various levels and types of political community, with special emphasis on the role that schools and students themselves play in this process. We hoped for and expected diverse viewpoints both within and among countries.

One option we debated for the design of Phase 1 would have given very general guidelines to countries and asked them to collect information in whatever form they chose and to write about it using their own outline and format. We discarded that as leading to an overwhelmingly diverse set of information that would not be amenable to any kind of cross-national examination. Another option would have been to drastically narrow the approach and ask for summaries of curriculum documents in a highly structured format as a way to obtain cross-nationally comparable material. In civic education, however, where the interaction between school and other contexts is so important, where there are many gaps between stated curricular goals and the implemented curriculum, and where different groups in the society have contrasting views about what should be taught, information based only on the curriculum would be neither very interesting nor particularly useful. As the previous descriptions of the project have indicated, we chose a third option of parallel structured case studies and, after extensive consultation, issued the 18 structured framing questions and later the three international core domain specifications to guide the data collection.

At the first meeting of national project representatives, we made clear the expectations for gathering and examining materials relating to these questions from different perspectives, and emphasized that standards for high-quality data collection and review should be internalized by the national project representatives. We offered training in two methodologies: the use of focus groups and interviewing experts. We communicated the message that, although countries would differ and were encouraged to innovate in the specific methods of data collection (e.g. focus groups with students in some countries, surveys of teachers in others), rigor was required. In fact, some project representatives felt there was too much pressure to specify in advance how they would structure their data collection and consultation processes.

In addition to asking the corresponding advisors to monitor the methods being utilized and the inferences being drawn, in 1997 we also asked countries to fill out a questionnaire describing their methodologies. This was both to raise awareness again of the importance of methodology and also to give information about how data had been collected and how diverse viewpoints had been obtained.

Responses to the methodology questionnaires indicated that all of the countries used a national expert panel, although it met more frequently and was assigned more responsibility (for actual writing of responses to framing questions) in some countries than in others. All countries examined textbooks. In a few countries this was relatively cursory, but in most a framework was developed, frequently used textbooks were identified, and the process and its results were described in a systematic way. All of the countries conducted some individual interviews (usually with policy-makers or educational experts), and about half conducted group interviews or focus groups (usually with teachers or students). Surveys were also used in about half the countries. The expectation that most research teams would fully implement the format for answering case study framing questions and would choose rigorous methods was fulfilled. Some countries were actually very innovative as well as extensive in their data collection. (Note that because of space limitations most countries were not able to include in these chapters all the data they collected. Two countries chose to present chapters of expert reflection rather than to draw on their data. More elaborated data has been submitted to the international database and in longer versions of these chapters and will be made available by some country representatives upon request.)

The Guidelines for Phase 1, including the 18 case study framing questions, were issued before the first meeting with the national representatives and called for obtaining multiple perspectives and, in the case of conflicting views, for majority and minority reports written by members of the national expert panels. After hearing from some project representatives that this might not be possible, we requested instead that individuals with diverse points of view be included in the negotiations producing the documents. This seems to have happened in most countries. As a result, these chapters are not encyclopedic recitations of courses and curricular requirements, but in most cases give a flavor for the issues that are important to their authors and the groups in their countries that were included in the dialogue.

We originally planned to organize site visits to the IEA centers in the countries for face-to-face discussions with the national expert panels. The purpose was to seek clarifications and elaborations of the written submissions and give some feedback. Disappointingly, that was impossible. However, all the countries that participated from early in the project and most of those entering later received personalized guidance from the coordinator or from members of the International Planning Committee, who spoke with them during other meetings (e.g. the IEA General Assembly). Guidance was also available from their corresponding advisors, who sent reactions to documents they had submitted. The chapters in this volume received extensive review, first from members of the expert panels in the countries and then from the overall editors (resulting in at least one revision). The final responsibility for the opinions expressed, however, lies with the chapter authors.

A second aim of Phase 1 was to provide input to shape the Phase 2 instruments and the process by which that phase would be designed and completed. The document laying out the content guidelines for the test and survey was developed from the Phase 1 submissions, and actual quotations from the submissions were included. The international group preparing the pilot test and survey was able to construct items distributed across the content categories laid out in the guidelines, and often found nuances of meaning gleaned from the quotations useful in this process. In addition to improving the content and specificity of the guidelines, this process indicated again that the planning committee took seriously the extensive work completed within the countries and was trying to match the test and survey content to the situation in participating countries.

This brings us to the third aim, which was to utilize, as far as possible, a process for project development that fully involved the research coordinators from the participating countries. This meant iterative and reflective interchange involving the International Coordinator, the Planning Committee (especially corresponding advisors) and the National Project Coordinators. Country representatives had many opportunities to shape the overall project design, especially in their development of the overall octagonal model and in their feedback (including voting), which led to the designation of the three international core domains.

In the end, we had almost twice as many participating countries as originally expected. This resulted in there being less opportunity for full consultation with individual country representatives than had been envisioned. Nevertheless, the overall goals and aims of the project were realized, as evidenced by the submissions to the international database, extensive discussion by members of the national expert panels within the countries, the chapters in this volume each providing descriptive material as well as addressing an issue of real concern in the country, and the test and survey developed in accord with the content guidelines. As a result of Phase 1, we have begun Phase 2 with multifaceted descriptions of civic education, an awareness of diverse viewpoints, and specific information from which we have been able to build instruments and formulate research questions.

The large number of countries also resulted in fewer pages being available in this volume for each country's chapter. There is an extensive amount of further information available. The national project representatives from each country together with the expert panels will decide how to make this information available for further analysis within the country (and in some cases, upon request, to those outside the country). Even though they are of limited length, the chapters in this volume, based as they are on extensive data collection, should prove useful in raising attention to civic education issues both within the countries and internationally.

A second book containing chapters of cross-national analysis of Phase I prepared largely by members of the Planning Committee will appear about a year after the current volume. The chapters in the second volume will be organized around the policy questions and will utilize data from the international database as well as from these chapters.

The next section is an attempt to draw together in a brief fashion some of the themes from the chapters in the current volume.

Civic education issues across countries: a summary

It is clear from all the chapters in this volume that a review and rethinking of civic education is taking place not only in post-communist countries and those with a short recent history of democracy but also in well-developed and long-standing democracies. Among the countries represented in this book there is a universal or near-universal commitment to certain goals or themes. Civic education should be cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of societal diversity and co-constructed with parents and the community (and non-government organizations) as well as the school. Despite extensive efforts, however, there has not been universal success in any country in formulating programs that optimize the possibility of achieving these goals for all students. Although there is high regard for these themes in the emerging democracies (and accompanying high expectations), some commentators questioned the extent to which it is possible to import programs from other countries or expressed concern that schools are being expected to solve societal problems that are beyond their scope of influence. In particular, in some post-communist countries there is growing disillusionment with politics because expected improvements in standard of living have not resulted from changes towards democratic government. In many countries, there is also concern about crime and violence. Few are convinced, however, that education about the market economy or education about the law can solve these problems in the near future or in the absence of more basic changes in the society or economy.

Civic education is deeply embedded in a political and historical context unique to each country (and in some cases to particular groups or areas). In some cases, aspects of these contexts are important across countries, especially when a common language or experience has been shared or when current membership in an organization such as the European Union is involved. It is important to avoid facile generalizations in this area, however. As soon as one concludes that a certain quality is shared, for example, by countries experiencing shorter histories of democratic government or changes following the collapse of communism, one finds some country as a counter-example. Recent

transitions have taken place in the majority of these countries, the result of changes in the world economy, demographic shifts, or tragic events as well as political changes (some anticipated, some quite unanticipated). It is also clear that a sense of national identity (sometimes with a special focus on language or on history) has provided social resources invaluable in coping with transitions in many countries. Furthermore, movement towards membership in supranational organizations such as the European Union is both welcomed as creating a normalized situation and faced with anxiety because of the possibility of weakened national identity in some countries.

The affect attached to political and civic issues remains important to adults who have lived through these recent transitions. Two points are important. First, the older generation holds onto many memories and beliefs retained from the past (even when it is a discredited past), and a decade is short for real changes in political culture or personal belief structures. This factor has a special impact on those who are teachers, but also influences members of families and of informal communities who are part of the context in which civic education is embedded. Second, the school as an institution adapts slowly to transitions. This is particularly true when not only the content of education changes but new pedagogical methods are prescribed. Decentralization of educational control to the local level is taking place in all these countries, but is doing so with meager economic resources for the retraining of educational personnel and with little attention given to civics-related goals. Moreover, expectations that teaching styles will become more democratic and that power will devolve to students within schools have been met with considerable ambivalence among many who are responsible for civic education in developed as well as developing democracies.

Civic education is a low-status subject and curricular aim in most of these countries. Civic goals are thought of as important, but much less critical than goals in subject areas such as science, for example. For very few students is any civics-related subject part of an important exit or entrance examination. Many observers believe that unless civics can be tied to a high status subject, it will receive little support in countries with traditions of subject matter rigor, especially where parents judge the schools on this basis. In some countries, civics- or economics-related topics are an explicit part of the curriculum for only one or two hours per week (often with a long list of pieces of knowledge to be imparted).

Despite this low status, at least a small group of educators believe that civic education is vitally important. One of the reasons we had such a high level of commitment from our project representatives is that it seemed they had been waiting for years (or even decades) for an international body to give sustained research attention to this area. These representatives did not want to miss the opportunity to be involved in the effort.

In all these countries, there are courses designated to have specific respon-

sibilities in this subject area, some of which bear the label of civics, but also history or social studies (and a variety of other titles). Explicit teaching about politics and civics is more likely to take place at or after age 14 than earlier. This is usually based on assumptions about students' readiness rather than on attention to psychological research. In fact, current psychological theories recognize that, sometimes, instruction leads rather than follows psychological development, that thinking can be differentiated by domains within social and political development, and that the ages from about eight to 13 may be a period of plasticity in development when teaching can be quite effective (Torney-Purta, 1994; Bugenthal & Goodnow, 1998). Civic education courses may have unrecognized potential in the years before the age of 14.

It is also recognized that powerful lessons are learned throughout the day, in extra-curricular activities and places where students gather informally as well as in classrooms. Each nation's civic traditions, adult political culture, contemporary events and everyday experiences of diversity are also shaping young people's views. The octagonal embedded model is clearly an appropriate one for studying civic education.

Almost all the chapters explicitly or implicitly recognize that the aims and goals of civic education are addressed throughout the curriculum, the entire school day and the culture or climate of the school and classroom. In some nations this is referred to as a 'cross-curricular objective or process'. In some countries, a particular class is designated to deal with the social and personal development of students rather than having a specific subject matter to cover. Statements concerning the ways in which civic education might be infused into all subject matters tend to be vague, however. One is advised to teach tolerance without being specific about whether this means recognizing links between ethnic and economic discrimination, teaching conflict resolution skills or merely admonishing students to be accepting of one another's cultures. One is supposed to teach democracy without saying whether that means giving decision-making power to students or teaching facts about the national legislative process. Under this infusion model, a topic or attitude is to be discussed by every teacher but is the specific responsibility of no teacher. There seems to be dissatisfaction with this cross-curricular approach when it is the only mode of civic education in the school.

A pessimistic note is that there is widely perceived to be a gap between the ideals of democracy or social justice raised through civic education and the reality of the society and school. Some countries focused especially on this gap in textbooks, which were also criticized for being out of date. There is another type of gap in which long lists of factual knowledge are to be conveyed but only an hour or two a week of classroom study is allotted to them or they are not related to concepts that are meaningful to students.

Although educators often seek to make students aware of both the excitement of politics and the importance of participation, students themselves

often show a general disdain for politics, especially at the national level. This suggests broadening our views of preparation to include, as Conover and Searing (1994) have suggested, citizenship oriented towards more local communal factors, as well as considering more abstract issues, such as rights. Some countries, by using student-generated projects, and others, by encouraging students to work in their communities to assist others, are moving in this direction, but it is not yet happening on a widespread basis across countries. Furthermore, many schools do not have the resources to invest in supervising such projects, or they feel that such activities take student time away from the study of important disciplinary subject matter, or they are concerned about the possibility that these activities may take on partisan or otherwise unacceptable political overtones.

It is the conventional wisdom that students are much more vitally interested in environmental movements than in partisan national politics. This was documented in most countries, but there was not a widespread sense of urgency regarding environmental problems (though it was the subject of many student-generated projects in systems where that was an option). Likewise, we expected to hear more about educational efforts to help students become aware of the media and how to decode and assess the value of their messages and how to use new technologies to gain information. Finally, strengthening the informal communities in which students might make decisions, ranging from school or class councils to out-of-school organizations, was somewhat less emphasized than we had expected.

It was difficult for those preparing responses in some countries to address certain issues in the framing questions, either because there is considerable ambivalence about them or because not much material existed for them to consult. This was especially true of discussions about the preparation of teachers. There is a tendency to blame problems in this area on poor teaching, but in few countries are extensive resources being devoted to formulating solutions. As in other aspects of civics-related programs, a problem will be recognized and then largely ignored, perhaps in the hope that things will improve by themselves with little necessary investment of resources. Teachers in many countries are concerned about tackling topics that may be objected to by members of the community, find it difficult to implement changes in pedagogy and are uncertain about their own adequacy when several disciplines are connected in a teaching program. Perhaps civics has to adopt more team teaching. Certainly, more resources have to be invested in training. Most of the countries eschewed civic instruction that might imply indoctrination. This sensitivity about prescribing beliefs (or sometimes even knowledge) that are valuable for students makes it difficult to define how teachers should be prepared. One cannot formulate clearly how to train teachers if one is much more certain about what they must avoid doing than about what they should be doing. In many countries emerging from totalitarian regimes, an entire

cadre of civics teachers was dismissed. In some countries, civics-related courses occupy only an hour or two per week in the classroom, making it unfeasible to have a teacher who is trained to specialize in the subject.

Social diversity is another area where there is tremendous concern without much sense of the best direction for program development. Some countries experience diversity primarily in terms of race or ethnicity; others in terms of religion, language, immigrants or socio-economic disparity. The extent of the problem and the way it is understood by policy-makers and the public seem to have an enormous influence on schools. It is this area that appears to attract the most uncertainty about what direction to take. In countries that do not have many diverse groups, there seems to be a willingness to wait and hope that young people will work out for themselves how to get along with one another without the school getting involved. There were few model programs described in this area.

These chapters clearly show that there is a common core of content topics across countries in civic education. At early meetings, a frequent concern was that we might identify so little commonality across countries that the project would have to be abandoned. By taking problems one at a time, staying close to the countries' documentary data and advice and developing an iterative process of consultation, we had nearly unanimous agreement by the mid-point of the project on the core domains of civic education (although different nations would certainly place different emphases within these broad topics). There is also a common problem, that of the existence of gaps (very large in some countries) between the ideals stated for this subject area and the realities of what happens in schools, classrooms and neighborhoods and, finally, the outcomes for students. This is an appropriate place to conclude Phase 1 and begin Phase 2 of the IEA Civic Education Study, in which nationally representative samples will be surveyed using instruments for assessing the themes we have identified.

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RECONSTRUCTING CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

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Background

The first five decades after the federation of the Australian colonies in 1901 saw civic education become an integral part of Australian schooling. Emphasis was placed upon teaching civic virtue and 'good' citizenship to young Australians, as well as Australia's role in the British Empire and its successor, the British Commonwealth. Students also were expected to learn about the functions of government, including the civil service and cabinet, about order and justice and the electoral system, and to study more practical matters such as work and house duties.

In that era, it was thought that both teachers and students would benefit from informed practice of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, through voting, paying taxes and military service. Texts and resource publications, readily available, included such standard fare in primary schools as *The School Paper* and the *Victorian Readers*. In high schools, particularly from World War I onwards, regular use was made of such texts as Hoy's *Civics for Australian Schools*, Murdoch's *The Australian Citizen*, Marshall and Hoy's *Australasian Text Book of Civics*, and Thorn and Rigg's *Handbook of Civics*.

In this period, it is difficult to identify citizenship and civics as an independent subject in school curricula. Civic education was interwoven within history and moral training, as it tended to be known in the 1930s and 1940s. After that it was incorporated in a new school subject called social studies. Learning about citizenship focused on information about political structures and processes, citizens' rights and responsibilities and the merit of civic participation. Additional components included understanding the constitution, the roles of the civil service and cabinet, order and justice, the electoral system and the structure of the three-tier workings of Australia's federal system. While these learnings were valued, it was the lack of an independent subject identity that undoubtedly contributed to the later demise of civics (Connell, 1971; Thomas, 1994).

From the 1960s onwards, Australia experienced a significant decrease in the amount of formal teaching of civic education. Surprisingly, this occurred in a period of a rapid influx of migrants from Britain and Europe (more than two million within two decades of the end of World War II). Although the technicalities of citizenship were important in inducting the new adult arrivals, by the 1960s little civic education remained for the children of migrants in the school curriculum. Issues of growth and development rather than civics were now considered far more significant.

The decline of civic education was due, in part, to the social revolution of the 1960s. Prosperity, new values and a new focus on youth expression eclipsed the earlier belief that there was a need to actually teach about citizenship. Another partial explanation may be found in the 'laid-back' nature of Australian society and ready acceptance of things new and different as long as every-

thing else is going well. These factors help explain why civic education was less popular from the 1960s onwards, but further research needs to be conducted to analyse this decline more critically (Thomas, 1994; Print, 1996).

By the late 1980s, interest in reviving civic education within the school curriculum was evident. Several attempts were made to renew civics-related subjects. In Western Australia, for example, a subject called politics was available for upper secondary students, although few chose to study it. For students in New South Wales, Australia's most populous state, a small component of government could be studied in the subjects of commerce (at Years 9 or 10), and legal studies (Years 11 and 12). As with the subject of politics, the government components of these courses failed to attract large numbers of students.

Broadly based concerns about the lack of direction in Australian education led to attempts by politicians and educational bureaucrats to focus both policy and vision. In 1989, all Australian Ministers for Education adopted a set of national goals for schooling. Active citizenship education was highlighted as a key objective for the curriculum. The only nationally accepted statement of curriculum intent in Australia, the Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia, explicitly highlighted civic education:

- To develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic Australian society within an international context. (Goal 7)
- To develop in students ... a capacity to exercise judgement in matters of morality, ethics and social justice. (Goal 6)

These goal statements, while supported by both State/Territory and Federal Governments, were of little practical value until translated into policy and practice. At the state level, where the legal control of schooling resides in the Australian federal system of government, little evidence existed of policy designed to promote civic education. This changed in the late 1990s as State and Territory Governments responded to the civic education initiatives of the Federal Government.

Important examples of federal attempts to stimulate an active policy response for civic education may be identified in the investigations of citizenship by the Australian Senate. The inquiries and their subsequent reports, *Education for Active Citizenship* (SSCEET, 1989) and *Active Citizenship Revisited* (SSCEET, 1991), heightened awareness and concern about the neglect of civic education within Australian schools. The Senate also established a Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs that examined the development of national indicators to monitor progress in relation to specific citizenship goals. In addition, in 1989, the Commonwealth Parliament established the Parliamentary Education Office to raise awareness of the workings of the Federal Parliament.

In 1991, the Constitutional Centenary Foundation was formed to encourage public discussion and understanding of the Australian Constitution, arguably the least understood document in public life. Similarly, the 1994 report of the Centenary of Federation Advisory Committee called for the promotion of better understanding of Australia's history and its constitution.

The most recent phase in what might be termed the 'new civic education' (Kennedy, 1996; Pascoe, 1996, Print, 1996, 1997) commenced in 1994 and is continuing. It forms the basis of the next section.

Civics and education in Australia

Education in Australia

The constitutional authority for education in Australia resides with the eight states and territories. Nevertheless, the Federal Government has accumulated financial power, and the funds it distributes have become vital to the states and territories to discharge their educational responsibilities. Consequently, the Federal Government directly provides some 20 per cent of the total funds expended on government schools, while within state and territory budgets education usually ranks second in expenditure only to health.

Over the past three decades, the Federal Government has become progressively more engaged in education at all levels. Education expenditure is now the Federal Government's second largest item of direct expenditure after welfare. The bulk of funding, however, is spent directly on higher education. In recent years, the Federal Government has financed many programs which have general relevance to civics and citizenship education, such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program and the National Policy on the Education of Girls. Nevertheless, Australia's federal structure of government dictates that any nationwide activity in education requires at least the consent of both the Federal and State/Territory Governments.

Schooling in Australia generally covers 12 to 13 years. Primary school education includes years K (kindergarten) to 6/7. Secondary or high school covers the years 7/8 to 12. Education is compulsory from ages six to 15, but students who turn 15 mid-year generally complete that school year. The majority of 14- to 15-year-olds in Australia are in Years 9 and 10. Young people are staying increasingly through Year 12.

Australia has a large private school sector. It currently attracts about 30 per cent of school enrolments with the great majority in the schools administered by the Catholic Church. In education and approach, private and public school teachers manifest few differences. Similarly, curricula mandated by the government-appointed curriculum agency are usually followed in both government and private schools.

State-wide public examinations are held in most states and territories at

the end of Year 12. Where they are not, system-wide moderated assessment processes are used. These assessment processes are held in awe both by students and the media, which has an extraordinary interest in reporting comparative achievement data whenever they are able to gain access to it. Since preparation during high school for these assessments is so time-consuming, and the results for university entrance so important to students, the resulting pressures inhibit initiatives to introduce yet another subject, such as a general civics-based course.

Civic education in Australia

Civics is conceptualised in Australia as a set of school-based learning experiences that help prepare students for effective citizenship. In most instances, civic education is not an independent subject within the school curriculum but is embedded within existing subjects or learning areas, and may be found within history, geography, social studies, commerce and legal studies. It is also located within learning areas called Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) or Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE), as well as within school-sited learning through student councils and local projects.

There is a range of perspectives about the topic area. At one end of the spectrum are those who argue that civic education is primarily about preparing citizens through learning about history and government. At the other end are those who contend that civic education is about preparing citizens through active participation in a variety of school and community activities. Effective citizens are seen by this latter group as championing such campaigns as those for gender equity, worldwide ecological sustainability and full land rights for Aborigines. Neither position denies the existence of the other or that elements of each position need to be taught in schools. The debate arises over the relative balance.

The past few years have witnessed a dramatic revitalization within Australia of interest in civic education. The next important stage in this renaissance is the transformation of Australian school structures, of curriculum, of school vision, of teacher pedagogy and of assessment procedures to incorporate the new civic education dimension. It is fair to say that most young Australians have not yet benefited from exposure to curriculum experiences focused on their political and government systems, the structure and historical origins of their institutions or their full role as citizens.

The 1990s have also seen reflection on an issue which has become a most significant question for all Australians: What does it mean to be an Australian? Issues such as multiculturalism, migration and the ethnic composition of the Australian people have all affected the way Australians view themselves as citizens, and the way they will view themselves in the future. Fundamental questions have been raised about indigenous Australians, including native title to land and the need for reconciliation between indigenous peoples and the rest of society. The changing demographic structure of Australia has also forced

new considerations, especially since many new immigrants have little experience of an effective democracy and what it means to be a participating citizen.

Traditional loyalties and values that have inspired the development of Australia and its self-image have become increasingly subject to challenge. Australians are looking less to Great Britain and Europe and more towards Asia and the United States for economic, political and cultural renewal (Sheridan, 1995). Asia and the Pacific region are now seen as offering opportunities for Australia's progress. This recognition has produced further reflective questioning of national identity; of Australia's place in the world. In addition, the serendipitous timing of such events as the approaching centenary of federation, the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000, a convention to consider Australia's constitutional future and debates about suggested changes in national symbols and structures have all contributed, both implicitly and explicitly, to a renewed interest in civic education.

Despite the flourishing of interest in civic matters within Australia, civic education has long experienced relative neglect outside of academia and the educational bureaucracies. Nevertheless, researchers have identified a paradox. Many adult Australians believe that it is important to learn about government, rights and responsibilities and other aspects of citizenship. The same research, however, has also alerted decision-makers to the realisation that the wider community is poorly informed (Civics Expert Group, 1994; Print, 1995). Such concerns, and their increasing expression in government policy (Keating, 1995; Kemp, 1997) have provided support for increased representation of civic education in the Australian school curriculum.

Whereas the people...civics and citizenship education

In the recent past, the single most important stimulant has been the inquiry and the report of the Civics Expert Group (1994) and the support of the Keating government for new programs as part of the school curriculum in 1995. The formation by the Federal Government of the Civics Expert Group (CEG) early in 1994 acted as a catalyst. The members of the CEG were chosen by the government: Professor Stuart Macintyre, the Ernest Scott Professor of History at the University of Melbourne was the Chair; Dr Ken Boston, Director-General of School Education in New South Wales, and Ms Susan Pascoe, Policy Coordinator at the Catholic Education Office in Melbourne, were the other members. Concern about levels of political literacy had mounted in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a result of two reports by the Senate Select Committee on Employment, Education and Training (SSCEET 1989, 1991). One of the first tasks of the CEG was to commission a survey of political knowledge and skills in the community at large. The results revealed very low levels of political understanding, especially amongst young people. With bi-partisan political support and a particularly strong endorsement from the Prime Minister, the CEG had an imprimatur for remedial action.

The title of the report—*Whereas the People: Civics and Citizenship Education* (Civic Expert Group, 1994)—was adopted directly from the initial words of the Australian Constitution. The report effectively made civic education a priority for Australian education policy-making, and a subject of great interest among academics, the media and pressure groups. An important feature of the widely endorsed report was its recommendation that comprehensive curriculum materials in civics and citizenship education be devised. The report favoured an emphasis on formal political processes and democratic institutions, yet it was nevertheless quite expansive in the scope of its proposals. It advocated the study of such diverse matters as Australia's heritage, the multicultural nature of Australia's population, the need in a democracy for the active participation of citizens, the role of international relations and the key values of a democracy such as social justice. It also called for the study of democratic processes and ecological sustainability.

The report did not, however, recommend the creation of a new discrete school subject for civics, arguing that this would cause problems for schools already constrained by an overcrowded curriculum and with few resources to accommodate the participatory nature of the subject matter. Significantly, the report recommended that civic education be taught in the compulsory years of schooling in Australia, with emphasis in Years 5 to 10. Given the importance of the external examinations in Year 12, and their dominance over the senior school curriculum, civic education was not recommended for the upper years of secondary schooling. While this was a realistic recommendation, it may have vitiated the possible status of civic education in schools and established a gap between formal learning and the actual use of civics skills.

Heartened by the widespread support for the report, the Federal Government took action, initially through a substantial allocation of funds. In June 1995 it directed \$25 million over four years to support the report's recommendations. The bulk of funding was targeted specifically for school initiatives, including curriculum materials, teacher professional development and community civic education. The election of a new government put a hold on implementation activities, however.

The Discovering Democracy initiative

In March 1996, the Labor Government was defeated at the federal elections and replaced by a Liberal-National Party Government. The release of *Discovering Democracy*, the new Federal Government's policy for civic education, in May 1997 was significant for four reasons. First, it confirmed that civics was an important component of the new government's education agenda. Second, as this new policy was not radically different from the program of the previous government, the civics initiatives already existing within Australia could be largely sustained. Third, the allocation of \$17.5 million for civics over four years promised to provide a reasonable financial base for the civics

initiatives to proceed with confidence. While the funds will not supply all the resources required to implement a comprehensive civic education program in Australian schools, they do provide a catalyst for the states and territories to assign further resources from their own budgets. Finally, *Discovering Democracy* signalled strong psychological support to those educators and administrators who had been striving to implement civics in Australian schools.

The major difference between the philosophy of the new civics policy and its predecessor has been its enthusiasm for the school subject history as the optimum vehicle for teaching civics within the existing school curriculum. The new civics policy insisted that the content of civics instruction be thoroughly embedded in the relevant historical context. An historical emphasis will also be an important aspect of the teacher professional development programs to be designed around the federally funded curriculum materials. Although this accent on history is likely to have a rather pervasive influence, the states and territories, which have constitutional responsibility for the school curriculum, can still devise an approach that is consistent with their own priorities. This is a feature of a federal system of government where power and authority are shared between national and sub-national units.

Discovering Democracy established a Civics Education Group to oversee all aspects of civic education associated with the Federal Government. It assigned funds to the following programs: the development of civics and citizenship education curriculum materials by the Curriculum Corporation (a company wholly owned by the Ministers for Education in the states and territories as well as the Federal Government) for distribution to all Australian schools (\$10.6 million); teacher professional development (\$4.6 million); national activities through key stakeholder groups such as teachers, principals, parents and academics (\$2 million); and smaller amounts for higher education, vocational education and community education. The *Discovering Democracy* program was endorsed by all states and territories at the Ministerial Council meeting in June 1997.

This initiated extensive curriculum development by both the Curriculum Corporation and the states and territories should expedite the effective incorporation of civics within the school curriculum. Civics materials, consistent with the directions of *Discovering Democracy*, will become widely available and teachers will receive professional development. Some students had opportunities to participate in the new civic education as early as 1998, but for most students in Australian secondary schools it is likely to be at least 1999 before they can gain comprehensive curriculum access to an identifiable civic education.

Research methods

Australia joined the IEA Civics Study somewhat later than most other countries. The delay resulted from a change in Federal Government at a crucial time in the negotiations. Consequently, approval and resources for participation in the study were not granted until late July 1997. The IEA timetable required Phase I to be completed by late August. Consequently, researchers, pressed for time, drew upon a restricted range of research methods to complete the reports.

Within Australia, there is a limited literature on civics education, resulting from the fact that only recently has much interest in the subject been seen. Most of this literature relates to policy and descriptions of proposed activities. However, we were also able to draw on a recent, albeit small, research base in civic education (CEG, 1994; Doig, Piper, Mellor & Masters, 1994; Phillips, 1995; Print, 1995, 1996).

We surveyed all eight state and territory departments of education so as to provide detailed information about their current practice in civics education. We developed an instrument that addressed the three IEA core framing questions as set against the 17 points identified in the IEA preparatory documents. This information provided a picture of curriculum patterns and activities associated with civics both within states and across the country.

We conducted interviews with key civics educators and educational administrators to clarify policy and curriculum initiatives in civics. These also provide a framework of reference for developments within civics education and an insight into policy directions. The draft report of the IEA Phase I study was reviewed by a National Advisory Group to determine that it was consistent with their expert view of developments in civics education.

Findings on the core areas in civic education

Australia has been notably successful since World War II in achieving strong social cohesion despite rapid social, demographic and economic change. Due to large-scale immigration, Australia today has a higher proportion of foreign-born citizens to locally-born citizens than any other advanced industrial society, with the possible exception of Israel. At the same time, pronounced change in the Australian economy has produced what is sometimes described as a post-industrial society, with detrimental effects experienced especially by unskilled workers. After decades of a relatively high social equality, there is evidence of growing disparities between rich and poor in Australian society.

Yet, at the same time, substantial progress has been made in eliminating discrimination against minority groups and encouraging their participation in the political process. Discrimination against non-Europeans in the granting

of citizenship and racially discriminatory immigration policies had been removed by the early 1970s. Legislation that discriminated against women as citizens was also reversed, especially diminishing the privileges of male Australians in their control over the children of a marriage.

Immigration has transformed Australia. Australia is, in reality, a land of migrants. Europeans have been arriving for the past two centuries, with the great majority migrating from Britain. Even by 1947, 89.7 per cent of the population were of Anglo-Celtic background, with Europeans 8.6 per cent and Asians 0.8 per cent. Fifty years later that balance has changed. It was not until the 1960s that Australia abandoned the remnants of its White Australia policy, which had excluded most non-Europeans from immigrating (Davis, 1996). By 1968, approximately half of Australia's two million post-war migrants were non-British. The experience of the American model of ethnic absorption as a 'melting pot' and a Canadian conception of an 'ethnic mosaic' were rejected as inappropriate to the Australian experience. Australia's immigration policy has been actively supported by every government in power with the declared position that a healthy and robust multiculturalism that celebrates diversity and difference is important to Australia's new identity.

Nevertheless, anxiety, concern and debate (that has been at times impassioned) accompanied the gradual acceptance of this greater cultural diversity. Fears expressed about the dangers of 'dilution' of the Anglo-British character of the population by the inflow of immigrants from eastern and then southern Europe were later replaced by the fear of Asian immigration. Considering the alarm apparent in some quarters with each intake of immigrants of a 'new' ethnic group, it is remarkable that the diversity of the population has been accommodated into Australian society with relatively little tension and only rare outbursts of localised ethnic, social or racial conflict.

Despite this acceptance of diversity, many migrant groups are still disadvantaged, although in varying degrees, in their access to the socially valued resources of health, education, welfare, housing, the legal and political systems and leisure. In general, the disadvantage is greater for those people from non-English-speaking countries who are less well educated and less wealthy. Yet Australia is also a land of great opportunity where hard work and determination can reap rewards. A significant number of citizens from immigrant backgrounds have been successful in the worlds of business, government, the professions and sport. By any international standard, the success of Australian multiculturalism is apparent in the substantial social cohesion that has been achieved. It has been founded on an inclusive model of citizenship; citizenship is both a status and a set of rights that belong equally to all.

Social cohesion and social diversity are the issues of primary concern in the debates surrounding multiculturalism. Recent public debate strongly indicates that indigenous Australians and Asians are still subject to discrimination by a minority of citizens. Students know from their schooling that it is illegal

to discriminate against people. They learn also that differences which exist among people on the basis of ethnicity, race, immigrant status, mother tongue, social class, religion or gender, as well as age, physical handicap and mental ability are not legitimate grounds for discrimination. This does not mean, however, that discrimination has been eliminated. It is neither officially condoned nor sanctioned in the schooling system.

Curriculum intentions

The national set of curriculum intentions known as the Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia include Goal 7 (previously cited). The national goals also expect that students will develop capacity to exercise judgements in matters of morality, ethics and social justice as well as have a comprehensive understanding of Australia's past. Such capacities would facilitate dealing with Australia's contemporary social diversity. The two main national policy documents on civic education have both included statements of curricular intent reasserting the primacy of the study of history to civic education. The *Discovering Democracy*, for example, urges that the study of the development of the Australian nation and of a distinct national identity be recognised as a vital component of civic education.

Australian states and territories, which have formal jurisdiction over their regions, employ a variety of curriculum structures to organise student learning. Most states and territories include traditional school subjects that share substantial content. These are known as key learning areas. However, civics is not taught as a discrete subject within these learning areas. Civic education comes within the key learning areas typically known as Studies of Society, Human Society and Its Environment or Society and Environment.

The states and territories have a sequenced curriculum which covers Years K to 12 (kindergarten through school completion). The Studies of Society/HSIE key learning area examines issues related to the environment and Australian society, including elements of civics. More specific teaching related to civics and citizenship is found, to one degree or another, in most states and territories during Years 4 to 10. For example, New South Wales examines civics and citizenship in the new HSIE syllabus for primary school students as well as in existing Year 7 to 10 syllabi in history, commerce and legal studies.

Some civic education material is taught across the curriculum in all key learning areas. Cross-curriculum perspectives such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders studies, environment, and multicultural education sometimes include civics-related content and skills. All states/territories highlight the importance of cross curriculum perspectives in their curriculum design processes.

Most Australian states are currently rewriting, or have recently rewritten, school curricula in the SOSE/HSIE learning area. This redevelopment has included a substantial component of civics that has also included a section on social cohesion/diversity. For many states where this material was taught

previously, the revisions amounted to little more than a reshuffling of previous curriculum offerings. The most substantial revisions have included material on the history and processes of democracy, Australia's constitutional past and the role of government.

Recent proposals to increase emphasis on civic education in school curricula have provoked little public discussion or controversy. Traditionally, the school curriculum has been the exclusive realm of professional curriculum experts within established educational systems. However, over the past few years the range of groups encouraged to participate in curriculum development, especially at state-wide system levels, has been broadened. Curriculum documents now require extensive consultation with a wide gamut of educational, government and community bodies before they can be mandated or even offered. Proposals to increase the curricular commitment to civics have been accepted by both the educational and general communities with little comment. This could be interpreted as a community consensus about the important role of civic education in the school curriculum.

Recently, however, it appears that a deep vein of mistrust of racial and cultural difference in the Australian populace has been tapped by some populist demagogues. This unfortunate development makes it seem that Australian history, society and civic potential ought to be re-interpreted to ensure the next generation of Australians accept and even welcome diversity in the nation and region.

Pedagogical strategies

The actual classroom teaching of civics in Australian schools is regarded as critical to the success of the civics initiative (Boston, 1996; Print, 1996a, 1996b; Kennedy, 1996, 1997). How teachers address civics in their classrooms, what pedagogical strategies they employ, how they interpret civics curricula and how they involve students in active civic participation are all crucial issues. At present, there are only general indicators as to how teachers address these matters, and they give a somewhat positive outlook. In any case, most educators believe that teachers, schools and universities will need to give serious attention to pedagogical issues if civics is to be anything more than a token gesture in Australian schools.

Textbooks are seldom prescribed in civics/social education. Where texts are available they are likely to be used as one of a range of pedagogical resources. Teachers in Australian schools are expected to identify and provide a range of suitable resources to facilitate their teaching of civics. Most texts focus on Australian issues through the lens of history, and many contain analysis of contemporary issues of social cohesion/diversity. However, when the new curricula become available, a new range of books will be written for schools.

Interactive teaching, where the teacher provides information and discusses issues with students in a structured classroom environment, is the most fa-

voured teaching strategy. There is ample anecdotal evidence that classroom discussion of student opinions is common. This is often supplemented by worksheets, readings, field trips and debates.

At the same time, in all states and territories, 14- to 15-year-old students have numerous opportunities to participate in activities dealing with civics and citizenship. Students may visit or be visited by elected officials; observe question time in Parliament; design and produce their own election material; stand as candidates and vote for representatives on a student representative council; set up and run class parliaments; develop and observe class codes of conduct; use databases to research information on Australian institutions and practices; follow the working through of a contemporary political issue involving their own community; express opinions in letters to the editor; create and circulate petitions; take part in panel discussions; review current affairs broadcasts and discuss issues and views expressed; make flow charts to show elements of a political system and how processes connect these elements; debate ideas on rights and responsibilities of citizens; contribute their labour and ideas to a community project; and research and report on the origins of selected aspects of Australian democracy. The frequency and effectiveness of these active learning experiences vary considerably amongst teachers.

An interesting approach is the individual project strategy that is often used for addressing social cohesion/diversity and commonly used in primary and secondary schools in the Northern Territory. Typically, a focus question is posed. Students then view, listen and read information to develop understandings and terminology. They use information gained to answer the question and check its wider applicability by looking at another set of information or at another situation. Their findings are presented individually, in pairs or small groups, either verbally or in writing, with illustrative material, to a real audience of peers or younger people or their teacher. They might then conduct further research to gather evidence to support arguments for debate or to discuss and explain a number of viewpoints.

There is a generally held view, however, that many teachers currently do not adequately explore civics and citizenship in their classrooms. Where it is optional, both students and teachers often prefer not to work in this field. Where it is required, the dedication may be characterised as minimal. The evidence disclosed by research on student learning and specific outcomes suggests that students, in fact, understand little about civics and citizenship (Doig, et al., 1994; Phillips, 1995; Print 1995, 1996).

Assessment

Educational authorities want to be able to determine what students know and can do in civics. This is not possible at present within any Australian state. Since civics is, and will continue to be, integrated within other school subjects, it is extremely difficult to disentangle this subject from other compo-

nents of learning. A major project underway in New South Wales aims at developing and examining the applicability of civics benchmarks for students (Print, Gray & Gore, 1997; Print, Gray, Gore & Hughes, 1997). Other states have shown interest in this approach as a means of reporting on what students know and can do in civics. Recently, the Federal Government announced that it would conduct a baseline survey of student knowledge in civics as part of the Discovering Democracy Program (Kemp, 1997).

One way to encourage teachers to address civics in their classrooms is to require assessment. As civics is not a discrete school subject, performance in it is not assessed in a test or written examination. Furthermore, assessment of performance in subjects prescribed for Years 4 to 10 is largely school based and hence not comparable across schools or with a set of accepted standards. Class tests and assessments based on submitted reports are common forms of evaluation, and it is extremely problematic to identify that component which relates to civics.

This form of assessment and reporting student performance has concerned many politicians and educational bureaucrats. New South Wales, the largest Australian state, accounts for a third of all school students. It recently announced that civics would be formally examined, in conjunction with history and geography, in a system-wide examination for Year 10 students. It is intended that such tests will be based on systemic syllabi and reported against standards achieved by students. In this way, the test will provide a record of student achievement in civics (Board of Studies, 1997). Victoria is adopting an assessment process for civics which seeks a similar goal but which is school-based, not system-wide.

Beyond formal curricula

Schools formally address issues of citizenship and social cohesion/diversity to some degree through the curriculum. But this is only one form of learning that students might experience in schools. Students, in all high schools and most primary schools, may directly experience the democratic processes of citizenship through participation in school representative councils, usually known as the Student Representative Council. Elections for such councils are held regularly in most schools. Class parliaments are also common. Students are also encouraged to devise and participate in community projects. Youth Parliaments for secondary age students, organised by the local state legislature, are held in all states and territories. The Constitutional Centenary Foundation provides other opportunities through its organisation of student constitutional conventions in all states and territories. A National History Challenge invites students to investigate subjects central to civics and citizenship. Inter-school debating and annual events such as Law Week are organized.

Students also address citizenship skills along with social cohesion/diversity through a range of classroom and school-based activities. The principles

of co-operative learning favoured in many classrooms in all key learning areas encourage the development of understanding and participation such as sharing, paying attention to the needs of others, understanding agreement and disagreement and reaching consensus. Students are also urged to take on leadership roles in schools through organising school events. In addition, most schools have in place comprehensive policies and procedures to deter sexual and racist harassment.

Relevant school-organised extracurricular activities usually consist of field trips to historic and political sites such as Parliament House. Extra-curricular activities, such as project clubs and community projects, are available to students in all schools. School ceremonies related to Australia Day and Anzac Day and weekly school assemblies were mentioned as relevant activities and occasions. Many schools add National Aboriginal and Islander Day to this list of special occasions. Typical extra-curricular activities for Years 5 to 10 include project clubs, community projects, environmental projects, multicultural days, guest speakers, excursions, community participation, drama events in schools, and international student exchanges and visits between students in Aboriginal and urban schools.

Many ceremonies and occasions outside of school also afford opportunities to learn more about the social diversity/cohesion dimension of civics. Students of the Year 5 to 10 age group commonly participate in local community, sporting and church groups. Exhibitions dealing with social diversity/cohesion aspects of civics and citizenship are held at local and state museums and libraries.

Teachers of civics

Traditionally, teachers have received little training, either in their preservice or inservice programs, to assist them in handling the content related to civics and citizenship education. History teachers, however, usually examine some aspects of social cohesion/diversity in the subject matter component of their training programs. Similarly, geography teachers who examine communities, and some social studies teachers do have isolated and occasional opportunities to learn something about these topics. Many humanities graduates would have encountered some of the issues underlying civics and citizenship but only the few who took their undergraduate degree in government, politics, sociology or anthropology would have explored these matters in any depth. Now, however, with renewed focus on the importance of civics and citizenship education as part of the curriculum for 14- and 15-year-olds, it is anticipated that the inadequacies of teacher preparation for these subjects will be addressed.

Numerous inservice and professional development programs are provided by state departments in the learning areas or subjects that encompass civics and citizenship and substantially more are planned. Many states are currently

developing professional development programs that relate to civics and citizenship in general and to the federal program *Discovering Democracy* in particular. The Federal Government has allocated substantial funding to the states and territories for teacher professional development related to this initiative.

Regular meetings and conferences are organised by all school authorities to allow teachers to share their views on teaching and learning and develop their expertise in civics and citizenship. All schools are required to conduct formal inservice training on anti-harassment and anti-racist procedures as well as other aspects of social diversity/cohesion.

In every state and territory, teachers can elect to attend in-service programs run by organisations such as the Parliamentary Education Office in the Federal Parliament in Canberra; the Australian Electoral Commission, Canberra; and education offices attached to each State/Territory Parliament. Teacher professional associations also provide relevant items in journals and at conferences. The fact is that most teachers received their formal pre-service training over 20 years ago and even then received little training in civics and citizenship. History teachers, however, would probably measure well against world standards in preparation to teach their subject matter.

Obstacles to effective civic education

The most serious handicaps faced by schools in dealing with civics and citizenship are competing priorities and inadequate curriculum structures. It simply is not, as yet, highly prized learning. With competition from other subjects and learning areas stifling curriculum access, the low priority of civics and citizenship was, until recently, clearly evident in the meagre attention it commanded.

All states and territories reported that poor access to contemporary curriculum resources is a hindrance. More inservice programs are needed, it was argued, for primary and secondary school teachers working in civics and citizenship. Several states saw as a serious obstacle the possible conflict between the teaching of core societal values and the acceptance of diversity in society. Furthermore, some complained that only sparse resources are being devoted, at the federal level, to civics and citizenship education for culturally different students. One respondent cautioned that since teachers learnt most about this area through life experience and the media, their knowledge might be partisan, partial or simplistic. Another suggested that active citizenship programs, such as class meetings, could be further developed in schools to counteract student alienation. Deficiencies in some teachers' understanding and skills in the area of civics and citizenship and the strictures imposed by a crowded curriculum were also listed as major problems. Some respondents identified a serious drawback to effective civics education as teachers' unconscious ethnocentrism. Very few teachers, it was noted, had any pre-service

training or life experience that would lead them to recognize that their professional practices are culturally and socially situated and not always generalizable to all situations or all students.

National identity: an issue for Australia

One of the most pressing and significant issues in Australia today may be stated as a question – What does it mean to be an Australian? It is reflected in current social concerns and must be seen as underpinning the new civic education in Australia. Issues associated with national identity include immigration, ethnicity, gender, republicanism, diversity, equity and relations with indigenous peoples, especially relating to land rights.

Since the nature of Australian national identity, until quite recently, was largely taken for granted, it seemed unnecessary for civic education to focus on it. Rather than principally examining Australia itself, Australian social education has traditionally been outward looking: learning about other countries and the world in general has been a marked feature of Australian education. Apart from the sometimes fanatical pursuit of international sporting competition, Australians could not be traditionally characterised as an excessively nationalistic people. In the past they have felt comfortable with their sense of national identity and have used the sporting field as a means of asserting that certainty. In times of great need, such as war, the sense of national identity has been promptly rekindled with dramatic effect. Yet, in times of peace, fervent public demonstrations of national identity are rarely a manifest part of the Australian cultural landscape. An exception was the Vietnam War, which brought many Australians to the streets in protest.

Right up to World War II, most Australians based their feelings of patriotism on a pride in being British. Even until the 1970s, Australians saw themselves as unquestionably of European, mostly British, background, with a long tradition of loyalty to the British Crown and Commonwealth. Nationalism was unabashedly male-oriented and white-centred. Today, most of the assumptions that supported such convictions have been called into question by the evolution of a multicultural society in which British influence has diminished, in which gender relations have undergone radical modifications, and in which new relationships with the Aboriginal people and with the outside world are being forged. No longer a country that sees itself as essentially British in culture and nationality, Australia is increasingly defining itself by its ethnic and cultural diversity. Because of these substantial social, political and demographic changes within Australia, the 1990s has seen the issue of national identity become a major concern. The resulting questioning has created some difficulty in how to present to young people a cohesive image of national identity that is also acceptable to diverse groups.

Australia has no real national heroes in the sense of the term as most commonly used in other countries. There is no Abraham Lincoln who rescued his country from dismemberment, no Joan of Arc who repelled a foreign invader, no Churchill who united the nation in time of imminent invasion. Those Australians who might be candidates for the position of national hero were often bitterly opposed in their own lifetimes. For example, Gough Whitlam was a Prime Minister with only moderate popularity until his dismissal gave him the status of a victim and a folk hero, while Bob Hawke, another former Prime Minister, found that his initial folk hero status was eroded by political controversy. Perhaps this reflects the 'tall poppy syndrome' whereby those with eminent aspirations are kept firmly rooted to the common ground. Young Australians can readily identify the sporting 'heroes' of the day, but rarely those who have made other major contributions to national identity. Occasionally, there are non-sporting heroes like the aviator Charles Kingsford Smith, or Simpson, the ordinary stretcher-bearer at the battle of Gallipoli; there are the bushranger Ned Kelly, or perhaps Francis Greenway, the convict architect. But rarely is a politician, apart from a few Prime Ministers, lauded in any way.

The heroes acknowledged in Australia have rarely included political, military or intellectual leaders. Generally, such leaders themselves have minimised the significance of the contribution they have made. Australian students are just as likely to name a prominent United States leader as they are an Australian when asked who has made a momentous contribution to peace, environment, trade or humanitarian issues. The Australians recognised as heroes are more likely to be found on the sporting field or from the 'underdogs' of Australian society. Numerous sporting heroes, mostly male, are recognized from a wide range of sports with which Australia has become identified, particularly cricket, football, golf, tennis, surfing, and swimming.

When Australians are explicitly invited to think about what their national identity means, they rarely exhibit the consensus and patriotism displayed in other nations. Australia Day marks the anniversary of the first British settlement in Australia. Today, however, many dispute its relevance as a national day, arguing that the Aboriginal people were here long before and that a very large proportion of Australia's population now has no link with Britain's long-gone colonial activities. It is not surprising that there continues to be debate about the significance of all symbols of national identity such as a national song and flag.

The Australian republic debate is another issue that divides Australians rather than unites them. A former Prime Minister, Paul Keating, argued that the republican issue is central to questions of national identity, the nature of Australian citizenship, and the democratic system itself. The current Prime Minister is opposed to a republic. Supporters of a republic insist that by becoming a republic Australia will be cut off from even a symbolic attachment to Britain. In fact, many Australians oppose the idea of constitutional change

while others view the republic as a historical necessity.

The picture that emerges of a contested sense of identity, divergent views on the nature of Australian society, and the future of the federal constitution reflects the fact that the community itself is experiencing a major transformation. Differences of opinion are evident over fundamental questions such as the nature of national identity and whether conscious attempts should be made to impose a single identity. Other issues include the more prominent role that women are claiming in national life and the new insecurities created by unemployment. To take a positive view, in a democracy such differences are evidence of the kind of vigorous and open debate that can form the basis for the construction of a robust democratic national identity.

In the 1990s, as the wider Australian society has grappled with fundamental questions of identity and direction, some of these concerns have had an impact on the school curriculum. Conflicts concerning the merits of large-scale immigration have encouraged public debate on the nature of Australia's national identity, for example. The national goals that supposedly underpin Australian schooling insist that students should have a cogent understanding of Australia's past to facilitate exploration of the varied aspects of our contemporary national identity. Since the national goals were first stated in 1989, the two main national policy documents on civic education have both recognized the contribution that the study of history can make to civic education.

Respondents in all the Australian States and Territories believe that their current programs treat the issue of national identity in the SOSE/HSIE learning area. In secondary schools, national identity is usually addressed through the study of history, but as history is not compulsory in all states, students may get no exposure to the issue. Other school subjects such as Australian studies and legal studies could also address issues of national identity.

Amongst the states/territories, there is a belief that the contribution of schooling to a sense of national identity has not been well understood by many teachers in these learning areas. Some knew their subject in detail, but did not have a sense of how this knowledge could contribute to the creation of a national identity. Some preferred to promote social harmony or community development ahead of national identity. The orientation of many teachers, it was believed, was to prefer the concept of global citizenship to that of national identity. This situation may change as the impact of the Discovering Democracy Program (Kemp, 1997) begins to be felt in Australian schools.

The Discovering Democracy Program has identified a civics framework based on four themes: Principles of Democracy; Government in Australia; Citizenship; and the Australian Nation. The Australian Nation theme is designed to focus on ideas, events and movements that have defined civic society in Australia, including the role of indigenous peoples. Across Years 5 to 10, students will address the meaning of national symbols, characteristics of the Australian population, key events in nationhood, the growth of a distinct

national identity and the contributions by important individuals and groups to civic life (Kemp, 1997). Regardless of what impact the Discovering Democracy Program may have in Australian schools, issues associated with national identity will continue to be significant within curricula as the Australian people search for their identity in a period of rapid social, economic and demographic change.

Conclusions: challenges for civic education

In the 1990s—a period of rapid development in civic education—Australia has moved from a situation of relatively high levels of consensus and limited contestation about the subject to one of greater controversy. Issues distinguishing and shaping the citizenship debate during the remainder of the 1990s and into the next century include differing conceptions of the purposes of civic education and national identity; the relevance of the republic debate; the place of values in civic education; the role of teachers; and the best position for civic education within the school curriculum.

Conflicting conceptions of civic education, particularly about the degree to which civics should deal with issues of gender, ethnicity and indigenous peoples, will undoubtedly remain a prominent feature of the on-going debate (Kennedy, 1996). Increasingly, divergent conceptions of civic education are emerging within Australian literature. One view is that civic education should concentrate principally on the topics of government, democracy and civic rights and responsibilities for all Australians. At the other end of this curriculum spectrum is a conviction that civics should include a wider variety of subjects particularly issues surrounding the environment, the local community, participative school management and civic virtues. Yet another conception insists that civic education should stress issues underlying the oppression of groups on the basis of gender and ethnicity and the dispossession of indigenous people. A further perspective demands a 'new civic education' that would not only include comprehensive treatment of such topics as government, democracy and civic rights, but also encourage the active participation of citizens, the formation of values and protection of the environment. These debates are currently confined largely to academic literature and even though discussion has intensified dramatically in the last three years, it has, as yet, failed to prompt debate amongst teachers and in schools.

Under the former Labor Government, the issue of Australia becoming a republic commanded prominent coverage in the media. A constitutional convention was held to consider Australia's position on a republic. Despite the vigorous opposition of constitutional monarchists and others who urged that Australia should remain attached to traditional loyalties, the convention supported the development of an Australian republic. The termination of

Australian ties with Britain now seems to be inevitable. While the republicanism of the early 1990s was more a matter of intense media attention focused on the Prime Minister than of a wide popular sentiment, its future manifestations will be grounded in Australia's demographic reality. Resolution of the republican issue may emerge from the increasingly controversial debate about the real nature of *'the'* Australian identity and what it means to be an Australian in the 21st Century. As such, it will influence the new civics in Australian schools.

For teachers, educational systems and curriculum agencies, not to mention parents and community groups, a major challenge for civic education is to determine what prominence should be given to values education. (Recognition that values education is an integral component of civic education is widespread.) But which values? Initial response to the inclusion of values education has been largely positive because the values within civics are presented in the most general terms, such as, 'social justice', 'ecological sustainability' and 'democracy' (Civics Expert Group, 1994). As the delineation of these value concepts proceeds, major forebodings and controversy are becoming increasingly evident. The State Government in Victoria (Australia's second most populous state), for example, has already removed 'social justice' from its agenda for discussions on civic education. As curriculum documents are finalized and put into practice by schools, the controversy surrounding values education will become more impassioned.

Recognition that teachers hold the key to effective implementation of civic education is widely acknowledged by Australia's educators (Kemp, 1997). Given that no separate civics subject is being proposed for Australian schools, how teachers address civic education within existing subjects will be crucial. The pedagogical strategies teachers select will be of critical importance for the success of civic education (Boston, 1996; Hahn, 1996; Print, 1996, 1997). Consequently, in the translation of government policy into curriculum reality, teachers will play an even more significant role than they generally do in curriculum implementation.

The preparation of teachers is also acknowledged as indispensable to effective implementation of civic education in Australian schools (Boston, 1996; Pascoe, 1996). Conventional wisdom, supported by some research, suggests that Australian teachers are, at present, inadequately prepared for teaching civic education. Extensive teacher professional development is planned to correct this deficiency (Kemp, 1997). The CEG report acknowledged this necessity, and the Federal Government has allocated support, but this will only begin the process. A major issue for the next several years is what contributions state education systems, schools and teachers themselves will make to ensure an adequate pedagogical foundation for civic education.

Where civic education should be positioned within the school curriculum is an issue of growing concern. Many resist the inclusion of civics on the

grounds that the school curriculum is already overcrowded; others on the grounds that the subject matter of civics is already covered within existing school subjects. Yet the dearth of knowledge and understanding of Australian school students shines like a beacon for all to see (Civics Expert Group, 1994; Print, 1995; Pascoe, 1996). Meanwhile, the major civics policy documents have recommended civics be integrated within existing school subjects, particularly history. This decision has substantial implications for educational systems, schools and teachers and in turn affects many of the issues discussed above.

The 1994 report of the Civics Expert Group proved a watershed in fostering interest in the area of civics education. The support for a civics education initiative by a new government in 1997 consolidated the bipartisan nature of the initiative. The Federal and State/Territory Governments have since devoted substantial resources to rejuvenating civics and citizenship education in the school systems. The Centenary of Federation in 2001 and the republican debate have also nourished a more pronounced contemporary focus on Australia's past, present and future system of government. The 1990s have been a most exciting time for civic education in Australia. A wide range of new civic education resources are planned for Australian schools. Hopefully, the result will be positive for individuals and the nation.

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EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE FRENCH COMMUNITY OF BELGIUM: OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN IN ADDITION TO THE FORMAL CURRICULUM

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Notes:

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A part of a special small country

Belgium and its political system

Belgium used to be a constitutional monarchy. Since the end of the 1980s it has been in a federalization process. The country comprises three communities (French, Flemish and German-speaking) defined according to the language spoken by the inhabitants, and three regions (Flemish, Walloon and Brussels-Capital) determined on a geographical basis. There is only partial overlapping between the communities and the regions. Depending on the issue, decisions are made at a federal, regional or community level. Since 1988, each community has defined its own educational policy. The present study covers only the French community.

Most leaders (in economics and in politics, among others), even in the Flemish part of the country, used to be French-speaking. Now, Flemish and also German-speaking Belgians have made demands related to the use of those languages. This has become a very sensitive matter resulting in conflicts about the proportions of Flemish or French-speaking people in public institutions and in laws defining which language must or can be used in various contexts.

Recent changes

Several identities

The question of 'national' identity in Belgium is clearly in an evolutionary phase at present, given the changes in the seats of decision-making. What used to be national could now be European, or it could devolve to the communities or to the regions. The issue of identity comes up on several levels, in particular for the students of the French Community, who are the population of this study. Each of them is deeply entrenched in several groups from which multiple identities can result: Belgian, French-speaking, Walloon, Brussels' citizen and European. Identities also cover gender and social class.

In the Walloon Region, it is 'people's rights' that prevail, that is, rights considered as belonging to a people simply because they exist and are present as a people. On the other hand, Flanders tends to concentrate more on the 'law of the land', that is, on rules related to place and equally applicable to all no matter who the inhabitants may be. In Wallonia, largely covering the French Community, identity is usually defined according to the shared values and culture of the inhabitants. For example, socialist political leaders speaking of Walloons declare that shared work, social struggles and (short-term) history make all inhabitants, whatever their native country, equally Walloons.

An ever closer Europe

At the international level, Belgium has been a member of the European Union since 1958. However, events of the past few years seem to have made Europe more apparent in everyday life: the many initiatives launched with the

support of European subsidies; standpoints that were adopted and widely echoed by the media; the Belgian Presidency and the events associated with it; the debates on the 'Grand Marché' and the Maastricht Treaty; and student mobility. All of these have certainly contributed towards focusing attention on European realities among the population as a whole and among the youth in particular. A 'Eurobarometer' survey made in 1995 found 67 per cent of the adult inhabitants of Belgium describing themselves as 'very' or 'quite attached' to Europe, compared with 82 per cent to their country, 78 per cent to their region and 75 per cent to their town or village (Public Opinion Surveys and Research Unit, 1995).

At some places, numerous migrants

Since the 1950s, Belgium has experienced several waves of immigration occasioned by economic factors. Italians, the first to have arrived in Belgium on a massive scale in order to work in its coalmines, have now, on the whole, integrated well into Belgian society. However, Turks and Arabs, the most recent immigrants, come from a culture that is considerably different from that of Belgium. Generally poorly qualified and suffering from a high level of unemployment, they are the object of suspicion and even rejection by some.

Certain regions are characterized by a significant cultural and ethnic heterogeneity. For example, in 40 per cent of Brussels' schools, 16 different nationalities attend (Collective, 1994). In Belgium, 9 per cent of the youngsters (up to 14 years of age) are of foreign nationality. An even higher number of youngsters are Belgian who belong to a different culture. Moreover, the rise of fundamentalism can sometimes increase the tension between Belgians and immigrants of the Muslim religion. In certain of the poorer quarters, a large concentration of people of foreign origin, often unemployed, is to be found right in the middle of a population of Belgian origin, also living in economic hardship. Indeed, there is, in Belgium, a fairly severe employment problem. Given this socio-economic situation, fairly serious incidents occur giving rise at times to violent reactions.

Far-right parties

Political life in Belgium has, for some time, been dominated by traditional, comparatively moderate parties. Since 1991, some extreme-right parties have polled more heavily. The 1995 elections confirmed the rise of far-right parties in Belgium, a rise already noticed during the European elections of June 1994. They won 9.8 per cent of the vote in the French-speaking part of the country and 12.8 per cent in the Flemish part. These parties usually consider the immigrants responsible for violence, unemployment and poverty problems. Their position is that without these people life would be much easier for Belgians. They prefer strength to political negotiation.

A pluralist and decentralized system, where education for citizenship is important

An educational system with three types of schools

The educational system of the French Community of Belgium is largely decentralized and includes several types of schools. In the 1950s, Belgium experienced ideological conflicts between those who favored non-religious official education and those who favored Catholic education. In 1958, the 'School Pact' put an end to this. The pact involved an agreement among the three big political parties in Belgium (Socialists, Christian-democrats and Liberals), and it applies to every level of compulsory education. The pact regulates relations between the Ministry of Education and the different school networks, 'réseaux' and guarantees choice of schools (Unité Eurydice de la Communauté Française, 1995).

There are three main types of schools, depending on which institution sponsors them: public schools organized by the French Community itself (containing 27 per cent of the secondary school students); schools organized by other public entities (cities or 'provinces') but aided by grants from the French Community (17 per cent); and private schools organized by private institutions (mainly Catholic institutions), also aided by grants from the French Community (56 per cent). Truly private schools receiving no grant aid are practically non-existent.

An outline for schools organized by the French Community: ideological neutrality

According to the Belgian Constitution, the educational system organized by the French Community must remain ideologically neutral. 'Neutrality implies, in particular, respect for the philosophical, ideological or religious stances of parents and students' (1988, Article 24). A decree published in the official gazette *Moniteur Belge* (18 June 1994) gives a definition of 'neutrality' in education organized by the French Community. The decree, based on foundation texts (the Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international conventions on human and children's rights) recommends the highest possible objectivity, the search for the truth, the acceptance of differences, tolerance and preparation for the role of a responsible citizen in a pluralist society. It underlines the need to respect liberties and fundamental human and children's rights.

This decree tries to strike a difficult balance between the need to discuss values and, at the same time, the need to respect individual, personal convictions. Indeed, Article 4 of the decree stipulates that

teaching staff teach the students to recognize the plurality of values which constitute contemporary humanism...They deal with the political, philosophical and

doctrinal roots of events and point out diverse motivations. They deal with questions about beliefs, political or philosophical convictions, and religious options, using words that cannot offend the opinions and feelings of any of the students. When in front of students, they refrain from any partisan attitude or speech on ideological, moral or social problems which are topical issues of the day and divide public opinion; also, they refuse to favor a philosophical or political system, whatever this might be.

Within the courses in recognized religions and ethics, statements in favor of a religious system are allowed, but other positions cannot be disparaged.

There are some who advocate a broader application of the decree on neutrality (see especially Liétaer, 1994). A proposal for a decree extending the application of the decree on neutrality to official grant-aided schools has been advanced but not tabled. Some want an extension of the decree even to private grant-aided schools.

Diversity in syllabi, textbooks and evaluation

Every organizing body ('pouvoir organisateur') or even any teacher, with the approval of the organizing body, has the right to introduce a specific syllabus, on the condition that it has been authorized by the Minister of Education after review by a Curricula Commission. In addition, syllabi may also differ depending on adaptations to school circumstances, level of precision in the definition of objectives or methods and whether it is a one-year or two-year cycle. Syllabi are often vague about questions like the following. Which values will be conveyed by a course about 'democracy?' Will this be only a description of democratic institutions or will there be an attempt to point out the advantages, limitations and the conditions needed for democratic institutions to work efficiently?

In the French Community of Belgium, the selection of textbooks is open to free choice. Formerly, a council composed of teachers and inspectors examined textbooks from publishers. If the opinion was negative, the textbook could not be used. For some years now, the council has not been meeting, but inspectors still have the right to give advice. The content of courses also differs depending on such things as the organizing body, track, optional courses and changes in the curriculum. Lastly, all students take a religious or philosophy course that also tackles certain notions in relation to citizenship. As a follow-on of this wide diversity, each school has its own assessment program.

Education for citizenship is important

The importance of education for citizenship is stressed in official statements related to teaching in the French Community. The main democratic political parties are in favor of education for citizenship, even if differences remain regarding priorities or implementation.

Though they recognize that citizenship can be taught in the context of a number of existing school-subject areas, some advocate the creation of a specific course in politics that would integrate, formalize and give a sharper outline to political and civic education. According to V. Dupriez, Secretary General of the General Confederation of Teachers, that organization favors an approach that would 'question all the daily events in our social system (local elections, quality of public services in the district, registration of political refugees at the Local Council...) and through this analysis, try to understand the institutions, differentiate between the actors and decode the stakes' (1995, p.16).

Public authorities and identities

Concerning the question of identities, two decrees in relation to regional languages were adopted with a near unanimity by the Council of the French Community. The first of these decrees, which is very rarely invoked, authorizes teachers to turn to one of the Walloon dialects in certain instances, especially in the study of the French language (February, 1983). The second decree (December, 1990) recognizes 'the linguistic and cultural individuality of those who use both an endogenous regional language and French, the official language of the Community.' Declaring a holiday for the anniversary of an event is no doubt a way to underline the event's importance. In addition to a traditional national holiday (21 July), the Ministry circular about the 'Fête de la Communauté Française' (27 September) invites the teachers to use the occasion to heighten student awareness of the importance of belonging to this community. It is to be an occasion also to bring to students' attention their unity with the peoples of the other Francophone countries (September, 1995).

Research Methods

Two reports which conform to the guideline categories provided by the IEA Steering Committee describe the results of the Civics Study in the French Community of Belgium: literature and policy review (Blondin, Schillings & Manço, 1997) and case study; core international framing questions (Blondin, Lanotte & Schillings, 1997). In addition to the three research areas common to all countries participating in the IEA study (democracy, national identity, social cohesion and social diversity), we also investigated media education. Our reports are based on the following sources of data.

Surveys about young people's competencies and attitudes

We referred to several databases (e.g. FRANCIS, ERIC, the Collective Belgian Catalogue of Works and the National French Bibliography), using key

words such as democracy and human rights crossed with education and Belgium. Besides the studies listed in the databases, non-published research reports also provided useful information. We searched out data from organizations active in the field and reports mentioned in studies already in our possession.

The available surveys (see Table 1) provide invaluable information on young people's knowledge and attitudes in the fields of interest. However, these data must be situated in their context rather than considered as elements of a global overview. Some of the samples are not to be considered as representative. Differences among the surveys do not generally allow for comparisons nor for relating these data to other data: the dates on which the information was collected, the geographical areas covered and the age groups of the respondents vary. Moreover, the age group that interested us most—the under 15s—are poorly represented in these surveys.

Table 1 Characteristics of the main surveys

	C. D'Hoogh & J. Mayer (1964)	R. Rezsohazy (1983)	Inra (1991)	P. Italiano (1991)	Le Soir (1994)	Inra (1997)
Geographical area	Belgium	French Community	Belgium	French Community	Belgium	Belgium
Number of people surveyed	1,500	677	600	1,000	1,700	600
Age group	16-24	16-18	15-24	12-26	17-23	15-24

A questionnaire

Besides the school as an institution, many other organizations are engaged in activity aimed at the development of youth towards good citizenship. A short questionnaire was sent to 140 organizations likely to be active in one or more of the domains to be surveyed. The idea was to draw up a review, as complete as possible, of the contributors within the domain concerned and to invite the respondents to meet around the information provided in their written answers. Thirty-nine organizations answered.

Individual or collective interviews

Twenty-two resource experts (or groups, in a few cases) were individually interviewed about the four domains. Because of the diversity of professional position and experience among the people who met and the wide scope of the domain to be investigated, it was not possible to formulate a common discussion grid. A semi-structured discussion technique was used. The researcher

used those questions considered most likely to generate information from any given interviewee.

Print materials

Many documents were gathered and examined: curricula, textbooks, circulars and documents distributed in schools.

An expert panel

Twelve experts, selected from among a variety of education colleagues in the French Community for their competency in the field, were invited to take part in seven meetings, each lasting about six hours. Two of the experts were inspectors, three were representatives of the main organizing bodies, three others had important responsibilities in the community school administration, and the others were members of non-government organizations that play significant roles in the civic education of adolescents. The members of the panel read and criticized some earlier drafts of the reports and made numerous suggestions. Some gave very detailed critiques.

The formal curriculum and other opportunities for citizenship education

For young people, citizenship education takes place, more or less explicitly, in the various aspects of school life as well as in the youngsters' lives outside school. Therefore, for each of the four selected domains in citizenship education, that is, democracy and human rights, social cohesion, national identity and media education, the following areas will be examined:

- activities in which the teaching of citizenship is the explicit objective
- class time dedicated to some other subject but during which attitudes and competencies in the field of citizenship may develop as a by-product
- opportunities to learn from the school environment itself
- opportunities that arise outside school.

In fact, as Defrance (1995) has pointed out, activities that relate to the democratic process occur at scattered moments in school life and contribute to forming in young people an awareness of societal expectations.

Our qualitative study reveals the variety and the richness of events we observed as contributing to citizenship education. But the study is not in a position to estimate the frequency of these events or measure their impact. The examples cited below should, therefore, be viewed more as illustrations rather than as a representative sample of a wider reality.

*Democracy and human rights***The curriculum**

Even though 'civic' education is universally declared to be important, only primary schools organized by the French Community dedicate class time to the subject: one teaching period out of a 28-hour week from the third to the sixth grade (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1985). This course aims at 'teaching and making pupils understand...some principles and some elementary notions about life in society, in a truly democratic state' (p.71), starting from events in daily life. Apart from this course, education for citizenship is not mentioned in the curriculum timetable.

Education for citizenship, however, appears in the syllabi of other school subject areas: in history, social sciences and some of the philosophical (non-denominational ethics or religion) courses, as well as in the integrated program in the primary schools of the grant-aided Catholic 'réseau' where some notions related to citizenship, like human rights, or an introduction to political systems are treated.

For example, the lesson called 'Living Approach to Democracy' (Dedecker, 1995), taught in an ethics course for Grade 2 general secondary education students, aims at making the students sensitive to democracy, at leading them to consider the fact that being responsible means having duties as well as rights, and at getting the students used to the Belgian electoral system. With the help of their teacher, students organize elections related to environmental protection.

Most courses afford the opportunity to tackle some notions related to citizenship. Torrekens (1991) described a biology teacher's pluridisciplinary work on 'water' in which the students were led to examine their commitment to causes (use of natural resources) and to initiate several civic actions. De Smet (1994) showed how, starting from a situation where students ask or request something, they can be led, within the framework of a French course, to the collective mastery of a situation while learning the language and thinking processes required: for example, analyzing similar situations in the press or in the characters of a novel, inculcates the processes for formulating the request, the results obtained and the language used collectively or individually.

Class management practices

Some approaches to organizing school activities, such as those in project pedagogy or in Freinet pedagogy, aim at familiarizing students with the different ways of managing collective life and of assuming responsibilities. Such pedagogical practices are not very widespread.

Mangel (1993) cites a particular case of a class meeting which points out the characteristics of this type of participatory structure. The students, as well as the teacher, can 'convoke' a meeting. They can speak in their own name or represent a group. Everyone must bring a contribution (financial—to deposit

in the co-operative's cash box—or practical—participation in the tasks, responsibilities) and be accountable (assessment of the financial accounts and fidelity to commitments). A 'problem' is defined and explained; student solutions are proposed; decisions are made by consensus or vote; and minutes are recorded.

Lannoye (1995) described a workshop approach, in which a class was formed from two classes gathered together. Contracts, collective projects and a council were the main features of this activity. The contracts could be individual or collective, could concern the learning of an idea, helping a fellow student or the implementation of a task within a collective project. An 'everybody's council' (bringing together the students and the teachers of various disciplines) met every week to organize the activities, to assign tasks and to check performance. In this class, the students could come and go, ask a teacher or a schoolmate for information, work alone or in groups. According to the teachers, the atmosphere was marked by a sense of cooperation, participation, solidarity and achievement. Everyone had the opportunity to participate and to succeed. More generally, socialization and citizenship skills were developed, especially through teacher-student relations, respect for individual rights and the management of inevitable conflicts.

Other in-school influences

According to 'Young People's Rights' (a non-profit association grant aided by the French Community for services of assistance to young people), school rules, which are composed of a core common to all schools within a organizational category and of additions specific to an individual school, are focused on the youngsters' duties and only rarely evoke their rights. The booklets or circulars containing the school regulations must usually be signed by parents. Only exceptionally do students take part in the formulation of rules. In the conflicts, usually disciplinary, which might arise involving a student, the student's parents and the school, the student often has the impression of being defenceless. The 'Young People's Rights' position is that young people should play an active role in the management of their files in a way that will promote a sense of personal responsibility.

Unusual school-life events may also occasionally influence young people's attitudes, knowledge and behavior. Education in Belgium went through a troubled period in 1996 when teachers' strikes and demonstrations were frequent. In some schools, students actively took part in actions in favor of quality education and took advantage of the free time during the strikes to engage in social action, for example, solidarity actions and plays about subjects like racism. The institutional disorganization, however, created a feeling of confusion among some young people.

Outside the school

Outside their family and the school, where certain constraints are at work, youngsters have opportunities to experience the democratic process by taking part in various groups and associations. According to the INRA survey (1997), even if more than half the population of young Belgians aged 15 to 24 (52.9 per cent) are not members of any organization or association, 23.5 per cent belong to a sports club and 12.9 per cent to some youth organization. Older studies about the involvement of young people in associative life (INRA, 1991; Italiano, 1991) give similar but slightly higher numbers: one out of three was a member of a sports club and one in five belonged to a youth movement.

To be recognized as a 'youth organization' by the French Community, associations must meet certain criteria. They must contribute to 'the development in young people of their responsibilities and their personal abilities with a view to helping them become active, responsible and critical citizens within society' (Decree setting up the recognition and grants conditions for youth organizations, 20 June 1980, Article 2, p.1). Although that contribution is not systematically assessed, this criterion indicates a value.

Some young people have the opportunity to play a part in the real political life of their city by taking part in 'local councils' where they represent other young citizens and discuss or make proposals about some local problems like the creation of cycle paths or children's safety in the vicinity of schools. Indeed, for the past 10 years, many cities have created children's local councils. At the beginning of 1997, there were about 80 of them. The powers of these councils are, of course, limited, and in a number of cases there are procedural and electoral difficulties. However, they represent opportunities for initiating at least some youngsters into democratic processes.

Young people's political knowledge and attitudes

Young people have a poor knowledge of political doctrines or even about current political events such as those highlighted in media headlines about political parties and personalities in their community (Le Soir, 1980, for Belgium; Italiano, 1991, for the French Community). Consistent with this observation, several studies show that national politics is not one of the most popular subjects (D'Hoog & Mayer, 1964; Debry, 1990; INRA, 1991, 1997). Although 55 per cent of the 600 Belgians aged 15 to 24 questioned by the INRA said they were interested in the environment, only 12 per cent of them expressed an interest in international politics and 8 per cent in national politics (1997).

According to two other studies, whose samples cannot be regarded as representative, from 60 per cent to 95 per cent of the students interviewed correctly answered questions pertaining to the understanding of democratic structures (Massoz & Henry, 1979; Manço, 1995). For example, 65 per cent of the 16- to 17-year-olds surveyed by Manço knew that Parliament's members

are elected by universal suffrage, and 60 per cent of these young people affirmed that, in a democratic political system, the population and its representatives are supposed to exercise the most important influence on the decision-making processes. Ninety-five per cent knew that in most countries people pay taxes, and 92 per cent knew that the main task of Parliament is to make laws.

According to a fairly old survey, six young Belgians out of 10 claimed they would be willing to demonstrate to defend human rights, peace or the environment (Le Soir, 1980). In his survey on youth organizations, Licata (1995) reported on young people's reluctance to commit themselves to long-term participation, as in youth organizations, and he also noted 'their tendency to engage in concrete short-term plans' (p.169).

Social cohesion and diversity

The curriculum

Social cohesion is touched upon in the majority of history and environmental studies programs as well as in philosophical courses at both primary and early secondary level. Whether it be in the form of cooperation and mutual aid, acceptance of differences, respect of others or tolerance and solidarity, civic education courses (as found in the primary schools and organized by the community) and the integrated program (as found in private grant-aided primary schools) give some attention to these ideas.

Specific activities and other courses

Loulidi (1994) reported an apartheid exercise with a sixth grade class in a primary school for one whole day in order to make them understand Nelson Mandela's situation. Designated children who wore arm bands were expected to carry out the same activities as their schoolmates, but with lesser materials. The situation generated tension and even violence. This type of exercise, with some variations, seems to be used fairly frequently, considering the relatively high number of times the videocassette *The Segregated Class* (*La Classe Divisée*) has been lent out by the French Community reference library. This cassette presents the exercise as it was first done in the United States.

Other initiatives lead to student actions that promote acceptance and solidarity. In this regard, a 'European Children and Poetry Day' is organized every year for students from primary schools. 'A united Europe for a world without fear, a brotherhood full of colors' was the 1997 theme. Poems relating to concrete actions were organized by the children.

Other in-school occasions for learning citizenship

In everyday life within the school, students have occasion to meet different people and strike up relations with them. Certain learnings may result. Two examples follow.

Daily life at school is not the same for every student. Discrimination can

make a difference. Vocational education, more often attended by foreign students (mainly North Africans) and students from underprivileged social backgrounds, is actually often seen as a track where students feel disadvantaged. They generally attend vocational education following school failure rather than by career choice and so have a sense of inferiority. Other actors in the educational system and society at large recognize this sense of hierarchy among the different types of education. The sense of hierarchy is sometimes reinforced by school rules, such as the practice of separating students from different tracks during free time. Some schools initiate projects designed to break down these divisions: relationships between students from different tracks continue beyond the end of a project; teacher/student relationships change; and participants view each other differently.

Currently, there is debate about the wearing of the Islamic shawl (chador) at school. Is this very visible expression of a religious or cultural affiliation to be tolerated? A few female students have been dismissed because they did not accept the order to abandon their shawl, and their parents have started proceedings against the school. This type of conflict exemplifies the very different ways in which societal diversity can be interpreted. Blaise and De Coorebyter (1990) indeed show that wearing the Islamic shawl may be viewed as either a positive or a negative thing when related to integration. According to these authors

the greater hope is to see, in the end, the disappearance of the chador in schools. Some are of the opinion that abandoning the chador is an important step forward in the integration process. To the contrary, others consider the continued use of the shawl as indicative of the success of that process. Most of the debate turns thus on the interpretation of the shawl either as symptom of a fundamentalist/sexist ground swell or as an epiphenomenon of the work of integration. Also, of what are means and what are ends. (p.67)

Outside the school

Outside the school, young people also encounter numerous opportunities for modifying their attitudes and even their competencies in the area of minority rights. We present some of them here as examples of interesting initiatives.

Particular events such as '48 Hours for Human Rights', an event organized by the 'Centre d'Action Laïque', or the interactive exhibition organized by the Initiation Center for Refugees and Foreigners entitled 'Uninvited to an Uncommon Journey', which allow visitors to enter into the immigrant's life, are open to a very large public, including young people. A campaign launched by the European trade union Confederacy proposes to wash all racist graffiti from walls and public places. Various competitions (poetry, poster) also aim to mobilize young people.

Other initiatives consist of preparing and disseminating information papers aimed at making the reader more able to counter racist arguments (see,

for example, the 'Argumentaire' prepared by the Youth Council). Finally, we should mention several radio and television programs that carry information about the different cultures represented in the French Community and aim at developing intercultural relations.

The young and discrimination

As to discrimination, the available youth surveys paint a contrasting picture. Some youth emerge as very sensitive to minority rights, while others depict themselves as racist. Out of the four surveys mentioned below only one specifically concerns the French Community (Italiano, 1991). However, the others aim to draw a picture of the youth of the whole country (INRA, 1991, 1997; *Le Soir*, 1994).

Some results point to tensions. Half of the 1,700 young Belgians surveyed in 1993 were not in favor of giving the right to vote to foreigners. Over 13 years, this proportion has grown from 37 per cent to 49 per cent (*Le Soir*, 1994). These data should be considered together with other data which many find disturbing. In 1993, opinion polls conducted by the newspaper *Le Soir*, found 28 per cent of young people ages 17 to 23 in favor of reducing the number of foreigners coming to live in Belgium. Sixteen per cent said they would even demonstrate to send back foreigners, and 3 per cent asserted that they have already taken part in such demonstrations. For 11 per cent of the young people, the concept of 'racism' evoked a 'positive reaction'; 8 per cent said that they voted for xenophobic extreme-right parties; 29 per cent of them admitted to having a negative opinion of the Gypsies; and 35 per cent admitted to having a negative opinion of the Arabs.

According to another more recent survey carried out among 600 Belgians between the ages of 15 and 24, Belgium appears as a country where young people are very negative toward foreigners. Forty-one per cent considered that there are too many foreigners in Belgium (the European average is 27.5 per cent), and 15.4 per cent (against 8.9 per cent for all the European countries) agreed with the proposal that 'all foreigners should be sent back to their native country' (p.35). In addition, 'Many young Belgians express the fact that they feel ill at ease in the presence of people of another nationality, another religion or another culture' (INRA, 1997, p.30).

Research by Italiano of the 'Centre Liégeois d'Etude de l'Opinion' (CLEO) produced similar results: 33.3 per cent of the 1,000 young people surveyed in the French Community claim there should be fewer foreigners in Belgium (1991). Supplementary analyses lead the researcher to write that 'the coexistence by the side of a more numerous immigrant population thus seems to appease racism, at least with young people, rather than favor it.' By correlating answers about institutional identity with those relating to immigrants, it appears that 'the xenophobic positions are generally held by those who have the strongest identities' (Italiano, 1991, p.107): a significant link appears be-

tween the intensity of a 'Belgian' feeling and the opinion that there are too many foreigners in Belgium.

However, when asked to choose 'the causes for which it is worth taking risks and making sacrifices' (out of 13 proposals), 52.8 per cent of the surveyed Belgians (15- to 24-year-olds) chose human rights and 40.8 per cent prevention of racism. It is worth noting that the most popular proposal, environmental preservation, was chosen by 61.4 per cent of the interviewed young people (INRA, 1991). Young people were also asked about the existence of discrimination towards specific groups. Only 10 per cent of the young people say no group is subject to discrimination. Every other young person thinks colored people, handicapped people or immigrants' children are discriminated against (INRA, 1991).

National identity

The curriculum

We found nothing explicit in official curricula that would move a teacher to promote national identity in students. Curricula tend to be too vague to enable teachers to decide how far this objective should be pursued. For example, they specify which personalities and events are to be mentioned in history classes but do not deal with the underlying values to be highlighted. The potential impact of courses on student identity depends largely on the teachers, in particular on the comments they may make and on the documents and the examples they choose for their lessons.

There are some in positions of responsibility who deplore the fact that current problems, such as the history of the relationships between Flemish and Walloon people, are generally not explicitly tackled in school programs. Some also deplore the fact that official teaching programs do not devote sufficient time to the history of the countries from which come Belgian immigrants.

Outside the school

With regard to institutional identities, limited activities are proposed to the schools by external organizations.

Since 1934, Walloon inter-school contests have been organized every year: oratory, recitations, compositions and illustrations of Walloon proverbs. These contests are intended for all school levels. In 1995, more than 2,500 students took part in the contest (*Le Soir*, 1 January 1996). Since 1995-1996, the 'Fondation Roi Baudouin' (a private organization which exerts an important influence within different domains related to education and poverty) has organized inter-community school exchanges under the name of 'Operation Trèfle', in particular for students in Grades 5 and 6 of primary school and in secondary schools. The goal is to encourage encounters and exchanges among youngsters from the three linguistic communities, with a view to developing in them a spirit of open-mindedness and tolerance.

Other activities result from collaboration with partners. The 'European

Day of Schools Contest' aims at making young people aware of the European dimension of the problems with which our societies are confronted and at preparing them to take on their role as European citizens. The youngsters are asked to produce artistic or written works about themes related to communication and to the exchange of information in Europe.

There are some cultural events in which Belgium takes part as a country and which provide the occasion for an expression of feelings of national identity. Many people are actively interested in the results of the national football team (a very popular sport) or of the candidate representing Belgium in the Eurovision Song Contest.

Young people feel Belgian and European

According to Italiano (1991), despite the federalization process in progress for several years, the 'Belgian' identity remains predominant in the youngsters of the French Community. More than a third of the young people say they very often or always feel European. The author of the report concluded that 'a relatively strong identification with Belgium, even if it is not as demonstrated as it is among most adults, remains the most developed feeling in the young people' (p.22). Responses from young people as to the feeling of belonging and a sense of pride confirm that Belgian and European identities are important. That conclusion is consistent with results reported by Voye, Bawin, Kerkhofs and Dobbelaere (1992) for adults: 27 per cent of those surveyed claimed that they are 'very proud' to be Belgian; 48 per cent said they were 'rather proud'.

At the same time, results in the Italiano study point to a weak but real Walloon identity: 50.7 per cent of the young French speakers interviewed agreed with the statement that the Flemish hold on the Belgian State is flagrant, whereas only 16.3 per cent disagreed. This tension between communities is also apparent when one considers that concurring and dissenting opinion is equal as regards the proposal: 'It is a shame to have Flemish ministers when one is a Walloon.'

Media education in relation to education for citizenship

Curriculum

Audio-visual media education is not the object of any specific course at either the primary or the secondary levels. It is, however, mentioned in the syllabi of several courses. In the syllabi for the primary schools, media are seen as tools likely to enrich the teaching of certain subjects. In the secondary schools, the syllabi for French, history, social sciences and some philosophical courses refer to media and to information processing. Some optional courses devote quite some time to media.

Teachers have mounted initiatives to integrate media into their teaching. Three resource centers provide help. Socio-cultural associations also use audio-visual media. They operate mainly with resources from the Ministry of

Culture and with contributions from participants. Their activity, however, remains marginal.

For example, 'Caméra Enfants Admis', created in 1979 and intended for all age groups, is used either in the school environment, where it has the advantage of reaching all children, whatever the families' resources, or in other settings like youth homes and summer camps. Its goal is to initiate children into audio-visual language and to develop a more active response on the part of the spectators. Their action is mainly based on cartoon films. Among the subjects used, some are intimately linked to civic education. For instance, 'Caméra Enfants Admis' collaborated with a UNICEF worker to illustrate the articles of the Declaration of the Rights of Children. The team also produced a film about Europe on the subject of the elections and, at the request of the 'Walloon Region', a document on the rural patrimony.

Outside the school

The media are everywhere in the environment of youngsters and represent one of the main sources of education in politics. When asked to indicate the sources of information which contribute the most towards making young people aware of their rights and responsibilities as a European citizen of today, young Belgians between 15 and 24 years of age mentioned first television (56.7 per cent), followed by school and university (44.0 per cent) and then newspapers and magazines (39.5 per cent) (INRA, 1997).

Results of the Media Generation Youth Survey (1994) targeted at the group aged 10 to 14 showed that, although these young people still liked cartoons, they were starting to become interested in current affairs, bringing them closer to the 15 to 18 age group, which clearly stated its interest in the news. The analysis of the audiences of various television broadcasts offered by the French-speaking Belgian channels also suggests that young people are consumers of television news.

Today, all the major adult newspapers regularly publish a news page specially destined for young readers. The question is also being asked as to whether a television news program conceived specifically for the young should be created. It would respond to young people's natural interest in information by creating programs more adapted to them.

Various partnerships and their impact

In all the domains considered above, there is the clear presence and influence of external organizations on the school. The interaction between schools and these organizations emerges as one of the salient features of our case study. The following section presents an analysis of the different types of collaboration encountered during the case study, including evaluations of specific contributions and comments on the limitation of this working partnership.

Official encouragement of some collaboration

The circulars regularly sent to all schools of the French Community indicate that the Ministry of Education is very open to interactions between schools and different organizations. In most cases, there is no commentary on the relative merits of any given collaboration. In some cases, however, there is endorsement either in the comments or in an even more explicit way. For example, the circular dated 1/20/97 about the program 'The Lawyer in the School', proposed by the national professional association of lawyers of Belgium, not only presented the information provided by the organizers but also included a letter from the Minister of Education, who underlined the relevance of the program. On the subject of the 'European Day of Poetry-Childhood' year, intended for children under 13 years of age, involving more than 60 countries and aimed at solidarity and brotherhood, the Minister 'invite[d] the teachers of the pre-primary and primary schools to encourage the participation of their pupils to this action' (ibid., p.8).

In its report dated 1993-1994, the 'Conseil de l'Education et de la Formation' highlighted the necessity for young people to exercise citizenship inside as well as outside school. It mentioned collaboration between 'the schools and the local authorities or other associations to lead cultural or social projects, in which the youngsters would be partners' (CEF, 1993-1994).

Towards a better definition of partnership

The term 'partnership' is general and covers a great variety of collaborative activities between the school and other entities. School partners are thought to be experts who come from the extra-scholastic world and are capable of contributing to the educative tasks of the school. Reflecting the openness of the school to the larger society, partnership may be defined as a 'collaboration of heterogeneous actors with different competencies and professional cultures who together define and develop common or complementary actions... in order to remedy a problematic situation' (Steinberg, n.d., p.7). The definition emphasizes the need for the parties to work together in a sharing way. Indeed, the collaboration that has been underlined all through the case study depicts contributions by some external actors to a true partnership negotiated and implemented by the teacher and his or her partner. We now briefly describe some concrete examples of interaction between the in-school and outside-school world.

Partnership related to student civic action

In the many official statements in the French Community underlining the importance of education for citizenship, the need for concrete experiences of democracy in action is stressed. The 'Conseil de l'Education et de la Formation' (CEF) recommends putting 'the youngsters in a position to practice

democracy and exercise their rights and their duties as citizens' (CEF, 1993-1994, p.29). Thus, rather than courses on democracy, it is more the experience of democracy in the school that is recommended. This is to be realized by creating bodies that give students opportunities to express themselves, to elect and be represented by delegates and to take part in decision-making about daily school life.

The 'Dispositif d'Expression Collective des Elèves' (DECE) is an example of such a body. It is centered on the class group and provides for discussions between groups, such as between students from a class and its corps of teachers. This process requires the participation of an external mediator, who ensures that all students participate in the discussions, that the parties are heard, and that, in dialogue, there is a fair exchange of views (Cornet, Libon, Rigo, Siquet, Willemans & Wuestenbergh, 1996).

Some schools have also set up new ways to elicit broader participation by the different actors in the institution. Since 1990, it has been compulsory for secondary schools organized by the French Community to set up some sort of participation mechanism. The most common structure for student participation is one in which students vote for delegates, who then represent them in school affairs. However, this kind of participatory body is not always easy to set up and may, in some cases, be dysfunctional.

A survey report of the 'Conseil de la Jeunesse d'Expression Française' (Council of the French Speaking Youth, a consultative body inside the French Community, 1993) concerning student views about teaching, analyses the functioning of some student delegations. The most important problems were the following:

- The choice of delegates is often closer to an appointment than to a true election. At times, there is only one candidate, who may or may not be the students' choice and might even have been suggested by the teacher. Delegates are re-elected somewhat mechanically without much real choice on the part of students. The timing of elections at the beginning of the school year is poor; students do not know each other well. Sometimes, teachers speak discouragingly about the role of the delegate by stressing the number of meetings and the time required of the role.
- The functions to be performed by the delegates rarely have a self-actualizing aspect. The survey reported that some delegates were limited to managerial roles, such as taking care of the attendance list, overseeing the timetabling of exams and of daily homework, and checking to see if the classroom was in order. The delegate might also be expected to perform a control function, that is, to be responsible for the class discipline.

Given these difficulties, the contribution from partners outside the school may help these participatory bodies work better. Sensitive to this set of issues, the 'Fondation Roi Baudouin' has organized an inter-school contest on the

theme 'Démocratie Conjugée: l'Ecole du Citoyen' (Conjugated Democracy: the Citizen's School). Out of the 107 files sent by 94 different secondary schools, 12 projects relating to active citizenship were selected and financed in 1994-1995. These projects, mostly realized in collaboration with associations or specialized intervening parties, aimed at training student delegates in how to collectively manage projects inside the school and how to involve other partners from outside the school (Lechat, 1995).

For example, some of the delegate training programs have also been led by the 'Jeunesse Etudiante Chrétienne' (Christian Student Youth). In 1991, following the teachers' strike, this youth organization (recognized by the French Community) initiated a campaign aimed at youth and called 'Participation à l'Ecole' (Participation in School). The 'Jeunesse Etudiante Chrétienne' comes into schools to help establish a student participatory mechanism. Three selected projects will be briefly described, as examples.

Example 1: In a secondary school, in order to prevent violence, communication space (physical and psychological) has been created to make meetings possible between adults and youngsters, teachers and students, teachers and parents and parents and students. The space is called 'Chouette', a French word that can mean either 'owl' or something attractive, 'smashing'. This space for leisure and communication is daily managed by a management council composed of students (two representatives per class, that is to say, 24 students), volunteer teachers (three people), parent representatives (two people) and outside partners (two people). The members of the management council receive training from the 'Centre d'Entraînement aux Méthodes d'Education Actives' (Centre for Training in Active Education Methods).

Example 2: In the interest of developing student capacities to make a difference in their environment, a group of youngsters of a secondary school came together to suggest solutions to local problems, such as security in the environs of their school, unsafe highways, traffic signaling and deteriorating housing. They were determined to make themselves heard before city officials. Those meetings have been held, and an educational component associated with this activity was directed by a group belonging to the 'Service de Didactique du Français' (French Didactics Department) of the University of Liège. The suggested educational activities, such as a workshop about heritage, analysis of political programs and short plays showing racism, have been organized under the assumption that a basic democratic competence consists in being able to put social relations into words. Another educational objective was that the students should build 'ways of doing' that link up feelings, opinions and facts.

Example 3: To meet growing tensions in some schools where foreign student density is high, a secondary school in Brussels used the 'Centre Bruxellois d'Action Interculturelle' program of activities. The six units of activities take

thematic, pragmatic and progressive steps. They move from friendship as an ideal model of 'interpersonal' relations to citizenship as an ideal model of 'political' relations between people (citizens in the largest sense) and the State.

The contributions of partnership

Analysis of examples of collaboration shows that they are not always partnerships in the sense strictly defined by Steinberg. Faced with the diversity of possible modes of collaboration, Merini (cited by Zay, 1996, p.34) proposed a typology on three levels. The first is the 'Réseaux d'Ouverture et de Collaboration' (ROC) (the Network of Opening and Collaboration) and consists of 'a limited intervention by external professionals (experts in a field) on a one-time basis guided by the trainers (or teachers); the provision of limited service'. The second level is defined as 'resorting to a specialist in an activity or a job who proposes...the opportunity for an experiment with "real life dimensions" that you cannot find at school'. The third level consists of a 'training situation where responsibility is shared resulting in a real partnership, a kind of co-piloting, supposing diverse modes of relationship in a lasting collaboration'.

Collaboration on the first level expands resources so as to put the abilities of others at the teacher's disposal, for example, when an outside-school entity organizes a conference about democracy in school regulations or sends information booklets about how to set up participatory councils.

The second form of collaboration, which plans experimental activities outside the school, probably allows for a wider freedom for the outside-school entity. Experimentation with a real life dimension, for example, taking part in a local council or experiencing the job of a journalist, leads to more insight into the realities outside the school.

Collaboration at the third level calls for dialogue among the partners about the objectives and the subject of the collaboration. This, in turn, can lead to a confrontation of opinions that may cause the teacher to re-examine his or her own practices. According to Zay (1996), this partnership could have a good effect on academic achievement inasmuch as it might bring the teacher's focus onto the student's learning process rather than on the required subject matter to be taught.

An ongoing working relationship with a partner from outside the school system would seem to be a major asset towards bringing about innovations, such as creating participatory structures. This type of partnership seems an ideal to be pursued, but it remains very difficult to set up in daily practice.

Lingering difficulties with partnership

Various types of difficulties come to light when partnership activities between external and internal school partners are analyzed. Congruence between the external partners' objectives and the school system's educational aims cannot

always be taken for granted. Introducing external school partners into the school rests on the premise of respect for the school's educational task and of consideration for students' interests. Given that certain cultural and educational aims can conflict with one another, recruitment of voluntary activity or fund raising for a charity have to be carefully checked against the school's educational aims. Explaining, clarifying and negotiating the partners' expectations as well as the subject of the partnership are essential steps in creating the right dynamics between partners. However, they can also be a constraint at several levels:

- The various steps require meetings and dialogues, implying extra work for the partners. While associations are used within a relatively flexible operation, thus allowing individual actors to organize their working time around such meetings, teachers have to reconcile times of meetings with rather strict teaching schedules.
- After a three-year action research aimed at implementing and analyzing collaboration between external and internal school partners, Steinberg concluded there is mutual misunderstanding between the actors: 'the sociocultural actors don't understand the poor commitment of so many teachers. Often, badly paid sociocultural actors, working in flexible style, fail to clearly understand teachers' constraints...As for the teachers, they think the associative world is remote from educational reality, until they actually live school life and come up against large classes, they won't be able to understand' (Steinberg, n.d., p.11).

According to Demailly (1987, 1991, cited by Zay, 1996), another difficulty for partnerships lies in the fact that teachers are not trained to conceive and negotiate a collective project. Teachers' degree work and previous training do not prepare them to work with external school partners. Zay observes that relations between school and extra-school actors fluctuate between two poles:

- 'Recreation', that is, a favor done, an activity which replaces one or several courses. If this activity is simply a pleasant, relaxed interlude for the teachers and for the students, the relation between the partners is one that does not need dialogue and lacks relevance.
- 'Re-creation', which is characterized by a relation of collaboration and which capitalizes on the contribution of external contributors. The activity is linked to an education project.

In the French Community of Belgium, numerous possibilities for collaboration with the outside world are offered to the schools. Whatever the school's degree of openness to partners, collaborations offer several advantages. Short of genuine partnership, other examples of collaboration show the significance of interactions between the educational system as such and other cooperative entities outside that system.

Perspectives emerging from recent events

A very promising decree

A very recent and important decree affecting all schools that are grant-aided or organized by the French Community defines the tasks and priorities of the school system and the structures designed to achieve those aims (24 July 1997). The decree sets out four main objectives, the third of which is 'to prepare all students to be responsible citizens, able to contribute to the development of a democratic, patent solidarity, pluralist society, [and] open to other cultures' (Article 6). The decree also stipulates that every school institution should 'educate with a view to induce respect of everyone's personality and beliefs, the duty to eradicate physical and moral violence and to implement democratic practices of responsible citizenship within the school' (Article 8).

This decree also establishes certain competency expectations of all youngsters during successive stages of compulsory education and includes competencies that are not related to a specific subject matter. These competencies are referred to as 'transversal abilities'. A further description of these abilities, might see a number of abilities closely related to citizenship emerge and be officially endorsed: the importance of critical thinking, of concern for the environment and of getting involved. The decree also obliges every grant-aided school, even in basic education, to set up a participatory council.

These participation councils are to include the head teacher and delegates of the organizing body and elected members: representatives of the teachers, of the students (in secondary schools), of the parents, of the technical staff and of the social, economical and cultural environment of the school. This stipulation in the decree could create an outstanding opportunity for closer contact between the school and its possible partners. The right to vote and to exercise candidacy are given either to all the school's students, or only to secondary school students or to the oldest ones (third and fourth degrees), depending on the head teacher's preference or that of the organizing body. If there is only a primary education level, students may be represented in the participation council under certain conditions.

The decree offers opportunities for progress toward a more democratic school system and, with it, the potential for initiating students into the democratic process. The question is how the main actors in the schools will use those opportunities.

Traumatic events influencing education for citizenship

In August 1996, the discovery of the corpses of two young girls who had been kidnapped, raped and murdered deeply moved Belgian public opinion. Later, several other victims were found. Specific circumstances influenced the intensity of the reaction to the crimes. One of the two girls found in August came from a family of Italian origin; another victim belonged to the Moroccan

community of Belgium. The two little victims detected in the month of August 1996 came from a Walloon town, two further victims belonged to the Flemish Community.

A 'White March' was organized by the parents of missing children or victims of pedophiliacs, as a response to the countless expressions of concern they were receiving. The demonstration mobilized over 300,000 people of all ages in the streets of Brussels. Since that national gathering, several other smaller 'white marches' have been organized throughout the country. They express solidarity with the victims and with their families, demand more effective justice and call for scrutiny of the judiciary system. This mass movement has definitely marked an entire 'generation' of children, who were mobilized by a cause to which they can relate and who were caught up in the functional aspects of our democracy (Mabille, 1997).

These events are having repercussions for various aspects of education for citizenship. A parliamentary commission was set up to shed light on the tragedy. At the same time, several other matters concerning financial issues and involving influential political personalities and magistrates also made the headlines. This created the opportunity to handle issues related to democracy with young people. For example, solidarity with the parents of the victims, transcending every barrier of language or community, and the universal support shown to them are perceived by many as expressions of a persisting Belgian identity.

The little Moroccan girl's older sister, age 18, became the spokeswoman for the family and dealt with the media and the mass demonstrations. Her maturity, dignity and control of the situation prevented violence from bursting out on several occasions and greatly impressed observers. When her younger sister's body was found, 15 to 20 thousand people of mixed origins and religions gathered around the Great Mosque of Brussels to express their sympathy to the family. As one member of the research support committee pointed out, the admirable conduct and attitude of this Moroccan girl, who wears a veil, probably had a sharper impact on relations with the Muslim community than a great many courses.

The media coverage of these events was quite extensive. Most of the work sessions of the parliamentary commission were broadcast live by television, making for the broad scrutiny and popular influence that mark the democratic way. The countless viewers had the opportunity to directly watch the witnesses as they were questioned. In addition, the commission's members were quite often questioned on their opinions. Along with the entire population, young people were confronted with this information and the questions these issues raised about the role of the media: What influence does the press exert on public opinion (positive as well as negative)? What is the code of professional ethics in journalism? How can one decode the information received?

As a consequence of these events, the Belgian public has gained a heightened awareness about the various aspects of citizenship. Now the dominant tendency is to reflect about democracy and its institutions, to look for the causes of its malfunctions and to search for solutions to the problems. This context has created a greatly increased focus on the necessity for better education of youth in this critical field, but it is still too early to know how the movement towards reflection and involvement will turn out. If the answers that emerge are regarded as unsatisfactory, we might see a resurgence of aggressive animosity towards democratic institutions or we might see citizens who are now activated revert to cold and disillusioned passivity.

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CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING A NEW SYSTEM OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: BULGARIA

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Notes:

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The social situation and the need for civic education

School has always been a major factor in preparing young people for citizenship and active participation in social life. This role is especially important in societies undergoing major social transformation, such as the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic system in Bulgaria. The status, goal and scope of civic education cannot be understood without taking into account the social and historical context within which ideas of democracy and citizenship were developed.

Bulgaria is a country with 13 centuries of history. Seven of these centuries were lived in conditions of slavery. The last liberation of the country (from Turkish domination) was in 1878. During the following 66 years, Bulgaria developed as an independent, democratic, parliamentary monarchy of the Western-European type. With a free market economy, it was incorporated into European culture and civilization. After World War II a communist autocratic regime was established in Bulgaria. The country was incorporated into the group of communist states and came under the total influence of the former Soviet Union. Since 1989, Bulgaria, as is true for most Eastern European countries, made an historic choice and embarked on a road towards democracy and a market economy. The democratization processes in Bulgaria, however, have been unsteady and fragmented. Education in general and civic education in particular have changed many times.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Bulgarian schools were based on educational traditions from the period of Bulgarian national revival in the 19th Century which embraced the progressive achievements of Western European education. This tradition broke down after the establishment of the communist regime. Bulgarian education was brought under the sway of communist ideology and the process of developing a European educational system stopped. Since the fall of communism, the positive traditions of Bulgarian civic education has been revived and Bulgarian schools have adopted some elements of Western-European models of civic education.

During the last seven years, major transformations have taken place in our country, such as the creation of democratic institutions, structural reform in the economy, and liberation from prevailing communist ideology. These changes have been accompanied by various negative events, such as an economic crisis, unemployment, increased crime rates and corruption. Social changes have been a challenge for the prevailing value system in society. The rejected old values have not been replaced with new ones. This 'values vacuum' in society has led to a values crisis among young people, who often are disorientated in their life choices. Many negative elements affect young people's lives, such as uncertain employment opportunities, increased crime rates and drug use. At the same time, the country is influenced by the wider global developments taking place in the world at the end of the 20th Century.

The Bulgarian education system and contemporary civic education

The system of secondary education in Bulgaria covers all children from ages 7 to 18. Education is compulsory up to age 16. About 98 per cent of Bulgarian children attend school. The educational system has three levels: primary (Grades 1 to 4), junior secondary (Grades 5 to 8) and senior secondary (Grades 9 to 11/12). About 50 per cent of the students in senior secondary level attend comprehensive schools (gymnasias for either general or specialized education) and the other 50 per cent attend vocational schools.

Different kinds of schools require different teaching approaches, content, types of classroom management and activities in civic education. At the gymnasias offering general education, civic education is mainly integrated with the content of different compulsory subjects. At some specialized gymnasias additional thematic modules concerning civic education are included among the specialized or optional subjects like philosophy or literature. Here, sophisticated discussion is the most popular methodology. At vocational secondary schools, civic education is more closely connected with future professional roles and functions. For example, students at vocational schools of economics receive more information and develop skills related to a free market economy.

Civic education has taken on great importance as a consequence of the Bulgarian Parliament's actions with respect to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Children's Rights, which led to changes in Bulgarian legislation. These documents were published in Bulgarian and were circulated in all schools. They are the basis for teaching about human rights and freedoms at schools and for new teaching materials. However, the implementation of the norms declared in the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention of Children's Rights is, in practice, still far from completed.

Contemporary civic education reflects the new point of view on citizenship and democracy within the context of socio-historical changes in Bulgarian society and international developments in general. In the past, within the framework of communist propaganda, the concept of citizenship was related to the notion of true inhabitants, that is, those who are loyal to the State, have a high level of patriotism and acknowledge their dependence on the national state. Nowadays, there is widespread agreement that citizenship is related not only to the State but also to membership in a civic society and to humankind as a whole.

The current concept of civic education reflects the dynamic historical process of democratic change that ensures the individual's needs for more personal freedom and social justice. The new concept of citizenship consists of many different aspects (juridical, economical, political and ethical). Everyone agrees that the nation's richest resource lies in the education of the young genera-

tion. The school can be said to be accomplishing its social mission only if it responds to current social needs by preparing young people to be worthy citizens of their country and of the world, capable of developing values passed on to them while building a better world. In this scenario, the role of political pluralism, diversity and inter-cultural communication increases. It is difficult to say to what extent this new concept is being implemented in school practice in Bulgaria. There are some differences of opinion among the experts on both the theoretical and practical levels.

Experts agree that the social mission of civic education is to harmonize the relationship between the individual and the State and to promote the successful integration of personality in the social structures. This is to be accomplished by imparting civic knowledge and advancing the skills and competencies necessary for participation in social life. If students are to come away with a coherent world outlook it is essential that they gain knowledge about the State, society, law, politics, economics, culture, ethics, ethnicity and ecology. Among the important social skills that a good citizen should possess are the ability, first, to perform diverse social roles in the family, small groups, communities and society; second, to develop the ability to think critically, argue, negotiate, defend personal rights and dignity, as well as skills for developing social projects and communicating with people from different countries and different social groups; and, third, to develop competencies in decision-making, team work, conflict resolution, consensus-building, co-operation, partnership and active involvement in social initiatives.

While there is agreement about the social mission of civic education, there is little consensus about the educational practices through which this mission should be accomplished. This situation contributes to the relatively high level of controversy regarding civic education in Bulgaria. During the last seven years, a national discussion has been held about the character, aims, objectives, content, organization and teaching methods of civic education. This discussion has taken place on many levels and has resulted in clashes between traditional approaches and those that are more innovative. The discussion reveals differences in attitude, value orientation and interests. The main common theme is that civic education should be among the priorities in the current educational reforms. The differences concern the didactic strategies through which civic education is to be delivered in the Bulgarian school. Three major strategies are proposed.

The first is a non-governmental approach. This strategy is advocated by members of non-governmental organizations and out-of-school institutions in the field of education. For example, the Foundation 'Open Society' and its affiliate, the Center for Open Education, are very active in civic education. Another example is the Foundation 'Development of Civic Society', which is associated with the PHARE Program of the European Union. These institutions want to create a decentralized model for civic education that will involve

all segments of the community: professional groups, social class groups, students, and the wider community. To achieve this aim, they wish to establish national networks, develop projects in the field of civics, disseminate literature and experiential models from other countries, and implement educational projects.

The second strategy for civic education is based on subject principles and interdisciplinary links. This strategy is represented mainly by scholars from universities and centers for teaching methods. Their goal is to affirm civic education as an activity regulated and supervised by the State and to link it to the compulsory curriculum and national educational standards. According to this approach, civic education would be studied in learning modules that are integrated in different school subjects, grades and levels. This strategy is in the preliminary discussion stage.

A third strategy is the one now in force in the country. It is based on an integrated-system approach that uses national traditions and European standards in the field of civic education. This strategy is oriented toward building an integrated national system for civic education that will reach students throughout their 11 to 12 years of schooling. It seeks a balance between national traditions and European experience; between compulsory and optional curricula; between core and peripheral curricula; between school and out-of-school activities; between global, national and regional aspects; between theory and practice; and between top-down regulations and down-top initiatives.

The third strategy is discussed in detail in the last sections of this chapter. We (the authors of this chapter) are actively involved in the promotion and implementation of this strategy with the support of National Institute of Education and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

Research methods

The research methods for this study were determined by two influences. The first was the methodology elaborated and adopted by the national participants in Phase 1 of the IEA Civic Education Project in order to have a standard framework for a cross-national study. The second is related to Bulgarian national priorities for the study, that is, the development of a national system for civic education. The following research methods were used:

- A review of Bulgarian literature on the topics of civic education.
- A content analysis of the civic education curriculum and associated textbooks in Bulgarian schools during the period 1890 to 1944.
- A content analysis of legislature concerning different aspects of civic education during the 1944 to 1990 period.

- A content analysis of the 1995 compulsory curriculum on the three educational levels and in the various kinds of schools with a view to identifying elements of civic education.
- A content analysis of documents such as those from the Educational Commission of the Council of Europe and UNESCO organizations concerning civic education.
- A content analysis of books and learning materials developed by non-governmental organizations working in the field of civic education.
- A comparative analysis of documentation concerning civic education from the USA, Germany, France, The Netherlands and Russia.
- Assessment by different groups of experts organized into working groups of the National Expert Panel (see below). They specified the contextual influences on civic education at the national level. They also discussed and adopted the data related to the 18 international framing questions and the core internal questions I to IV.
- Semi-structured interviews with 20 national experts on the innovations and changes in the national system of civic education.
- Discussion about the concepts for a new national system for civic education with 15 focus groups (homogeneous groups with 10 members each), including teachers, school directors, politicians, university students, parents, artists, university trainers, journalists and students of the last school grade.

Summary and discussion of the findings

Changes to the earlier national tradition in civic education

Changes as to the role and status of civic education in Bulgarian schools have occurred alongside changes to the country's historical and social conditions and its prevailing political orientation. Three main periods of development during the last century emerge.

After the liberation from the Turks, Bulgaria developed as a democratic state with a free market economy. The country became a member of the family of democratic European states, and civic education in Bulgarian schools was developed within the context of European civic traditions and democratic values (Geraskov, 1902a, 1902b, 1926; Manov, 1936). Based on Western-European models, educators and school authorities initiated what, at the time, was a progressive system of civic education. An indication of the importance of civic education at that time was the compulsory subject 'Civics', which was studied in the last grade of the junior secondary school (Grade 7) (Zakon za Narodnoto Prosveshenie, 1896, 1902). Thus, the State set out to provide

every student who graduated from junior secondary school with the knowledge and skills necessary to function as a competent citizen of the country. The main content areas of civic education during that period were: democracy; state constitution; civic status of the person in society; citizens' rights, freedoms and responsibilities; relationships between the individual, society and state institutions; constitutional competencies of governmental authorities; and behavior of individuals in society (Stanoev, 1894; Negentzov & Nikolov, 1918; Stoyanov, 1932; Kojtshev, 1938; Pravdolubov & Stoyanov, 1938; Kostov, 1941). Interdisciplinary links between civics and other subjects were promoted as were links between school and out-of-school activities.

The establishment of the totalitarian communist regime broke off the European orientation of civic education in Bulgarian schools. For more than 40 years the concept 'civic education' was replaced by the concept 'communist education', or, more concretely, 'political ideology', 'social class and party', and 'patriotic and international' education, taught according to the principles of the Soviet educational system and communist ideology.

Intercultural education was replaced by so called 'international education', viewed in the light of 'world revolution' and selfless devotion to the 'Soviet system'. Issues of national, ethnic-cultural and religious identity were replaced by notions of party identity and atheism. Individual personality was replaced by 'collectivism' as a central concept, freedom by suppression, tolerance by class hatred, lawfulness by lawlessness, and civic activity by obedience to the party (Boginov & Spanov, 1958; Boginov, 1971; Vasilev, 1975; Filonov, 1983; Vitshev, 1984; Tolstih, 1986; Ovtsharova et al., 1990).

'Communist education' represented a lack of differentiation between the concepts 'public', 'social' and 'civic'. The main idea in Marxist doctrine is the death of the State in favor of the communist party. Party institutions and structures replaced and took over the functions of state government and authority. Marx's concepts of 'public' (*gesellschaftlich*) and 'social' (*soziale*) gradually became to be seen as equivalent. In Marxist literature, the concept 'social' was used as equivalent to the concept 'civic'. Accordingly, the concept of civic society lost its meaning and was not used.

The democratic change and the disintegration of the communist system brought about the acute need for civic education in Bulgarian schools within the new national and European context (Audigier, 1991; Bonstingl, 1991; Valova, 1991, 1994; Valtshev, 1993; Krelidler, 1994; National Standards for Civics and Government, 1994; Ohio Department of Education, 1994; Centre for Civic Education, 1995; Kolarova, 1997).

Assessment of the relative importance of topics related to civic education

The Bulgarian Expert Panel consisted of representatives from the Ministry of Education and Science, universities, non-governmental organizations, teachers, school principals, politicians and school administrators. The panel analyzed

the relative importance of the various aspects of civic education and then ranked them in order of importance with the following result:

- 1) State, government, rights and obligations of citizens.
- 2) National identity and national loyalty of citizens.
- 3) Relations between the country and other countries and peoples, international and supranational organizations.
- 4) Minority groups or other groups which see themselves as disadvantaged or disenfranchised.
- 5) The concept of 'democracy' in the national context.
- 6) The concept of 'human rights' in the national context.
- 7) Law, rule of law, constitution, courts, national/regional legislature, elections.

These results are very similar to the four core domains arrived at by the international group responsible for organizing the IEA study after examining rankings from 14 countries.

The international core framing domains

Various changes (often conflicting) have taken place in the school system during the last six to seven years, that is, since 1989, the year of the fall of communism. The compulsory national curriculum has been changed twice. The main goal was to remove communist ideology. Facts and events were interpreted without the filter of any party ideology, all textbooks were revised, and a system of optional alternative textbooks was established. To respond adequately to the new conditions, teachers needed retraining and continuing professional education.

Democracy, institutions, rights and responsibilities

Our analysis shows that there are three main ways in which students receive their knowledge about democracy: within the general curriculum; as part of electives and extracurricular activities; and as part of discussion in the 'students' class' (see below). Furthermore, the analysis shows that there are some elements or modules concerning democracy as a central concept in the curriculum and textbooks. These modules are usually interdisciplinary and reflect the conviction that students should acquire knowledge and skills about democracy and institutions, and the rights and responsibilities of people. These topics are mostly concentrated in subjects such as motherland knowledge, history, literature and geography. There are themes in these subjects that directly and indirectly touch on features of democracy. For example, while studying the historical development of the Bulgarian State, students pick up information about different forms of state governments (such as, constitutional monarchy, parliamentary republic and dictatorship). The focus is on the democratic principles that are the basis of the Bulgarian Constitution, national sym-

bols, rituals and festivities. The most recent curriculum requires students to learn about different concepts of democracy, the right to elect and to be elected, the process of election, distinctive features of local authorities and the structure of different state institutions.

For 14- to 15-year-old students, a significant setting in which to learn about democracy, institutions and human rights is the so-called 'students' class'. According to the compulsory national curriculum, each student group in every school has two such classes per week. These classes are led by 'classroom teachers', teachers responsible for a particular group of students. Any teacher can be a classroom teacher no matter which subject he or she teaches. Usually, these teachers are those with more experience and with higher reputations at the school, but their selection also depends on the school's resources and on the decision of the school principal. Students are actively involved both in the selection of the topics they discuss and in the classroom management. Topics discussed in these classes are optional. Classroom teachers are relatively free to choose teaching content, and the way students will deal with it is related to students' interests and the opportunities available to the school and the region. For example, topics for discussion could be: ethical and political issues, health education, rules for students' behavior, and education for survival in extreme situations. Topics related to civic education are often covered in these classes, for example, rights, responsibilities and obligations of students, issues and documents concerning current legislation, and human rights.

Some issues concerning democracy, institutions, rights and responsibilities are discussed in elective classes (two to four per week) for students of Grades 5 through 8. They are also part of different extracurricular activities that schools organize in school, out of school or in the community.

The topics related to civic education vary according to different educational levels and the psychosocial development of students. For example, in the curriculum for Grades 1 through 4 (mostly during the 'students' class') thematic modules concerning civic education are more general, such as 'the rights of children' or 'how to live with others'—at school, in the family, in peer groups, and among friends. Students in junior secondary school (Grades 5 to 8) enrich their knowledge about democracy, institutions, rights and responsibilities discussing more particular issues, such as 'rights and freedoms of personality', 'citizenship and civil rights', 'understanding, cooperation and mutual aid' and 'principles of democracy'. The curriculum for senior secondary school (Grades 9 to 12) includes some interdisciplinary modules that concern civic education: 'citizen and civic society', 'the essence of democracy and the role of citizens', 'elections', 'individuality and society', 'regional autonomy' and 'national government'.

National identity

Our research reveals that, among students, a sense of national identity and national loyalty has broken down. The main reason appears to be the ambiguous way in which many events, facts and important figures in Bulgarian history have been presented and evaluated. Our national history was rewritten three times in three different ways during the last 120 years. This has affected the national consciousness of young people and confused their national loyalty, identity and national ideals. The inconsistent interpretation and explanation of historical events also reinforces their national nihilism and alienation from the State, increases their interest in emigration, leads to objection to mandatory military service and generally reinforces their criticism and scepticism.

Faced with this situation, Bulgarian schools view the development of a positive national identity and national loyalty (through particular subjects and the 'students' class', as well as extracurricular and out of school activities) to be of the highest priority. Great effort is being made to disengage topics from political ideology. Nowadays, any party's propaganda is absolutely forbidden at school.

Topics touching on national identity are an important part of the curriculum and are included in the following school subjects: Bulgarian language and literature, motherland knowledge and history. Some of these subjects are found at all levels of the Bulgarian school system. Topics related to national identity are fundamental for developing national consciousness.

Bulgaria is a one-nation country. The official language is Bulgarian and the compulsory curriculum is taught in Bulgarian. About 87 per cent of the population identify themselves as Bulgarians, 8 to 9 per cent as Turkish, 3 per cent as Gypsies and the rest as Jewish, Armenian, Russian and other. Relationships among Bulgarians, Armenians and Jews are positive. Relationships between Bulgarians and Turks and between Bulgarians and Gypsies are more complicated. Relationships between Bulgarians and Turks are confrontational to some extent because of the historical past and some government policies toward this ethnic community. Despite the fact that all ethnic communities in Bulgaria have the same rights and responsibilities and are equal under the law, there are differences in social and economic status between the Bulgarian group and the Turkish and Gypsy groups. Such differences affect the sense of national identity and national loyalty among these ethnic minorities and disturb the development of their self-identity as Bulgarian citizens. The educational status of Bulgarians is also significantly higher than that of the Turks and especially of Gypsies.

Our research and analysis show that issues connected with national identity and national loyalty are among the most controversial in Bulgarian society. It is the opinion of the National Expert Panel that stances about national identity and national loyalty are diverse and range from extreme chauvinism

and nationalism to extreme cosmopolitanism and national nihilism. These attitudes reflect the historical heritage of the country and the situation in the Balkan region.

The national history of Bulgaria often generates mixed feelings in students. On the one hand, in the 1,300 years of Bulgarian history there are many achievements and events that should make every Bulgarian very proud: the Cyrillic alphabet, the early renaissance and progressive social movements. Formal education emphasizes these. But there are many negatives as well. Some of them are related to history, such as the centuries of slavery and the fact that Bulgaria has lost so much territory in 20th Century wars. Others are related to the present economic situation. Nowadays, Bulgaria has one of the lowest living standards in Europe. Many young people emigrate for economic reasons. Formal education in the schools also needs to deal with these difficulties.

National attitudes are affected also by the way Bulgaria is treated by the international community. Geopolitically and culturally, Bulgaria is a European country but it is not yet a member of the European Union. Bulgarians have trouble with visas. In addition, during the communist period, educational traditions for developing national identity and loyalty were seriously damaged because, according to the predominant ideology, it was more important to develop a sense of belonging to an 'international proletariat' than to the nation. Under such conditions, it is easy to move from one extreme attitude to the opposite one, for example, from nihilism to chauvinism, and it is very difficult to find the balance between them.

Bulgarian educators are aware of the wide range of problems that they have to meet in their effort to develop a sense of national identity in students, but they also realize that controversies about national consciousness are rooted in society as a whole and cannot be solved by educational efforts alone.

Social cohesion and social diversity

As already mentioned, according to the Bulgarian Constitution and Bulgarian law, all Bulgarian citizens are equal under the law and have the same freedoms, rights, obligations and responsibilities. The right to education and free compulsory education helps decrease social inequality to a certain degree and provide all with a more or less equal opportunity for development.

Bulgaria has a unified educational system up to Grades 7 to 8. All children, regardless of their social status or locale (urban or rural), attend the same kind of schools with very similar conditions and study the same curriculum. State education is free of charge and students up to Grade 8 receive all textbooks free of charge. There are only a few private schools.

The Bulgarian school system has a tradition of attempting to promote social equality and cohesion and to develop an atmosphere of tolerance towards diversity. Teachers do their best to encourage respect for ethnic-cultural diversity and for the traditions of ethnic minorities, including the oppor-

tunity to study an ethnic minority's mother tongue as an optional subject.

Despite these efforts on behalf of social equality on the formal level, social inequality remains. During the communist period, different social groups had different access to resources based on the educational level of parents, on rural/urban educational opportunities, and on ethnic grounds. With the approval of unified national state educational requirements, a unified national curriculum and national syllabi, the possibilities for unequal treatment will be further reduced.

Mass media as a source of information about politics and government

Fourteen- to 15-year-old adolescents are living under conditions of major social change brought about by the shift from communism to democracy. Their concepts and attitudes regarding politics, parties, policy and government are influenced by the political realities of the country and the information they receive from the mass media. The social context, which is heavily politicized, is presented daily on the radio and in television programs and the press. This information, as translated by the media, definitely influences students' political knowledge, attitudes, positions and orientation.

The curriculum and the textbooks do not address the role of the mass media in a systematic way. The effect of mass media on students' knowledge and attitudes depends on personal interests and biases. Passages or quotations from the press or other mass media sources are rarely found in textbooks.

Eleven- to 15-year-old students are active consumers of the civic educational material presented by the mass-media. They have access to information about the development of the democratic process, the activities of state and regional institutions, the status of human rights in the community and the role of political leaders. Most important is the influence of those television and radio transmissions that carry information about political programs, sessions of Parliament and speeches by the President, the Prime Minister and leaders of main political parties. Students' attitudes towards democratic values and towards particular events in the civic process are strongly influenced by those political conditions in Bulgarian society that are marked by a high degree of controversy. The lack of educational television and radio is one of the reasons that the goals of the mass media and those of the school sometimes conflict. While the educational system tends to be politically neutral, the media almost exclusively present the confrontational model of politics. As a result, school life seems to be coming more politically and ideologically oriented.

The turbulent political situation in the country leads to the politicization of everyday life for the students. Findings of two surveys of the National Institute of Education in 1991 and 1994 on student attitudes toward current changes in society showed that the mass media frequently provoke discussions and disputes between student groups. An analysis done by the Bulgarian

sociological agency 'MBMD' showed that in all newspapers, including the official newspaper of the ruling party, and on radio and television broadcasts, the predominant tone is one of negativity. This seems to result in young people developing a distrust of authority and politicians, alienation from the political process and political nihilism.

Typical features of the civic education process

The objectives of civic education are development of respect for human rights and basic freedoms; mastering the roles of active and positive citizenship; and respect for human dignity and values. The content and method of instruction are determined by the following pedagogical principles:

- There is congruence between teachers' words and actions, and between activities and content.
- The knowledge acquired is applicable in practice.
- The focus of instruction is on understanding instead of exhortation or admonition.
- Students develop self-confidence and tolerance towards other points of view.
- Problems are identified and there is a search for possible solutions.
- The establishment of an atmosphere of trust and a sense of security in the classroom.
- Student knowledge and attitudes are grounded in their school experience.
- The relationship between rights, obligations and personal responsibilities is emphasized.
- Group discussion is the principal method for presenting the content of civic education.

Various teaching methods and activities are used according to what best fits the psychological and age characteristics of students. The most popular and recommended teaching methods and activities are conversation, discussion, observation, literature and document review, small group activities, dramatization, situation analysis, debates (structured), group and individual project work, conflict resolution and negotiation. Two different approaches are used in the assessment of students' knowledge about democracy, institutions, rights and responsibilities. If the knowledge to be assessed is a part of the compulsory subject curriculum (that is, history, literature, motherland knowledge and geography), then assessment of student achievement is part of the examination system of Bulgarian schools and includes oral or written exams, informational and summative assessment, term grading and school year grading. If the student knowledge to be assessed forms part of other venues of education such as students' class or extracurricular and out-of-school activities, then it is not subject to grading. There is no officially accepted system for the

assessment of student achievement in the field of civic education. As a result, educational authorities base civic education policy on ideas and beliefs about the subject rather than on objective data. Efforts to develop educational standards and assessment techniques for civic education have been made, but they do not, as yet, have any official standing.

The training a teacher may have in the field of civic education varies according to the content of the subject he or she teaches. If civic education topics are included in the curriculum of a compulsory subject, teachers in those subjects get pre-service training at universities and most of them take continuing education courses at different centers for in-service training. Their training focuses mainly on the content and the methods of the subject they teach. Occasionally, such training will also focus on the specifics of civic education. Some classroom teachers who are involved in civic education as part of the so called students' class or extracurricular activities receive formal training in content and methods of civic education. They usually take courses or attend seminars and conferences or participate in distance education specifically designed to train teachers for civic education.

There are no uniform standards for the civic education curriculum. The Ministry of Education is currently engaged in an effort to establish such standards. Several teams are developing educational standards and their work is the subject of wide public discussion. The most serious problems that schools face in dealing with civic education fall into three main categories.

First, educational problems are caused by the lack of teacher experience and training in civic education and the absence of an integrated system for civic education. Even now there is no such school subject as civics that can provide specific and specialized knowledge and experience. Democratic values and behavioral models related to civic rights and obligations are not studied in any systematic, organic way. Civic education and socialization are not organized as an integral and on-going process of acquiring knowledge about democracy and democratic values, experiencing democratic relations between individuals and society, and developing attitudes for active participation in the process of democratization of the country.

Second, political problems are generated by the fact that all the topics in civic education are strongly influenced by political, ideological, partisan and bureaucratic biases.

Third, organizational problems are caused by lack of appropriate experience in classroom management and by lack of appropriate literature and other teaching materials for civic education.

Project for a national system of school-based civic education

Bulgarian society is undergoing a major social transformation directed at establishing and re-establishing democratic traditions. The transition from a communist regime to democracy is at the center. This process is not without its critics nor is it easy. The democratic traditions of the country were suppressed for about 45 years. As a result, the population that is actively involved in social life today was socialized under conditions of the communist regime.

Changes in the economic, political and cultural life of society are moving faster than the changes in education. Education is more conservative than and sometimes cannot respond to societal transformations in Bulgaria. Education usually is intended to transmit the knowledge and experience of the older generations to children and youth. However, in conditions of very rapid social change, the experience of the older generation is not adequate to meet the current social conditions and needs. The main source for socialization of both adults and youngsters is in the social practice of the new emerging order. Most Bulgarians agree that the communist ideology, policy and practice should be abandoned. It was relatively easy to free education from communist propaganda and ideological prejudices. But it is far more difficult to find those values, ideas and content that will replace the communist approach to citizenship education.

During the last several years, there has been a very active national discussion about civic education. Consensus has not been achieved about core issues of content and practice in civic education. Our discussions with the members of focus groups and the interviews with national experts showed that the development of a national system of civic education is a priority in the modernization of Bulgarian education.

The main preconditions for the development of a national system for civic education are: (a) integration of the resources of all government and non-government institutions and organizations interested in these activities; and (b) acceptance of the coordinating role of the Ministry of Education in the development and implementation of the project.

The team working on the IEA Civic Education Project is serving as coordinator of the National Project of Civic Education, supported by the Ministry of Education, the National Institute of Education and a 20-member expert board, representing all interested institutions. The aim is to reach agreement on major issues and, to the greatest extent possible, come to some understanding about differing points of view. The project is still work in progress. In the next sections we will present briefly the design for a system of civic education in Bulgarian schools as it appears at this phase of the project's development.

Brief description of the system of civic education

The conceptual base for civic education in Bulgarian school embraces both our national traditions from the end of the last century and the observations of the experience and practice of civic education in countries with developed democratic traditions. Even in countries with well established civic education programs, there is no single view about the character, scope and content of civic education. There are discussions about whether to concentrate civic education in a single subject or to teach it in an interdisciplinary way. The differences of opinion reflect national heritages—historical, political and cultural—as well as different developmental perspectives.

We adopt a broad view of civic education, seeing it as an integration of knowledge, skills and competencies in many domains: politics, law, ethics, economics, ecology, health and the family. The implementation of such a broad design for civic education is possible only through a system that includes both the school and out-of-school educational process from Grades 1 through 12. The main directions in the development of instructional activities and content are:

- 1) Development of syllabi specific to grade level and kind of school, to be included as modules in the curriculum of existing school subjects.
- 2) Development of an optional curriculum built on the thematic principle.
- 3) Development of a curriculum for the students' class.
- 4) Development of programs and curriculum for out-of-school activities.
- 5) Introduction of a special school subject 'civics' (Grades 7 to 8).

Four topics constitute the core around which civic education is organized and systematized:

- 1) Democracy, authority and institutions.
- 2) Rights and obligations of the citizen.
- 3) National identity.
- 4) Social cohesion and social diversity.

These topics permeate the whole system of civic education. They also permeate the entire program of civic education, Grades 1 to 12, and form the syllabus for the subject civics in Grades 7 and 8.

Aims and objectives of civic education

The main aims of civic education are: to promote the development of young people as citizens who understand their freedoms, rights and responsibilities and who identify themselves with the Bulgarian people and the motherland; to facilitate the relationship of the individual with the State and society; and to contribute to the student's successful integration into the social structures by having him or her master the necessary civic knowledge, skills and compe-

tencies. These aims can be broken down into three groups of objectives:

Cognitive: to acquire basic knowledge about citizenship and society in their different aspects and interactions; to master intellectual operations and activities for acquiring, interpreting and assessing information from different sources about social events; and to develop adequate strategies for problem-solving and cooperative work.

Affective: to develop an interest in and readiness for participation in school life; to generate motivation and constructive attitudes related to active collaboration in problem-solving in the community; and to develop a set of values for civic behavior, oriented toward the welfare of society.

Behavioral: to develop the initiative, independence, self-criticism and creativity of students for participation in various civic activities; to develop their organizational culture; to master skills for team work; and to promote their social adaptation in different communities.

Methodological orientations in the approach to civic education

The following methodological orientations are part of the approach. Civic education should:

- Be interdisciplinary, systematic, purposeful and pragmatic.
- Provide access to a broad base of information (e.g. Internet) and skills to use the information at regional, national and supranational levels.
- Have a global outlook with a view to the problems of humankind.
- Stress application and relevance to the everyday life of the student especially at school.
- Have an ethical dimension as essential to the true meaning of democracy.
- Emphasize the importance of pluralism and diversity of views.
- Use discussion, debate and dialogue as indispensable tools.
- Foster formative interaction between students and the local community.

Content of civic education

The broad concept of civic education dictates its content as integrative and cross-disciplinary, and including knowledge, skills, competencies and attitudes from different areas. The thematic curriculum as now designed consists of 21 themes. This curriculum is the source from which learning modules for different subjects, optional curricula, curricula for the students' class and out-of-school activities are elaborated. The themes form units of theoretical-applied knowledge, that provide the main framework for development of concrete learning programs for civic education. The emphasis is on theoretical knowledge and its practical implementation in school and community life.

The themes are not yet fixed, and new themes could be added. Each of

them is relatively independent, and their order and sequence is not defined as yet. Each theme is to be taught from Grades 1 through 12, with the content gradually becoming broader and deeper as appropriate to the students' cognitive and social maturity.

The actual curriculum of the subject civics is of essential importance when considering the content of civic education. The subject therefore:

- Systematizes and generalizes civic education for students graduating from junior secondary school (compulsory education).
- Is very pragmatic. The purpose is to prepare students for successful social adaptation, especially those students who will not continue their education.
- Reflects to a great extent the national traditions in the field of civic education.

Educational process and implementation

The following features are thought to characterize effective educational strategies and technologies in civic education:

- A new type of relationship between teacher and students. Students should carry on initiatives and responsibilities as members of school community.
- The teacher is mainly a partner, a consultant and a facilitator.
- The methods used should motivate students to personal commitment and civic participation out of school.
- The school should be involved in community life where students can exercise their civic education learning.
- Assessment of students' achievement should be based not on acquired knowledge but on the degree of participation in civic affairs and on evidence of developed civic attitudes.
- Teachers should have the freedom to be creative in the development of concrete learning programs and classroom management in keeping with the character of the class, the school and the region.

The process of developing a national system of civic education will be very slow if it follows the administrative top-down approach, which is why we have proposed an approach that combines the efforts of scholars, administrators, teachers and other youth leaders. The teams of scholars clarify the aims and objectives of civic education for the establishment of national educational standards in this area. The teachers and youth leaders investigate different courses and teaching methods in their practice. The process is relatively decentralized. According to the recommendations of the Ministry of Education and Science, schools and teachers are free to choose topics and approaches that are appropriate to students' interests, specific features of the region and the re-

sources of the school and local community. Consequently, some very interesting examples now exist of courses and programs. Some teachers use programs developed by various institutions. For example, 'Introduction in Civics' has been developed by the National Institute of Education; 'Intercultural Co-operation' and 'Civic Education' have been developed by Sofia University; 'Health Education', 'Debates', 'Ways of Negotiating', 'Conflict Resolution' and 'Intercultural Development' have been developed by the Center for Open Education. An advantage of this multi-developmental approach is that teachers can use a variety of teaching materials. Other teachers prefer to use selected parts of several courses, thereby combining different modules and methods. There are also teachers who prefer to design their own courses. They claim that this approach allows them to respond more adequately to students' needs. All these approaches are only examples and are still in the experimental phase. Their effectiveness has yet to be assessed.

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn from this Bulgarian national case study:

- Civic education is a new interdisciplinary field aimed at the preparation of students in the spirit of democratic and civic virtues and in the values of liberal-democratic, multicultural, and open civic society.
- Civic education as a specific cognitive activity incorporates core and peripheral curricula that interact and supplement one another. Its educational aims and objectives are the acquisition of civic knowledge, skills and competencies and the development of personal civic qualities. This form of education is based on international experience and national traditions in the field, as well on respect of human rights and freedoms.
- During the present transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society the old rejected values and the new unstable values and behavioural models co-exist. This situation has led to a crisis in value orientation resulting in sometimes problematic behaviour in civic society.
- Civic education is a priority task in the reform of the Bulgarian educational system. It is seen as a major tool for preparing youth to meet the challenges of the 21st Century.
- Bulgarian society has great expectations of schools in general and of civic education in particular. Society asks the school to develop a new kind of citizen. It projects on education its hopes and beliefs in a better future.

As yet, there is not a general consensus about the kind of citizens needed by Bulgarian society nor about the content and characteristics of civic education. The development of the National System of Civic Education is marked

by on-going debates on different levels. At the national level, these debates focus on such strategic questions as: What should be the link between civic education and other parts of the school curriculum? What kind of system should be developed for teacher training? How can we establish co-operation between school and non-government organizations in developing projects and programs for common activities concerning civic life?

At the school level, there is competition between different programs and courses, and among different approaches, innovations and experiments. In the absence of clear directions and reference points, teachers and schools have to deal with the difficult task of educating young citizens by using their creative potential and initiative.

The reality is that the National System of Civic Education is being created under conditions associated with the development of a post-totalitarian society and of deep social transformations. At the same time, the system is being stretched so as to serve the democratic society of the 21st Century. The future is unpredictable and full of the unknown; dangers attend social futurology. In regard to civic education, the most dangerous step is to reduce it to a utopian doctrine and ideology. Doing so will stultify educational practice.

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CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: THE PLURALIST IDEAL AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR A POST-MODERN STATE

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Introduction

Canada recently has seen a flurry of activity dealing with citizenship and citizenship education in the form of government-sponsored investigations, academic publications and graduate theses, as well as popular books and articles. The Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, for example, has conducted an extensive investigation into the form and substance of Canadian citizenship, producing a report of its own as well as sponsoring a range of related research, while the federal Department of Canadian Heritage has sponsored several studies (Kaplan, 1991; Kymlicka, 1992; Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, 1993; Hughes, 1994; Sears & Hughes, 1994). Graduate students at several Canadian universities have been inspired to devote their dissertations to various aspects of the topic (Sears, 1996a), and two research groups, one at the University of Montreal and the other at the University of New Brunswick, have embarked upon long-term research projects directed at educational dimensions of citizenship. Books, such as William Kaplan's (1993) *Belonging: The Meaning and Nature of Canadian Citizenship*, Philip Resnick's (1994) *Thinking English Canada* and Will Kymlicka's (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship* are evidence of growing interest among academics in the area of citizenship, as are recently published editions of two national journals on the theme of citizenship education (*Canadian and International Education*, December, 1996; *Canadian Social Studies*, Spring, 1997). A special forum on 'Citizenship: Conceptions, Tensions and Educational Practices' was included on the program for the 1997 meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, attracting university and government researchers from across the country. There also have been several popular books exploring themes related to Canadian citizenship and citizenship education (Bibby, 1990; LaPierre, 1992; Bissoondath, 1994; Gwyn, 1995).

What explains all of this activity? Foremost, there is in Canada today an overarching concern about the future place of Québec within the federation. In the past 25 years the separatist movement in Québec has grown to the point where there have been separatist governments in Québec itself; there have been two referenda regarding Québec independence (the second one defeated by the narrowest of margins, 51 per cent to 49 per cent, in 1995); and the official opposition in the Federal Parliament between 1993 and 1997 was the Bloc Québécois—a party committed to Québec's independence. Furthermore, other fundamental civil structures and institutions are undergoing a detailed and critical scrutiny:

- There are continuing struggles concerning the distribution of powers between the Federal and Provincial Governments. Constitutionally, in Canada, considerable authority rests with the provinces, including education. Furthermore, since Confederation in 1867, the trend has generally been

towards the devolution of power from the Federal Government to the provinces (see Lipset, 1991, Chapter 11). Several provinces have used the pressure from Québec to argue successfully for a more decentralized Federation.

- There has been considerable agitation in recent years, particularly from Western Canada, to reform the upper house of the Federal Parliament, making it an elected body with an equal number of senators from each province. Currently, representation in the Senate is distributed on a regional basis (the regions being The West, Ontario, Québec, and the Atlantic), which some argue favours central Canada. Senators are appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- There is continuing pressure by Aboriginal groups to be recognized as nations within the Canadian federation, including the constitutional recognition of their inherent right to self-government. The Federal and Provincial Governments have generally been supportive of the recognition of the right to self-government, although there is a diversity of opinion about exactly what that concept might entail.
- The patriation of the Canadian Constitution from Britain in 1982, with the addition of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has thrust on the courts a much more activist role.
- The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which aims to provide 'every citizen, regardless of origin...an equal chance to participate in all aspects of the country's collective life' (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1997, www.pch.gc.ca/multi/html/english.html), passed through Parliament in 1988 with unanimous support. It has, however, generated some high-profile dissent. The Act empowers the Federal Government, through its departments and agencies, to promote a national policy of multiculturalism.

How have those responsible for developing citizenship education in Canada responded to the public debate? The response has been remarkably uniform. The following statement from the High School Foundation Program in the Province of New Brunswick is typical: 'We hope that all students will become active and concerned citizens, knowledgeable about their community, province and country and its place in the global village' (Curriculum Development Branch, 1996, p. *iv*). Over time, policies aimed at promoting first bicultural understanding, and then multiculturalism, have nurtured the development of a pluralist ideal. This development was recognized within the Citizenship Branch of the Federal Government as early as 1963. An internal report from that year points out that 'The Branch was established to harmonize some voices into the Canadian theme but in the process found more voices wanting a new harmony' (quoted in Sears, 1996a, p. 139). Among them were the voices of Aboriginal Peoples, women, diverse ethnic groups, disabled people, gays and lesbians. All levels of government and educational

policy-makers have responded positively to this desire for inclusion. At the level of official rhetoric, the national aspiration is towards universal, active inclusion within public education generally, and within citizenship education in particular.

In this chapter we combine the implications of recent scholarship and commentary on Canadian citizenship with insights from Canadian participation in an abbreviated version of Phase 1 of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) study of Civic Education to paint a portrait of the contemporary practice of citizenship education in Canada. The IEA study draws particularly on a detailed analysis of the situation in three provinces—Alberta, New Brunswick and Ontario. The perspective presented, therefore, is primarily that of Canada outside Québec. At the same time, we want to call attention to what is generally considered the 'common countenance' of Canadian education (Tomkins, 1986).

The historical context of Canadian citizenship

Citizenship in modern liberal democratic states displays many common features at the practical level of laws and institutions as well as at the level of creeds. The conception of freedom that emerged in the 17th Century is one of the key ideas that undergird modern societies. Central to this view is the idea that the free citizen owes allegiance only to government structures that were created by popular consent (Taylor, 1993). Several features of modern democracies flow from this view, including the equality of individuals, the guarantee of certain rights, and popular sovereignty. At the institutional and legal levels, they have been actualized in similar ways in most democracies.

While Canada largely fits this liberal democratic model, the Canadian historical and geopolitical context have combined to create some nuances particular to citizenship in Canada (Sears, 1996/1997). Here, the idea of citizenship has been slower to evolve than in some western democracies. Until the enactment of the first Citizenship Act in 1947, for example, there were no Canadian citizens, only British subjects. Even after 1947, Canadians remained both Canadian citizens and British subjects until the Act was changed in 1976. Certainly, the extension of full citizenship rights to a wider spectrum of the population, including women, Aboriginal Peoples, visible minorities and the disabled has not been an easy process, and significant areas of contestation persist (Ungerleider, 1992; Sears, 1996a).

Certain conditions of Canada's historical development have uniquely suited it for pluralism. Historian Cornelius Jaenan (1981) posits four such conditions: English-French Dualism, which has existed since the influx of loyalist Americans to the British colonies in Canada following the American Revolutionary War; the more diverse British (including Scots, Irish and Welsh), rather

than exclusively English, nature of early Anglophone Canada; the separation of church and state and the relative religious liberty that has always existed in Canada; and the fact that control of education was made a provincial, rather than a federal, responsibility. One of the ongoing results of this persistent diversity underlying Canadian society is that Canada has been a country of divided loyalties making elusive any uniform sense of national identity (Morton, 1993).

The history of state formation in Canada has also been critical in shaping the development of citizenship. American political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset (1992) points out that the American Revolution was a key event for both the United States and Canada. He argues that 'the United States is the country of the revolution, Canada of the counter revolution' (p.1). While the Americans built a new country, and the institutions to sustain it, based on principles of a limited state, egalitarianism and popular sovereignty, Canadian leaders shaped their country in much more conservative ways 'accepting the need for a strong state, for respect for authority, [and] for deference' (pp.1 and 2; see also Regenstreif, 1974; Resnick, 1990).

Along with these themes of diversity and conservatism in Canadian history, particular events have shaped notions of nation and of citizenship. The two world wars of this century were key ones. World War One, for example, had a significant effect on Canadians' attitudes about their nation. After the war, it was clear that 'Canada no longer considered herself a colonial vassal of Great Britain' (Berton, 1987, p.299). Similarly, a visit to a Normandy cemetery shortly after World War Two transformed Secretary of State Paul Martin's campaign to establish separate Canadian citizenship into a 'crusade' (see 1993, p.67). The resulting Citizenship Act became acceptable to a majority of the population largely because of the heightened sense of national identity following the Second World War.

Canada's relationships with the United States and Britain

Small in terms of population, and weak in terms of geopolitics, Canada has been significantly shaped by its close relationships to the most powerful nations on earth in both the 19th and 20th Centuries. Britain, the 19th Century political and economic powerhouse, gave birth to Canada very much in its own image. Political scientist Philip Resnick (1990) describes the essentially British, or 'Tory', nature of Canada's early ruling elites and political institutions. Contrary to American faith in the individual, the founders of Canada were suspicious of popular rule and developed a much more elitist state designed to keep individualism in check. The British North America Act, which created the modern Canadian state, was carefully crafted to leave

Canada subordinate to the British Parliament and Crown. This subordination showed itself in many ways, not the least of which was that Canadians were British subjects rather than Canadian citizens.

Within English Canada, this attachment to Britain and the Empire was not only legal but emotional. In Canada's early years, patriotic ceremonies and symbols were not directed toward the new nation but toward the growing empire.

English speaking children were raised with the historical myths of British nationalism, as conveyed by adapted editions of the Irish National Reader and authors as diverse as Macaulay and G.A. Henty. What mere Canadian citizenship could compete with the claims of an empire that spanned the known universe? (Morton, 1993, p.55)

Over the past century, Canada has been moving slowly away from the British sphere. Several factors have influenced this, including Canada's coming of age on the international stage with its independent participation in the great conflicts of the century, as well as its membership in international organizations. These, coupled with the decline of the British Empire and Britain's growing attachment to the European Community, have contributed to Canada's cutting many of its legal, symbolic and emotional ties with Britain.

The British hold on much of the Canadian psyche was tenacious, however, and Paul Martin, Secretary of State for Canada at the time, found opposition to the 1947 Citizenship Act from within the upper echelons of his department as well as throughout the country. While the Citizenship Act created Canadian citizens, it also stated that Canadians would remain British subjects. Martin was personally opposed to this provision because 'it left Canada with a mark of inferiority', but he allowed the compromise because he 'recognized that if Canadians' status as British subjects had been done away with in [the] bill, it would not have passed' (1993, p.74). This provision was not eliminated until 1976.

The move away from British influence can be seen in other symbolic changes. Resnick (1990) documents the way the term 'Dominion' was used by the government to refer to Canada prior to 1945 and how that term was replaced by the phrase 'government of Canada'. He argues that the term 'Dominion' was meant to explicitly link Canada with Great Britain and 'its disappearance can be seen as a newly stirring Canadian nationalism' (p.57). Another symbolic gesture in this transition to a fully independent state was the adoption of a new Canadian flag in 1965. Lowering the British Ensign, however, and raising the Maple Leaf generated a storm of controversy.

At the same time as Canada was moving out from under the shadow of Britain, some would argue it was moving into the American sphere, a trend referred to as 'the period of American tutelage' (Resnick, 1990, p.85). The United States has always had a powerful influence on Canada. From the influx of Loyalist refugees in the 1780s to the Free Trade Agreements of the

1990s, Canadians have had an ambivalent relationship with the United States. One of our Prime Ministers mused about the association being similar to a mouse sleeping next to an elephant. Like the mouse, Canadians are often glad of the protection of their huge neighbour, while at the same time they are worried about getting crushed if it should roll over.

Many Canadians have long regarded the United States as a potential threat, not so much militarily but culturally. A historian of the Loyalists in the American Revolution points out, for example, that these refugees into Canada were essentially American in their sentiments. While Loyalists coming to New Brunswick could settle where they wished, one of the reasons for creating new settlements for Loyalists in what is today Southern Ontario was to keep them and their American ideas away from the French population of Québec. Similarly, there were those who blamed the rebellions of 1837, which challenged the ruling elites in both upper (Ontario) and lower (Québec) Canada on republican ideas promulgated in schools by American teachers and textbooks.

This kind of concern continues into this century. Canada has acted at various times to limit American influence in the realms of business, popular culture and education. Canada has limited American access to Canadian markets and airways, through Canadian content requirements for licensed radio and television stations, as well as institutions and incentives to encourage Canadian activity in contested fields of endeavour. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), National Film Board (NFB) and Canada Council are examples.

Although Canadians have persistently tried to differentiate themselves from Americans, Canada, like so many countries, has become increasingly Americanized. A profound example of this is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that was included in the repatriated Canadian Constitution of 1982. While the charter is much more limited than the American Bill of Rights, it is a move towards a more American conception of due process and 'has drastically changed, although not completely eliminated, the difference between Canadian and American legal cultures' (Lipset, 1992, p.102). Some argue that, in similar fashion, the free trade agreements of the past several years have eliminated many of the economic distinctions between Canada and the United States (Gwyn, 1995).

The preoccupation with national identity

A key component of citizenship in any country is the people's identification with the nation as a whole—their sense of national identity. A persistent issue for Canadian citizenship has been the search to discover or create some sense of shared national identity. An American observer argues that 'almost alone among modern developed countries Canada has continued to debate its self-

conception to the present day' (Lipset, 1991, p.42). Similarly, several Canadian writers have noted that, while Canada exists as a state, it is not a nation in the sense of Canadians sharing a profound sense of group affinity and shared values (Hodgetts, 1968; Milburn & Hebert, 1974; Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978; Kaplan, 1993; Taylor 1993). Anxieties over differences and perceived lack of understanding among Canada's disparate peoples and regions have been a dominant theme in the literature of citizenship education in English Canada.

Like the United States, Canada is an 'immigrant society' (Kaplan, 1991). Unlike the United States, however, Canada has not developed the kinds of sustaining ideologies and myths that make up what some call the 'American civic religion' and that provide Americans with a relatively coherent and unified national identity. Whether it is accurate or not, Canadians view the diverse peoples of the United States as having a far more homogeneous sense of civic identity than do the peoples of Canada (Morton, 1993).

In the United States, the 'Founding Fathers realized that only through a widely shared political ideology could the foundations for the new nation be built' (Kaplan, 1991, p.69). This ideology was constructed around particular understandings of the defining events of American history, such as the Revolution and the Civil War; texts such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; and patriotic rituals such as swearing allegiance to the flag or singing patriotic songs. The central component of this shared ideology is a commitment to liberalism and particularly individual freedom. In the United States, 'everyone from the hippy to the Bircher argues his case from the premise of the individual's freedom to pursue happiness in his own way' (Taylor, 1993, p.25). While recent public debates about education in the United States have exposed some fractures in this ideological unity, this has been relatively mild and short-lived compared to discussions about identity in Canada.

A major challenge to the development of a shared sense of being Canadian is the fact that from the 18th Century in Canada several nations have coexisted and two of them have shared power within the boundaries of the State; 'Canada outside Québec' and 'la nation canadienne-française' (Taylor, 1993, p.163). Although Québec is not an independent state, for most Francophone Québécois it is a nation in the sense that it commands the allegiance of the people. This enduring sense of nationhood makes it very difficult for French Québécois to feel close association with the institutions of the Federal State. While French Canada has this clear sense of national identity, English Canada has struggled to find its centre and, in lieu of the linguistic and cultural unity found in French Québec, has focused its nationalism around the structures of the Federal State.

This different sense of the nation has led to profoundly different understandings of citizenship. Canadian political philosopher Charles Taylor (1993) posits two models. The first was pioneered by two nations rooted in

democratic revolutions, France and the United States. In this model, to be 'a citizen of a democratic state is to be an individual with certain rights and duties along with other individuals equally endowed' (p.198). Collective associations are a matter for the private sphere since 'the state only deals with individuals' (p.198). Taylor argues that most Canadians understand their citizenship in this way.

In the second model, 'citizens would belong to the larger entity via their membership in constituent societies...[and] the superstate here would not deal with individuals as such but would recognize subcommunities' (p.198). Taylor contends that some Canadians, Francophone Québécois and Aboriginal Peoples, in particular, understand their citizenship in this way and 'see themselves as fitting into the larger society...through their membership in their historical communities' (p.198). This model provides the basis for the 'two nations' understanding of Canada that is popular in Québec.

For most of Canada's existence, this fundamentally different understanding of the country has led to social and political conflict. The problem is not so much that there are two different understandings of citizenship but that each Canadian believes that all Canadians should be citizens in the same way, that is, in their way. These groups have been described as 'two ships sailing off in opposite directions on a northern sea' (Resnick, 1990, p.220). While the most important challenge in the development of a common perspective on Canadian identity has been the Québec/Canada question, it certainly has not been the only one. In recent years there has also been an emerging aboriginal nationalism.

In addition to the existence of these 'national minorities', the Canadian state also includes immigrant or 'polyethnic minorities' (Kymlicka, 1995). Although early public education outside of Québec was decidedly assimilationist, with the goal of 'Anglo conformity', it was largely unsuccessful in unifying the population. Non-British newcomers to Canada did not identify with the Empire and clung to their ethnic communities and loyalty to distant homelands:

...public school education, while compulsory, did little to crack such ethnic exclusiveness. The singing of 'God save the King,' 'Rule Britannia,' and 'The Maple Leaf Forever,' and the reciting of patriotic poetry, could do little in and of themselves to teach the values of the wider Canadian community. (Granatstein, 1993, p 40)

In summary, ethnic identities have always been strong, but so have community and regional identities. Canadians are and always have been a people of divided loyalties with multiple understandings of the country and their relationship to it.

Canada's institutional structures

Almost all democratic states hold elections, have legislatures to which representatives are elected, divide the powers of the State between legislative, executive and judicial bodies, and maintain some division of powers between national governments and more local authorities at the municipal and/or regional level. While these commonalities exist, each state has developed its own way to institutionalize and operationalize them. For example, France concentrates state power in national institutions, while Switzerland and Belgium allow municipal, provincial or regional institutions more autonomy. The United States centres executive power in an elected head of state and an appointed cabinet, while in Australia executive power is exercised by a prime minister and cabinet who are elected members of the national legislature. Canada has developed its own peculiar state institutional structure which does much to shape the way citizens relate to the State and each other.

Like its neighbour to the south, Canada is a federal state. Power is shared between national and provincial institutions. Unlike the United States, however, Canada has adopted the structures of the British parliamentary system rather than those of a presidential republic. For example, Canada allows for a different system of civil law in one province, Québec, and accords Parliament and provincial legislatures supremacy over the Charter of Rights through the so-called 'notwithstanding clause', which allows the Federal Parliament or provincial legislatures to override the charter by passing special legislation.

There is wide agreement among political scientists that Canada is the most decentralized western democracy. In the past 30 years, the trend has been toward further decentralization (Lipset, 1991, p.194). The Civil Code in Québec and unique accommodations for Manitoba regarding language in the legislature and the courts are just two examples.

Social policy and education are key aspects of the decentralized nature of the Canadian State. When the original four provinces (Ontario, Québec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) were considering joining together in a federation, Québécois leaders were concerned about Francophones becoming a minority in the Federal Parliament. Part of the compromise which allayed these fears and made confederation possible was to grant jurisdiction over matters of language and education to the provinces (Kymlicka, 1995). Over the years, all provinces have guarded their authority in these areas jealously and have sought to extend them. Although the 'Fathers of Confederation' intended a much more centralized state, the growing importance of provincial jurisdiction has moved Canadians in the direction of strong regional identities. It also means that the public exercise of citizenship, particularly in the political realm of voting, lobbying, party work and holding public office, goes on at several levels.

Another important feature of the Canadian State is the tradition of elitism

in Canadian public life. The framers of the Canadian State had little faith in popular sovereignty and designed a constitutional framework that included models of British aristocratic structures, such as an appointed senate in place of the British House of Lords (Resnick, 1990). Resnick documents the closed and elitist process of Canadian constitution-making and argues that 'the advocates of a differential passive notion of the citizen's role carried the day in Canada' (p.92).

In dealing with economic and social issues, the Canadian State has carved out a role for itself that is more interventionist than the American model but less so than many European states. Largely because of history and geography, particularly the relatively small and scattered nature of the population, Canadian governments have been involved in developing the infrastructure of the country in areas such as transportation, communications and power production. Many Canadian citizens, particularly in English Canada, have considered threats to national institutions such as railroads or public broadcasting as potential threats to national consciousness.

Another area of significant state intervention is in the realm of social services. This, too, is closely tied to Canadians' sense of who they are. Political philosopher Charles Taylor (1993) argues that 'Canadians see their society as more committed to collective provision, over and against an American society that gives greater weight to individual initiative' (p.159). Transfer payments have ensured that social programs such as education, health care and unemployment insurance are universally accessible in all parts of the country regardless of regional differences in wealth.

Clearly, the Canadian State has special features that greatly affect both the perceptions and practice of citizenship. These features, including the form of political and legal institutions, the decentralized nature of the State, the history of elitism in Canadian public life and the degree to which the State intervenes in the economic and social affairs of the nation need to be taken into consideration in examining Canadian citizenship.

The constitutional context of Canadian education

Canada is a federal state in which constitutional responsibility for education belongs exclusively to the provinces. There has never been a ministry or department of education at the federal level, although the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) provides a vehicle for interprovincial and federal cooperation in education. The absence of a formal federal presence in education has created particular challenges for developing a national program of citizenship education. This is not to say, however, that the Federal Government has no interest in the field. On the contrary, a number of studies have documented substantial federal involvement in education generally and in

citizenship education in particular (Hodgson, 1976, 1988; Joshee, 1995; Sears, 1996a; Sears, in press).

In an extensive study of Federal Government involvement in education conducted for the Canadian Education Association (CEA), Hodgson (1976) argues that the Federal Government has traditionally used three justifications for its involvement in education: (i) the complexity of national and international life mandate a national focus for some areas of education; (ii) provinces are unequal in their ability to pay for needed programs; and (iii) Ottawa is able to recognize the need for, and fund, special projects that may be beyond the scope of the provinces.

The Federal State over the years has been profoundly interested in citizenship education, particularly in fostering a widely shared sense of national identity. To this end, it has used several policy instruments, particularly financial inducements, capacity building and cooperation with surrogate organizations. There is clear evidence that Federal Government initiatives, particularly in areas such as second language education, multiculturalism and human rights, have had significant impact on citizenship education curricula across the country (Sears, in press).

One of the key policy instruments the Federal State has employed in the area of citizenship education has been the use of surrogate organizations. These are ostensibly private organizations but are funded and often advised by the State in implementing citizenship education programs. The Chief of the Liaison Division of the Federal Government's Citizenship Branch wrote in 1962 that 'as federal officers we are skirting the field of education, perhaps because we encourage other persons, and through them, other agencies and groups to do that which a government cannot easily do, and I think ought not to do' (quoted in Sears, 1997). Over the years, these agencies and groups included volunteer and charitable organizations as well as professional teacher associations.

One of the things that surrogates do for the State is to provide direct access to schools. To give one example, a 1964 issue of *Citizen*, the quarterly journal of the Federal Government's Citizenship Branch, reported on a program to involve five Ontario High Schools in Citizenship Week activities. Here, the YMCA proved instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of school boards, principals and teachers, and even arranged for regional officers of the Citizenship Branch to give a speech to each student assembly.

In later years, the Federal Department of the Secretary of State developed programs with several national and provincial teachers' organizations. The department also worked with provincial teacher organizations to develop materials and provide workshops in areas related to citizenship education as well as working through multicultural associations and other community groups to sponsor professional conferences for educators (Department of the Secretary of State, 1977, 1979). These conferences are often seen as a way to push

the provinces to action and to generate action at the grass roots. In Manitoba, for example, a 1981 conference is said to have generated a great deal of local activity in multicultural education.

Approximately 700 teachers, pedagogical experts and school trustees attended the Conference on Multiculturalism in Education held in Winnipeg in November. As a result, regional committees are now involved in introducing multiculturalism into local education and the Multiculturalism Directorate [of the Secretary of State] is providing assistance and encouragement for the development of curriculum materials. (Department of the Secretary of State, 1982, p.14)

It is not only access to public schools that has made surrogates valuable to the State; they also open up other avenues for reaching youth of school age. Early on, the Federal Citizenship Branch realized that citizenship 'cannot be taught in schools alone but must be taught also in our churches, social service clubs and service organizations' (Senate of Canada, 1949). This recognition led the Federal Government to sponsor a wide variety of programs through an equally varied number of surrogate organizations, including a number of camping programs. Dozens of similar projects have been carried out with federal support to various organizations. Conferences are a favourite vehicle to gather together groups of young people for citizenship education. In addition to the Annual Banff Citizenship Seminar (run for many years in the late 1950s and 1960s) and sponsored by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, the Federal Government has supported dozens of citizenship conferences run by the YMCA, the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) and many different ethnic organizations. Forum for Young Canadians is a contemporary example. Conducted by the Foundation for the Study of Processes of Government in Canada, Forum is funded by both Federal Government and private donations. Every year, Forum brings more than 500 students to Ottawa to study the process of Canadian government. These represent only a few of the large number of citizenship education programs sponsored by the Federal Government and run by surrogate organizations.

While the Federal Government has struggled to bring a national perspective to education, the provinces have made efforts to establish a national educational perspective through the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC). This body, established in 1967 and made up of the ministers responsible for elementary, secondary and post-secondary education in the 10 provinces and two territories, provides them with a mechanism for cooperation and consultation in matters of mutual concern. It is the closest thing Canada has to an official national ministry of education. The Council has shown some interest in citizenship education. In the 1970s it cooperated with the Federal Government in providing substantial funding to the Canada Studies Foundation which was focused on improving the teaching about Canada in Canadian schools. More recently, at the 1993 meeting of the Council in Victoria, British Columbia, a plan was announced to develop pan-Can-

dian education indicators in six areas, one of which was citizenship (see Pennock, Svoboda & Lang, in press). Since that time, however, the citizenship portion of the indicators project has been put on hold while others, such as the science indicators, have proceeded apace. This may reflect a general devaluing of citizenship as a goal for Canadian education in the market-conscious 1990s (Osborne, 1996).

Canadian citizenship education

Given its history, its geopolitical relationships with Great Britain and the United States and its diverse political structures, it should come as no surprise that citizenship in Canada has been a contested concept. There has not been a single conception of democratic citizenship that has formed the basis for civic education but rather differing conceptions which exist along a continuum from elitist to activist (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Sears, 1996b). The elitist conception of citizenship 'is one that assumes that there is a small group of people that, by reason of birth or training, is especially fit for the business of rule' (Heater, 1990, p.14). For elitists, participation in public affairs by ordinary citizens beyond voting is not only undesirable, it is potentially dangerous. The good citizen in the elitist conception of citizenship is knowledgeable about mainstream versions of national history as well as the technical details of how public institutions function. He or she is loyal to the State, defers to authority and knows (and believes in) patriotic symbols and ceremonies as well as the national myths. The highest duty of citizenship in this view is to become as informed as possible about public issues and, based on this information, to vote for appropriate representatives at election time.

At the other end of the continuum is the activist conception of citizenship which assumes a significant level of participation by all citizens. Recognizing 'the inevitability of representation, given the size and scale of modern nation states', political scientist Philip Resnick (1990) believes that it is possible to construct 'a democratic public sphere, i.e. an open, communicative society, characterized by face to face structures and significant economic and political democracy' (pp.35-36). While he has not seen such structures at the level of the State, Resnick argues this conception of democracy can be seen in 'radical movements such as the student revolts of the 1960s, or in phenomena like feminism, the Greens, or the anti-nuclear movement' (p.34). In this conception, good citizens participate actively in community or national affairs. They have a deep commitment to democratic values, including the equal participation of all citizens in discourse, where all voices can be heard, and power (political, economic and social) is relatively equally distributed. These citizens are knowledgeable about how institutions and structures privilege some people and groups while discriminating against others and are skilled at uncovering and challenging them.

Many scholars have argued that, traditionally, citizenship in Canada has been constructed in more elitist and passive terms than in many other democracies (Resnick, 1990; Lipset, 1991; Bothwell, 1993) and that citizenship education in Canada has, for the most part, reinforced this elitist conception (Sears, 1994; Osborne, 1996, 1997). From the earliest years of public schooling in Canada West (Ontario) in the 19th Century, 'education was centrally concerned with the making of political subjects, with *subjectification*. But these political subjects were not seen as self-creating. They were to be made by their governors after the image of an easily governed population' (Curtis, 1988, p.92, emphasis in the original).

Many studies describe practice in citizenship education that is largely consistent with an elitist conception. In his landmark study of civic education in Canada, Hodgetts (1968) wrote about the 'bland consensus version of history' (p.24) that dominated Canadian social studies classrooms. History teaching of this type focused almost exclusively on political and military matters, avoided controversy, did not connect material to the present, and emphasized the memorization of 'nice, neat little acts of parliament' (p.24). It is clear that 'the combination of curricula, examinations, textbooks and pedagogy that prevailed before 1968, even when it was successful, served to produce a particularly conservative kind of citizenship' (Osborne, 1995, p.21). Other studies make the case that citizenship education in Canada has often been used to impose a narrow view of national culture (Osborne, 1980, 1991; Jaenen, 1981; Tomkins, 1983, 1986).

Although citizenship education in Canada has generally been elitist, recently there has been a move along the continuum to a more activist and pluralist orientation, at least in terms of official policy and mandated curricula. In her 1989 study, Masemann found that 'the main ideology of citizenship education is the importance of citizen action and participation' (p.29). Other studies confirm this trend (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Sears, Clarke & Hughes, 1997).

Contemporary citizenship curricula

Policy statements from several provinces strongly assert the goal of active, inclusive citizenship. The *Philosophy of Education* from the Province of Prince Edward Island, for example, begins by stating that 'the purpose of the Prince Edward Island public education system is to provide for the development of children so that each may take a meaningful place in society' (Prince Edward Island Department of Education, 1990, p.1). It goes on from there to emphasize that preparing students to participate, by helping them develop as critical thinkers and skilled decision-makers, is part of 'the basic education required to participate in and contribute to society' (p.1).

Developing the knowledge, skills and values essential for positive, participatory citizenship is also part of the underlying rationale for all areas of *The Common Curriculum* for Grades 1 to 9 in the Province of Ontario. One of the 'ten essential cross-curricular learning outcomes' to be achieved by the end of Grade 9 is to 'participate as responsible citizens in the life of the local, national and global communities' (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1995, p.28).

In Canada, interests in education on the trans-provincial or national level find only circuitous expression in provincial policies and are seldom passionately embraced and often only tacitly acknowledged. One exception may well be the joint recognition of Canada's linguistic duality and the collaboration of the Federal and Provincial Governments in sponsoring second language instruction in the form of French Immersion and Core French programs in the school districts of English-speaking Canada and Core English programs in Québec. The past quarter century has seen the development of a generation of younger Canadians who are much more at ease using both of the nation's official languages. Indeed, a certain comfort with two official languages is becoming embedded as a feature of Canadian identity.

While the constitution framers tried to accommodate both French and English cultures, they virtually ignored the cultures of the Native Peoples of Canada, assuming that they would be assimilated into French or English Canada. In keeping with this assumption, both federal and provincial policies following confederation were decidedly assimilationist. Only in recent years has the extent to which these policies failed been recognized. School curricula, including both guidelines and materials, reflected the larger political agenda, first presenting aboriginal people as 'savages' in need of the civilizing influences of western culture, then increasingly, in the last 15 years, as distinctive founding members of the Canadian family.

Many provinces have developed native studies programs which give explicit attention to citizenship concerns. In New Brunswick, there is an optional course in native studies at the Grade 12 level, but the province has also taken steps to include material about Native Peoples at other levels as well. Ontario has produced *People of Native Ancestry: A Resource Guide for the Primary and Junior Division* as well as a *Native Studies Curriculum Guideline*, which outlines programs for Grades 7 to 10 (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975, 1991). The rights of Native Peoples are to be examined as well as the 'historical and systemic barriers to Native Peoples' full participation in Canadian society' (p.9).

All the provinces of Canada prescribe curricula dealing with the issues of multiculturalism. Ontario's policy, for example, emphasizes the value of diversity, points out that Canada is the land of origin for Native Peoples and that they are not immigrants. The policy also says that students should develop respect for viewpoints other than their own. Various organizations

have produced heritage language programs and developed international language materials. These are used widely in metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. As well, most provinces have developed native language education programs. Finally, both the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario have specific policies to include Native Peoples and representatives of what are described as 'multicultural community groups' in the process of curriculum development.

In Alberta, the document *Essential Concepts, Skills and Attitudes for Grade 12* includes the statement that, by the end of Grade 12, students should 'accept and appreciate those of different cultures, races, religions and social groups, age and sex, as well as those who differ physically, mentally, socially from the norm' (Alberta Education, 1987, p.4). In the social studies curriculum, the third topic in Grade 4 deals with the links between Alberta and Québec, the Grade 7 program focuses on culture and includes an extensive teacher resource guide called *New Immigrants...New Neighbours*. This guideline lists the following attitude objectives:

- respect and tolerance for the rights, needs, opinions and concerns of others
- appreciation and respect for the contributions of cultural groups to Canada
- respect for the multicultural nature of Canada (Alberta Economic Development and Tourism, 1993, p.x).

There is also a *Bibliography of Learning and Teaching Resources to Support Cultural Diversity* (Alberta Education, 1994).

In the area of human rights, the three maritime provinces, through the Maritime Provinces Educational Foundation, have cooperated in developing the guide *Human Rights in the Elementary Classroom*. This document makes the case that 'Human rights topics need to permeate as many areas of the curriculum as possible' (Maritime Provinces Education Foundation, 1994, p.3). The guide provides teachers with various themes related to human rights, such as conflict resolution, and some suggestions about how to teach each theme.

In some jurisdictions there is recognition that citizenship education is carried on through aspects of schooling not explicitly captured in the curriculum; what some have called the 'hidden curriculum'. One document from Ontario argues that:

the term 'curriculum' encompasses all learning experiences the student will have in school. These include such aspects of school life as the general school environment, interactions among students, staff, and the community, and the values, attitudes, and behaviours conveyed by the school. (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1993a, p.13)

One of the initiatives that the province has taken in this area is the production of a guide for opening and closing exercises in Ontario schools. The guide contains suggested readings to represent the religious and cultural di-

versity of Ontario. It argues that one of the purposes of these rituals is to build understanding of and respect for people from a wide variety of traditions. These exercises emphasize the range of values that Canadians of diverse traditions share. 'Patriotic activities that build pride in heritage, diversity, interconnectedness, and ideals of Canada are...an important part of opening or closing exercises' (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1993b, p.14). 'The playing and singing of "O Canada" [the national anthem] is compulsory in public elementary and secondary schools' (p.26).

Jurisdictions such as New Brunswick and Manitoba have articulated policies designed to develop 'partnerships with ethno-cultural groups through communication, cooperation and consultation to ensure their participation in the education system' (Manitoba Education and Training, 1992, p.5; see also New Brunswick Department of Education, 1989). In most areas, these policies are designed to allow these groups input into curricular decisions. In some jurisdictions, the policies extend to developing hiring practices that ensure equality of opportunity. The document *Multicultural Education: A Policy for the 1990s* (Manitoba Education and Training, 1992) clearly indicates concern not only for a multicultural curriculum but also for a school system that is multicultural in its structure (i.e. who works in it, who decides on curriculum and what materials are used).

Finally, in Ontario, the required student outcomes in *The Common Curriculum* emphasize the understanding of different cultures, commitment to peace and social justice, the development of skills necessary for getting along well with others and being a responsible citizen. The document also calls for respect for human rights and the building of healthy relationships. 'Curriculum must be free of bias and must reflect the diverse groups that compose our society.' It must enable 'all students to see themselves reflected in [it and]...provide each student with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors needed to live in a complex and diverse world' (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1993a, p.13).

Although officially prescribed curricula and policy in all Canadian provinces are directed towards an activist and inclusive conception of citizenship, it does not necessarily follow that this is borne out in actual practice. There is little evidence as to what actually goes on in Canadian classrooms, the effectiveness of particular programs or what students know or are able to do. The evidence that does exist indicates that there is often a considerable gap between official policy and actual practice, with practice being much more conservative and traditional than policy mandates (Sears & Hughes, 1996).

A concern for citizenship education figures in the policy of all jurisdictions, but the terms civics and citizenship education do not appear as separate course designations in Canada. Across the country there is acknowledgment that citizenship education is the responsibility of schools as a whole, but it is in the domain of social studies that concern for citizenship finds most explicit

expression in every jurisdiction. One Alberta document, for example, contends that 'responsible citizenship is the ultimate goal of social studies' (Alberta Education, 1990, p.3). This is echoed by the new *Curriculum Framework for Social Studies in Newfoundland*, which identifies the 'development of the person and the development of the citizen' as the two broad dimensions of social studies education (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Education, 1993). In Canada, there is a range of practice in terms of naming particular courses in this area. At the elementary level, most provinces use the term social studies. At the secondary level, some provinces use the more generic designation of social studies, while others name specific fields of study such as history, law, political science, economics and sociology.

Conclusions

A major national study published in 1968 was extremely critical of civic education across Canada (Hodgetts, 1968). The report condemned the almost exclusive focus on political and military history, arguing that the study of the nation's political institutions was sterile, avoided controversy and focused on what (as previously mentioned) the author termed 'nice, neat little acts of parliament'. This report, along with related work soon to follow on post-secondary education (Symons, 1975), sparked considerable debate in the country and led to the formation of the Canada Studies Foundation, which, from 1970 to 1986, sought to develop and disseminate materials for teaching about Canada as well as providing in-service training for teachers. Since the formation of the foundation, Canadian content has grown considerably in the social studies curriculum across the country, particularly at the secondary level. Several projects of the foundation provided materials designed to involve students in developing a comprehensive understanding of how political institutions really work, rather than the idealized version typically presented. Some of these materials advocated getting students involved with the political process through working on current issues, but research indicates teachers are reluctant to do this for fear of community or professional repercussions. Although official policy and curricula across Canada today advocate an engaged and critical study of political structures and institutions, the limited evidence available indicates that current practice remains quite close to that reported in 1968.

There are several significant challenges facing Canadian citizenship educators. Different visions of the country and its institutional structure present a significant challenge for citizenship education. Some hold that the Canadian Federation represents a partnership between two founding peoples, the English and the French. Others argue the federation is made up of 10 equal provinces and that no province or groups should be accorded distinctive

status. Still others contend that Canada is a multinational state consisting of at least three national groupings, English Canada,¹ Québec and the First Nations. Advocates of each position contend that constitutional and legal structures ought to fit their vision of the nation. These different understandings of Canada raise significant challenges for those who work in the field of citizenship education.

In terms of educational policy, the major difficulty at the present time is that social education in all its forms has been relegated to a marginal subject in school programs while energies and resources are emphasizing technology, math and science (Osborne, 1996). In terms of practice, there is quite simply a paucity of information concerning what might constitute best practice in the various realms of citizenship education. There is a lack of clarity concerning precisely what is expected of the school system in terms of civic education; there is a lack of professional knowledge concerning how the knowledge, skills and dispositions of citizenship are learned, and even less about how they might be taught; and, based on the foregoing, there is a lack of surety about how to monitor progress. Generally speaking, Canada has a poor record of monitoring educational development in all realms. In citizenship education specifically, there are no meaningful benchmarks against which to monitor progress and little interest in generating them. All of this puts teachers in the position of not knowing what is expected about citizenship education generally, and yet vulnerable to criticism for failing to achieve what society at large has been unable to articulate and unwilling to resource adequately.

At the classroom level, there is an apparent reluctance on the part of teachers to engage students in critical, participatory approaches to citizenship education. In 1968, Hodgetts reported that students were generally bored and turned off by civic education. He attributed this to the fact that almost no attempt was being made to make connections between the material (usually history) being covered and the contemporary world of the students. This, he pointed out, was contrary to intended curricula across the country, which called for such connections as a matter of course. The situation remains unchanged. Despite curricular emphasis on the pluralist ideal, critical inquiry, the discussion of contemporary issues and getting students involved in community action, classroom practice seems not to have changed much since Hodgetts' report.

Although evidence from the official curricula indicates that conceptions of citizenship education in Canada have moved toward much more activist and inclusive ones, we suspect that the actual practice of citizenship education in

¹ We recognize the term English Canada is problematic for several reasons (e.g. there are many English-speaking people who reside in Québec as there are many French-speaking people who live outside of Québec; many non-Aboriginal Canadians have neither French nor English as their first language), but others have argued it is the best term to describe the non-Aboriginal population residing outside Québec (Resnick, 1994).

the nation's classrooms remains closer to the older, more conservative models of the past. Bringing practice into line with the advanced thinking represented in official policy is the biggest challenge facing Canadian citizenship educators.

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EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN COLOMBIA

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Background—Colombia, a country with difficulties and hope

1991 was a very important year in Colombia. To prepare a new National Constitution, representatives of political, social and economic powers in the country came together to set the foundations for a participatory democracy built on the rule of law. As a result, during the last decade, the Colombian Government has introduced administrative changes and has reshaped itself, at least in part. The reforms seek to widen and legitimate the political process by expanding possibilities for participation, by acknowledging new social and political forces, by expanding individual and social rights and guarantees, and by cleansing political institutions. These reforms also seek to ensure that only the State has the lawful right to use force; however, this objective is still an ideal. The administration of justice was modernized, as were the police and armed forces. The aim is to ensure the effectiveness of government agencies and democratization by means of political, administrative and economic decentralization.

At the same time, Colombian society has been living through a complex social process in which different phenomena criss-cross. For example, a variety of social movements have opened new fields of social participation for women, young people, children, Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations. There has been a wider involvement in regional public administration, based on political and administrative decentralization. Links between the population as a whole and the legal justice system have been strengthened through the exercise of the constitutional mechanism of 'tutelage', which directs the justice system to give priority attention to cases of fundamental rights violations. Through this mechanism, citizens have experienced the real possibility of defending their rights. Since the establishment of tutelage in 1991, more than 150,000 cases have been submitted regarding the right to equality, the right to privacy, the right to freedom of expression and religion, and the right to due process; the majority of these have been for violations of fundamental rights in educational establishments.

Despite these efforts and achievements, anti-democratic elements still persist in Colombia. Among them are the following (which come together in dramatic ways): deep social inequalities; corruption; the use of violence as a means of solving daily conflicts; crisis in the justice system; and a lack of respect for diversity. The result is social impotence in the face of violent death, lack of hope about the future and distrust of politics. In many regions of the country, the State's capacity to regulate political, economic and social life is weak. At the same time, fragmented approaches to social and political organization continue from the past. This fragmentation brings with it a lack of identity and a low capacity for social mobilization.

Within the educational field, numerous social forces come together in support of education in democracy. Initiatives have the potential to strengthen each other, for example, the Presidential Council for Human Rights, the Vice-Ministry of Youth of the Ministry of National Education, the Luis Carlos Galán Institute for the Development of Democracy, several non-government organizations and segments of the teaching profession.

The interest of the teaching profession is expressed in legislative and academic initiatives seeking the democratization of school life, decentralization of the educational administration, greater input from the educational community and elimination of authoritarian educational practices. Teachers also make demands for further training to improve their skills and for updated programs and materials.

There are also factors that work against this growing interest: resistance to change in wide segments of the teaching profession due to strong habits of authoritarian practices; difficulties in fulfilling commitments as to teachers' salary and benefit expectations; and insufficient school facilities. In addition, there is pressure upon teachers in zones of social and political conflict where the State armed forces combat guerrilla groups, paramilitary groups and criminal organizations, and where violations of humanitarian international law have occurred. In light of the above, there seems to be in some sectors a rift between the teaching profession and politics.

In addition, several national studies show poor academic performance of students (SABER, 1991, 1992), conflict in schools and the critical perception students have of the educational process. The most recent and widest investigation was carried out with 500 students who performed as 'ethnographers' of Colombian juvenile culture (Cajiao & Parra, 1995). Results show the current difficulty in relating young people to adult values, myths, rites and models. School is a place for meeting friends, and the school's importance has declined relative to the neighborhood and mass media.

The Colombian context is clearly complex, and there are forces that can hinder or undo many of the good efforts to date. In this context, the need to make education for democracy a priority also seems to be clear. Although difficulties abound, much has been accomplished in the short period under the new Constitution and hopes for continued progress are high.

Education and citizenship—civic education

Educational responses: plans and programs

The ideal of civic education as democratic education or education in and for democracy has antecedents in the educational policy of 1984 when dissemination of the Curricular Renovation Program began. Among other things, this program aimed at reorienting the conceptual frameworks for the differ-

ent curricular areas, restructuring study plans and transforming the relationship between the school and the community. With respect to democratic education, the Curricular Renovation aimed at reorienting pedagogical concepts and practices away from the identification of civic education with urbanity and rote learning.

Up until the time of the curricular renovation, education in urbanity was understood to be the transmission of a pre-defined and static code of moral virtues and guidelines of behavior and customs that would characterize a 'good' citizen. Its strongest model was Carreño's *Manual of Urbanity* (1812-1874), the first canonical model of education for the Latin American citizen (Restrepo, 1996). This manual is still used in many schools, and teaching from it is frequently requested by parents and educators.

Before the curricular renovation, civic education was characterized by memorization. Study plans throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s emphasized the teaching of political institutions (their characteristics, functions and domains, and the mechanisms of political elections). All this was to be learned through memorization without reference to the social and economic context of which these realities were a part. This approach gave little or no attention to an understanding of political, social and economic dynamics, reduced citizenship to voting, underscored citizen duties to the detriment of rights, and left out entirely the political interests and experiences of young people. As a result, the gap between citizenship theory and practice was perpetuated. The new theoretical framework and the integrated study plans for the social sciences area in the curricular renovation attempted to correct the situation as did the establishment of a course on democracy, peace and social life in the five grades of elementary education between 1985 and 1990. Following these leads, democratic education was reoriented throughout the period 1980-1990 in keeping with the following ideas:

- Framing the understanding of political institutions within an understanding of social, political, economic and cultural dynamics in society.
- Structuring education in values based on the development of the students' moral judgment, and the explicit consideration and discussion of the value contents of knowledge and social action.
- Moving towards a collective experience of democratic values based on school relationships and on the promotion and defence of human rights.
- Re-conceptualizing urbanity in terms of models for living together in a diversified society and promoting a society that would be more open and sensitive to differences and change.
- Linking school education about democracy closely to the daily life and social and political experiences of young people.

In the development of this reorientation, government guidelines played an important role. These guidelines were linked to the Curricular Renovation

Program, examples of which are 'curricular flexibility' of programs according to regional contexts, 'curricular integration' of different school subjects through attention to problems of the milieu, and the 'school as a cultural project'. Important government programs in youth promotion, sexual education, ethnic education and human rights came about. These initiatives focus on concern for counteracting discrimination and for fostering participation in school life in ways that give attention to local and regional contexts.

Since the 1991 Constitution, school education in civics has been legitimated as education in and for democracy. Legislation, national programs and the evaluation of the educational system all are oriented in that direction. Civic education in schools is now an established reality and includes the study of the Constitution and experience of democratic practices for the purpose of learning the principles and values of citizen participation.

The implementation of the Curricular Renovation was officially extended to 1995, when, as a result of the new Constitution, the General Law on Education was passed. The law moved strongly in the direction of decentralization. Responsibility for curricular specifics was shifted in large measure to educational institutions with general guidelines from the central government. Within the framework of educational decentralization and the search for greater autonomy for schools in making educational decisions, the law contemplates that each institution will prepare and annually update its Institutional Educational Project ('Proyecto Educativo Institucional'—PEI) with the participation of directors, teachers, students and community representatives. Based on a diagnosis of community and student needs, the local group formulates objectives, goals, educational plans, curricular programs and educational projects. The PEI is adopted by the school government, a joint governing body made up of teachers, parents and students.

To assure that Education for Democracy would be included in the PEIs, Resolution 1600 was issued in 1994. The resolution states that the axis of civic education is 'to live democracy' at school and that the student acquires a citizen's 'way of being' basically from interpersonal relationships. The resolution does not allude to a course nor to a time allotment in the curriculum but rather insists that Education for Democracy requires commitment from the school environment as a totality. Additionally, each school must include in its PEI:

- A manual for community living including rules to regulate school conflict.
- School government that includes the organization and participation of students in the Directive Council of public and private schools and the election of a school spokesperson in charge of defending students rights.
- A description and guide for implementation of student social services (to be available in the last grade of schooling).

The PEI and the curriculum and programs for each of the subject areas must be constructed in accordance with the general aims and goals of education as laid down in the law. The Ministry of Education issued Resolution 2343 in 1996, in which it established national indicators of educational achievement. There are indicators for the area of ethics education. These are not related to any particular subject matter, but rather to the curriculum across all grades and subject matters. Lastly, among the educational reforms inspired by the country's new Constitution, the *Ten-Year Plan for Educational Development* was issued in February 1996. In the first chapter of the plan, education is highlighted as crucial for the success of the Constitution. Eight challenges are cited as guiding the purposes, objectives and goals of the plan: to consolidate the democratic-political system; to strengthen civil society and promote a sense of common cause; to build a productive, competitive economy while respecting the environment; to seek equity and social justice; to acknowledge and encourage cultural diversity and to promote regional autonomy; to integrate the nation into the wider world community; to strengthen its links with other nations in the region; and to promote scientific and technological advances.

Educational reforms in the last two decades have emphasized education in democracy. For several reasons there is no clear idea about whether these have succeeded. For one thing, many of the reforms are very new. There has been no systematic record-keeping in the schools. Another reality working against evaluating results is the contradictory national context. There is a clear need for a thorough and systematic national effort to appraise the effect of initiatives in the area of education in democracy in the schools.

Tasks for education in democracy

The 1994 General Law of Education establishes nine essential and compulsory areas of education. Three compulsory areas are of particular interest: social sciences, ethics and moral education. The preparation of curricula and the specific content of a school's plan of studies now belongs to the individual school, which must respect the guidelines, objectives and achievement indicators established by the Ministry of National Education. It is likely that many schools will keep the curriculum of the Curricular Renovation as a guide because they do not feel ready to propose a radically different structure. Ethical and moral education as essential curricular areas are considered as belonging not only to the specific subject areas but also to the entire curriculum and the total school environment. This consideration calls for such things as honest behavior on the part of teachers and administrators and diligent, just and even-handed application of the school's *Manual for Living Together*.

As to the area of social sciences, the Renovation Program considers three aspects: spatiality, temporality and social and cultural structures. Here, it is first a matter of relating places and events from the past to the present and

future. Under the heading of social and cultural structures, economic, legal and political interrelationships are considered. The desired result from dealing with such materials is to form both individual conscience and collective identity. More concretely, the hope is that these areas of study will promote engagement in the cultural diversity that characterizes the country. The structure of the social-sciences area starts with an interdisciplinary approach, from a spiral vision of the most immediate social and physical milieu, going through the shaping process of the Colombian nation and concluding with an analysis of the country in the 20th Century. The functions of local, regional and national government and the workings of the State and the Constitution are included.

The contents of the first five grades include recognizing and appreciating both regional and national identities as well as cultural diversity. National and regional symbols are used along with reference to persons of note and local specialness to create a sense of cohesion. In the first grades of basic secondary education, the Social Sciences Program focuses on the historic configuration of the nation within Latin-America and the wider world. Diversity is highlighted because it is central to defining Colombian reality and for promoting identity and the search for peace.

Aside from considerations of territory, national unity and internal politics, the last grades of basic secondary education address Latin American integration and international politics. The contents of the social sciences emphasize education in collective and individual identity. Since the adoption of the Constitution in 1991, opportunities have been opened for the teaching and practice of democratic and civic education and for teaching about the Constitution as well.

The Spanish and literature area treats the function, characteristics, interpretations and analyses of the different mass media. Textbooks in this area highlight development of interpretive skills. Additionally, some textbooks on education for democracy also treat the subject of mass media, calling it the fourth power and insisting that freedom of expression is an important feature of democratic life.

Community problems may or may not be addressed in philosophy and religion classes. It should be noted that there are already important connections between the doctrinal dimension (of the Bible, the teachers and the State's social doctrine) and the legal instruments stemming from the National Constitution (Bishops Conference of Colombia, 1996).

Only now are schools beginning to adapt the Plan of Studies of the Curricular Renovation. This is coming about in response to moves towards decentralization and political participation, negotiated resolution of conflict, the sense of the common good for communities and the nation, the internationalization of the economy and culture, and computerized mass media.

Research Methods

The civics study was developed in Colombia by the Office of School Organization of the Ministry of National Education, following the methodological strategies suggested by the IEA Phase I documents. The Colombian strategies encompassed the following:

- Three two-day panels with the participation of seven acknowledged experts in education for democracy.
- Review of politics, plans, programs and research, and selection of 110 sources reviewed in the bibliography. Eighty summaries of national publications on education for democracy were also prepared, including the detailed contents of each textbook.
- Surveys, focus groups and individual interviews related to the study's in-depth questions in the four biggest cities in the country (Barranquilla, Cali, Medellín and Santafé de Bogotá). In total, there were four focus groups made up of people in charge of education for democracy programs from GOs and NGOs. To get closer to the schools themselves and to what happens there, these procedures were extended to seven groups of teachers in the social sciences area and to seven groups of student leaders. Each group had an average of six participants.
- Twenty individual interviews conducted with experts whose expertise related to the different in-depth questions. (The analytical results of the study are in the international database of the project.)

Summary of findings with respect to what is expected from young people

The achievement expectations for 14- to 15-year-olds with respect to the topics of the five questions under review were derived from reviewing different textbooks, plans of study and the official regulations mentioned above, as well as from consultations with panelists, officials, experts and program leader teachers. In keeping with the national indicators of achievement established in June 1996 by the Ministry of Education, further progress is expected in the coming years in curricular designs, methodologies, the production of materials and evaluation systems. For now, the expectations that showed up repeatedly in the different sources were identified and then classified and organized as follows.

With respect to conceptions and practices of democracy

Here, a proposal for basic learning in social living together, widely disseminated in the country (Toro, 1993), was used to identify material and was then fine-tuned by the National Panel of Experts. This proposal was based on an understanding of democracy as the construction of a social order and not just a form of government. Moreover, education in democracy is understood to revolve around respect for fundamental rights and peaceful living together, social and political participation and social equity within a social state of law. This conception was shared by the panelists, several other experts and a great majority of the NGO and GO officials consulted. The expectation is students will have learned:

Not to be aggressive with their fellows: This means, for example, valuing the life of others as one's own, and expressing through individual actions that one holds the care and defence of life as the highest principle of any living together.

To interact and to communicate: Here, students need to be able to express their feelings and acknowledge the feelings of others, and to develop the ability to discuss and dissent without rupturing coexistence.

To decide in groups: Some markers of this expectation are having the capacity to deliberate about problems and to argue; to take into account other points of view; to accept solutions proposed by others; to accept being wrong; and to harmonize group decisions.

To protect themselves and the environment: This expectation implies, for example, that young people know how to protect their wellbeing and that of others as a social good; that they understand the dynamics of nature and value and defend natural resources; and that they defend and take care of public space.

To value and understand social knowledge: This means, for example, understanding that knowledge is created in public discussion and that any knowledge (academic and cultural) is created and can be modified. This also means understanding contemporary ways of disseminating knowledge.

To understand the characteristics of a democratic system: This involves understanding democracy as a creation and major achievement of humanity; that it has evolved throughout history; that democracy as a social order incorporates basic universal rules, such as respect for human rights; and that it is to be distinguished from other major means of political organization, such as monarchy, empire, dictatorship and theocracy. It also means understanding the political constitution and understanding it as a covenant for living together; understanding the sense and workings of democratic institutions as mechanisms of social regulation; and knowing that the State should guarantee the full exercise of rights.

Sense of national identity

This has to be related to personal experiences given that the formal meaning of national identity does not necessarily correspond to the feelings that mobilize nationality. The expectation here is that students will have acquired:

A sense of national, regional and local belonging: Evidence of this would be to feel oneself the owner of a cultural, moral and historic heritage that renders one respectable vis-a-vis any other nationality; to build positive symbols with respect to social cohesion and to value such a heritage; to have the awareness that the country and the regional and local surroundings belong to oneself and that, therefore, everyone has rights and duties; to have a sense that one's point of view counts; and to have a growing sense of identity based on a combination of heritage, life experiences and social projects for the future.

Knowledge of the country and its diversity: This means, for example, identifying local cultural expressions; knowing the meaning and origin of traditions and customs of the community one lives in; understanding in a critical way the country's national culture and ethnic and cultural diversity as the basis for national unity and identity; and valuing and enriching national, regional and local traditions and expressions with respect to those of other cultures.

An understanding of the historic process of forming one's society: This would mean identifying and understanding the dynamics and inter-relationships between facts, processes and players in the country's history (i.e. during the 20th Century industrialization, the development of the economy of coffee, colonization, and expansion processes at the agricultural frontier); identifying historical figures through their ideas, their ideals, the cultural root that moves and links them to the social processes of which they were a part; and knowing the make-up and development of various social movements (e.g. indigenous, peasant, Afro-Colombian, guerrilla, women's).

Skills for understanding history: Evidence of this achievement would include developing a capacity to re-contextualize and interpret historic events in a critical manner; identifying the necessary data in order to approach an unknown segment of history; reconstructing and narrating orally and in writing one's own experiences related to the region, the nation or the world; and taking a viewpoint distant from one's own culture so as to understand other cultures in time and space.

An understanding of national and world interdependency: Some of the manifestations of this achievement would be handling concepts of independence and self-determination in a wide international context; understanding historic and cultural interdependency; and valuing international cooperation, international agreements, economic relations and cultural exchanges in the search for a more equitable order.

Social cohesion and social diversity

Two sets of considerations come into play here. The first is knowledge of historical and sociological factors in a society that culturally is highly diversified. The second concerns young people's convictions about the human dignity of people who belong to population groups subject to discrimination. In defining achievement expectations, the basis was the proposal contained in the Program of Human Rights at the Formal School of the Presidential Council for Human Rights (1996). This proposal was also a basic referent for preparing achievement indicators in the area of ethics education. Negotiated handling of conflict, based on a valuing of social diversity, is underscored there. Specifically, it is expected that young people will:

Value themselves and their relationships with others: This implies, among other things, developing a healthy sexuality and valuing equality in a couple's relationship and in friendships (including romantic relationships) as an avenue for growth and solidarity with others.

Value diversity: An indicator here is the valuing of diversity as an opportunity that allows for seeing and sharing other ways of thinking, feeling and acting. Another indicator would be the ability to identify and compare the cultural, moral and religious values that guide actions within the ethical universals of human rights.

Negotiate conflict: This means acknowledging conceptually and affectively that individual and group interests are an essential part of human life and that they lead to conflict in daily life. In relations with other persons, young people need to actively acknowledge and accept the presence of conflict and develop the skills to handle it.

Defend human rights: This means, for example, that students identify factors which, in Colombia, result in marginalization, exclusion and discrimination. It means also that young people have the knowledge and skills to act as school spokespersons and that they propose actions within their reach to correct situations of injustice. Students should be able to objectively analyze the human rights situation in their immediate surroundings and know and be able to use the mechanisms for the protection of human rights.

Handling political information by mass media

The importance of acquiring a fundamental notion of the role of mass media in democratic life and of developing reading skills required to interact in an active way with media are underscored. It is expected that young people:

Are active reactors to the media: For example, they should be able to distinguish between factual information and opinion, and should confront and interpret in a critical way sources offering contradictory, confirming or complementary information. Students should also know how to gather trustworthy

information and facts from different sources of information.

Use media to develop their interest: This means, for example, that students understand the major national and international news within 'space time' and a cultural context; and that they acknowledge the pertinence of information, opinions and news in their daily lives.

Have a notion about the democratizing role of mass media: Students should have ideas about the role of media as a power within democracy, given that it monitors those in power and shapes critical public opinion. The first experience of this power should be experienced right in the school through the use of the school media. It is important that students know the implications of censorship and monopoly of information.

Have an understanding of local problems: It is expected that young people between 14 to 15 years of age will be able to study their individual roles with respect to school-community conflicts and community problems.

Contributes to solving conflicts between school and the community: This requires students to participate in the search for solutions to real conflicts between the school and the community by taking note of their origin, development and consequences. Students also need to be able to tell the difference between legitimate and illegitimate use of power; to consider violence to be a deviant form of action harmful to the wellbeing of the community; and to express in an articulate manner their interests to the educational establishment and to the community.

Values and supports initiatives for solving local problems: Here, for example, students recognize and value alternative ways of participating in and promoting wellbeing in the community and identify their individual roles in these activities. They also propose mechanisms to facilitate the negotiation of competing interests within the community; show interest in community developments and events; value the potential in community organization for the community's social and political life; and are willing to participate in events in which problems are discussed.

Distance between expectations and achievement

The above descriptions reveal a complex and contradictory picture. Colombia's efforts to achieve education in democracy are developing strengths and difficulties. It is therefore not surprising to find significant gaps between achievement expectations and actual realized achievements. The magnitude of these gaps will be shown by the second phase of the Civic Education Project.

In general, for the five in-depth questions reviewed in the National Case Study, all the sources of input (panelists, other consulted experts, officials and teachers, existing research materials) concurred in underscoring certain de-

velopments and certain inconsistencies. The developments highlighted include:

- A great sensitivity on the part of teachers and society in general concerning the discourse on school education for democracy.
- Initiatives by government and non-government groups towards developing new approaches to education in democracy (Mejía & Restrepo, 1996).
- Reforms in the way schools are organized and administered, moving towards creating more flexibility in what have been formally rigid and de-contextualized educational practices.
- Various advances in the field of instructional contents and methodologies.

Inconsistencies were also identified. These prevent the ideal from being realized. The following stood out in the data collected from the panels:

- Discrepancies between pedagogical discourse about a democratic school climate and the daily experience of the educational community in terms of the participation of young people in the processes of teaching/learning, the recognition that schools give to new juvenile forms of expression, and the incorporation into the curriculum of new socializing agents, such as mass media.
- A 'disconnection' between the purposes of education in democracy as found in education policies and how those purposes are translated into legislation, interpretations and implementation at the school level.
- A national environment with widespread violence and corruption that is not conducive to the purposes of education in democracy.
- The distancing of intellectuals and universities from the processes of teacher education and its reform and from the production of educational materials.
- Several currents within society that hold positions about knowledge, school, democracy, youth, social participation and the State that mitigate against education in democracy.

Conceptions and practices of democracy

In contrast to the idea of democracy as a collective construction of a new social order, as a way of seeing the world, and as participatory democracy, what could be happening at many places in Colombia is that democracy is being reduced to one of its mechanisms, that is, the electoral vote and representative elections.

When the school year starts, schools elect a school government and a student spokesperson. These elections are conceived in many cases as a 'simulation' of the voting characteristic of representative democracies, and not as something larger, namely a possibility for building school order collectively and for creating both a participatory school government and an educational community cemented by common ends and perspectives.

The problems that the 1991 Constitution tried to overcome could be seen as being reproduced in the schools: lack of control and responsibility among electors and those elected; no balance of powers; bureaucratized and centralized power structures; and a formal approach to dealing with student rights. The school spokesperson is often merely a formal figure in high schools. Most often the spokesperson cannot adequately exercise his or her function in defence of student rights because students are not informed, teachers are not open to it, and student organizations are under-developed. However, panelists made the point that, despite inconsistencies and restrictions, the possibilities offered by the school government for putting the student in contact with political institutions should not be underestimated. School-government elections are still a new phenomenon in the country.

Generally speaking, student participation in such things as the school government and the spokesperson role are not yet valued and fostered at schools for their importance in the joint creation of a fully accepted school order, or for exercising legitimate opposition or dissent vis-a-vis unfair situations or decisions. But, on many occasions, these student roles do succeed in bringing teachers and students closer together, in satisfying the search for redress among students and parents, in making the school order less rigid and in counteracting authoritarian exercises of power. School government offers the possibility of school autonomy, even though, at the present time, it is elected more because of the need to comply with official requirements than because of a conviction about its importance.

Experiences such as the 'Escuela Nueva' program in rural elementary education show the enormous possibilities to be found in modes of school government when they are based on a wide participation of students, have a joint direction and have permanent review mechanisms that prevent the tasks of participating committees from becoming routine (Colbert & Mogollón, 1990; Escalante, 1994).

As for classroom activities, educational discourse presents the importance of self-directed individual or group activities; of an ambiance favorable to discussion; and of participation by students in the definition of evaluation criteria and self-evaluation. The thesis is that this contributes to an education addressed to fostering creativity, social participation and community life. Nevertheless, research shows the predominance of a teaching system based on verbal and expository transmission of non-significant contents in which memorization constitutes the most-used learning mechanism. Both an evaluative practice addressed to controlling the classroom and an authoritarian exercise by the teacher still exist (Cajiao y Parra, 1995).

Criticism of authoritarian practices by teachers has generated increased sensitivity and an opening towards the search for new forms of school relationships, as well as towards the development of participatory educational strategies, contextualized in daily life and the local community. Several pro-

posals seeking to present concretely the work in education for democracy by teachers have been developed (Giraldo, 1993; SEDUCA, 1993; Buenaventura, 1994; González, n.d.; Restrepo, 1994; Reyes, 1994; among others). In different regions of the country, several school manuals and textbooks have been prepared around citizen rights enshrined in the Constitution (e.g. the works of Leal, 1992; Pérez & Trujillo, 1992; Velásquez and Reyes, 1992; the audio-visual series of Fundación Social, 1992; Mejía, 1993; Suárez, 1994). A series of school textbooks has also been prepared for different grades (e.g. Perdomo et. al., 1994).

Vis-a-vis the discourse and the school practice regarding education in democracy, it is noteworthy that youth living in poor areas seem to have strong feelings of class discrimination and a generalized scepticism (shared by their teachers) towards politicians, political activities and non-democratic forms of socialization connected with corruption and violence (Villa, 1994). There are also obvious difficulties on the part of teachers and parents in handling power relations based on respect for juvenile self-expression. Teachers and parents are more likely to insist upon relations based on submission and obedience. For teachers and parents, the discourse on rights does not have the same weight as the discourse of the duties of youth.

As to education about democracy within the curriculum, there is a strong tendency to confine it to the area of social sciences, as contrasted with the transversal approach advanced by many thinkers and in policies. It is important to remark that there is often an idealized or insufficient treatment of certain national problems such as violence, drug trafficking or political apathy, not only because these problems are complex but also because they pose immediate and serious threats to many schools. Notwithstanding the above, there is a growing acceptance of the need for school education in democracy as an essential element within the school enterprise. The image of the school as a place of criticism and dissent, of encounter and negotiation between different points of view, and of exercising social participation, has begun to take hold.

With respect to education in a sense of national identity

The panels felt strongly that national identity in young people derives, at least in part, from a rejection of the image projected by the press and widely spread among people of other countries, namely, the image of a violent and corrupt Colombia. Although young people could enunciate various characteristics of our nationality (wealth, traditions), that knowledge does not necessarily carry with it a sense of national belonging. There is no clarity or consistency in the messages transmitted by the school and media about the positive elements that make up national identity.

On the other hand, it is important to note a strong sense of regional identity that characterizes Colombia as a country of provinces with a great cultural

diversity. Although neglected in the past, today there is an attempt to promote the sense and experience of national identity in terms of cultural pluralism. This approach stands out in the official plan of studies, as well as in many of the practices of the hidden curriculum of schools. On the whole, there seems to be an effort to overcome a past focused on great confrontations between canonized 'caudillos', around whom events revolved, and to replace it with an analysis focused on relations between structures and players. There are attempts to widen and integrate the inter-disciplinary perspective. There have been investigations into the basic conceptual structure of the social sciences around which teaching should be organized. Contemporary events are considered, and teaching is more closely related to the immediate social context. At the regional level, with educational decentralization and the curricular autonomy, have come regional history projects, teacher education programs and self-initiated themes for teaching.

Within the schools themselves, introduction into national identity seems to take the form of canonizing certain heroes and a stereotyped narration of facts from a collective past that is poorly related to an understanding of the present and its problems. In some places, shaping of the nation and national identity is still narrowly related to independence from Spain. This state of affairs can be explained, in part, by noting that historians remain fixated on the past, that basic concepts of the social sciences have not been developed enough in the plans of study, and that little attention is given to shaping urban culture at a time when 85 per cent of the population is urban.

Despite attempts to change the situation, the knowledge of history seems to have little effect on the daily experience of youths. Some experts continue to place blame on the fact that economic, social and cultural factors get too little attention while others point to the fact that memorization still constitutes the most commonly used mechanism for learning (Betancur, 1993; Díaz y Ospina, 1995). As to the role played by school ceremonies in the shaping of a sense of identity, it is often pointed out that they are excessively ritualized, that they are performed in a routine manner and that they have little to do with the students' daily lives. However, these ceremonies have been modified at many schools.

With respect to the management of social diversity

Explicitly addressing social discrimination is a recent development in Colombian schools. Discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and gender have received major attention. The plan of studies, especially for primary education, addresses Colombian social diversity. Many types of discrimination in Colombian society at large are probably reproduced at school: discriminatory practices as to gender, class, ethnicity, culture and religion.

Human rights violations are becoming a widespread, growing concern in Colombian society. Within this context, the language of human rights has

penetrated schools and is the basis of various proposals (Presidential Council for Human Rights, 1994). However, there seems to be a gap between the ideal for the exercise of human rights in schools and actual educational practice based on an outdated disciplinary apparatus and evaluation system. This gap may be due, at least in part, to a view of education as the transmission of static and predetermined values, and to the tendency in teaching practice not to address education for values in an explicit and ongoing manner.

At the same time, a considerable proportion of teachers are sensitive to the search for new ways of exerting their authority, and dialogue between students and teachers is an offshoot. Manifestations of intolerance within society at large have prompted the development of proposals for living together within schools, based on recognizing and valuing social diversity, negotiated solutions to conflicts and respect for human rights (Bonilla, 1995). Living together agreements in some schools have been a result, in keeping with the manuals proposed by the General Education Law. Despite their importance, such agreements and the Living Together Manual are not common.

In a national context that is troubled and problematic, there is an urgency for education in civic virtues such as trust, integrity, loyalty and compassion. However, it is worrisome to observe that in some sectors these civic virtues are considered old-fashioned manifestations of an outdated moralism.

With respect to the management of political information in mass media

Mass media have played an important role in the most recent Colombian political crisis stemming from the lawsuits related to drug-trafficking problems. The prosecution of responsible persons, even including those in political power, is a step forward. However, the treatment of the crisis by the mass media is a cause for concern because of the implicit messages of hopelessness, disappointment with politics and loss of a sense of national identity that are being transmitted. What is more, it is likely that in the school grades for 14- to 15-year-olds, this political information has been scarcely touched in class periods dedicated to education in democracy.

What very likely contributes to this state of affairs is a negative view among teachers about the educational role of mass media, seen as doing nothing more than supporting passive consumption of information. In addition, there is the widespread view that mass media messages often contradict those transmitted within the educational system. There is no attempt to articulate the mass media with school work. One might add that there is a great scepticism about the political information furnished by much of the Colombian media, which depend on the country's major economic and political powers. When the media are used in schools, they serve, on the whole, limited purposes as sources of information required for subjects in the plan of studies. To view the media in terms of developing public opinion and the exercise of freedom of information and responsible expression is neglected and sometimes even

feared. At the same time, young people's communications networks are gradually expanding. There is a proliferation of school radio programs, and young people have greater access to various audiovisual sources.

With respect to understanding local problems

The school's contribution to 14- to 15-year-olds' comprehension of community problems also appears to be insufficient. Various programs and policies have attempted to bring together schools and communities over the last two decades. However, teaching models based on the transmission of de-contextualized information persist. The school-community relationship does not appear to be supported by knowledge and strategies that would facilitate an understanding of local problems, including those of young people. Whatever positive activity there might be in this regard is limited to the last years of school.

There are some projects, recently developed, that focus on the local context and young people's experiences. There is a continuing search for ways to relate general knowledge to the social and local context and the students' experience, as in the case of some curricula organized on the basis of a problem focus (Paths for Identity Foundation—Fundación Caminos de Identidad, 1996) or proposals for comprehensive teaching. There is also a great sensitivity towards local reality in institutional education projects, although often the necessary conceptual and methodological tools are not available.

Many obstacles appear when one tries to articulate school and community. For example, in some social strata there is a tendency to look down upon young people's initiatives, or their attempts collide with issues about social mobility, which, for many young people means an 'escape' beyond their community.

The emergence of a street gang culture is also a reality that has repercussions for school relations and the way the school relates to its immediate social surroundings. Evidence shows how gangs contribute to isolating the school from its surroundings and how this fact tends to be denied in school life. When it is addressed, the high degree of conflict demonstrates the difficulties teachers have in relating to juvenile cultures and the daily life of neighborhoods (Mejía, 1996.)

*Conclusions: challenges in civic education—potentials
and conditions for forging ahead*

Despite the complex national context and what ideally could be happening in education for democracy in schools, there are significant possibilities for strengthening the current scene. There is a very high degree of social sensitivity about the challenges that education faces in Colombia. There is also, in

particular, a widespread belief in the importance of education for democracy in and out of schools. This sensitivity is expressed in the form of a strong national consensus and a sense of great potential for change as evidenced in:

- The projects initiated by different social sectors attempting to meet many of the national problems.
- A great concern for improving the quality of education and reaching educational achievement expectations.
- A wide-ranging debate about the type of democratic school that is needed.

If we take these elements into account, it is possible for us to project an ideal profile of democracy in Colombia regarding society at large, the individual and the school as this ideal has been advanced in speeches, official programs, legislation and initiatives on the part of NGOs and GOs. This ideal profile is centered on education in and for creativity as a basis for the construction of a productive democracy supported by the pillars of work and collective wellbeing; on education in and for living together as a basis for the construction of a pluralistic democracy regulated by respect for human dignity and human rights; and on a participatory democracy as a result of social solidarity and political participation.

A second area of potential is provided by educational legislation in Colombia, whose progressive character offers numerous possibilities for advancement in the area of education for democracy, notwithstanding the internal contradictions mentioned above.

A third area of potential comes from academic developments, different programs and projects and, in general, the numerous initiatives that are being implemented in the area of education for democracy in many educational establishments in the country. These developments can be categorized according to their emphasis: morals, knowledge, skills for living together, government institutions and community participation. In this manner, in Colombia, education for democracy subsumes what, in other countries, is called education for peace, education for human rights, education for participation, education for life in society and education for international understanding.

If we take into account the possibilities coming from a national consensus on priorities for education for democracy, the potential support offered by existing programs and favorable educational legislation, then we can foresee future progress in education for democracy in Colombia. The degree to which that potential will be realized will depend on certain conditions:

- Establishing links between researchers involved with education for democracy, higher education and basic education teachers, taking advantage of the teacher training programs that the General Law assigns to universities. This interaction would seek to relate the theoretical and the practical to each other.

- More substantial support for current initiatives in order that they might have real social impact, guaranteeing their continuity and fostering networks for exchange of experience. As well, a better articulation between school-based programs of education in democracy and non-school education programs is required.
- A greater emphasis on evaluating the impact of many of the ongoing initiatives.
- A process of rethinking the school mechanisms attached to education for democracy as proposed in the educational legislation (the 'Living Together Manual', school government, school spokespersons and the student social service), harmonizing them with the educational goals that are being sought.

Looking ahead

The coming years appear to be decisive for consolidating changes, overcoming difficulties and opening up new horizons in education for democracy in Colombia. It will be necessary to support and expand the achievements that have been attained, to understand that contradictions are to be expected in an evolving process, and to increase efforts to overcome resistance and misunderstandings that may be taking place. Within this perspective for progress, part of the challenge to education for democracy in the coming years will be for the country to concentrate on and come to some resolution of the following pedagogical issues that are at the center of current debate:

- *The transversality of education for democracy.* If education for democracy is to be a dimension that crosses curricular areas, that will mean designing mechanisms in schools that will assure adequate preparation for all members of the educational community. This task is urgent if we consider how inadequate the current orientation to mechanisms for student representation is. It is urgent, too, because teachers are poorly equipped in the area of values education as well as in alternative ways of exercising power. There are, for example, theories and experiences that demonstrate the importance of creative, informal, entertaining events in grounding democratic life (Luis Carlos Galen Institute for the Development of Democracy, 1994). These events generate new and stronger links among students, teachers and communities and produce new understandings of social reality. Among them are theatrical sketches, carnivals and conversation as educational tools (Velázquez, 1994). Another example is the organization of plans of study based on a problem focus as well as the school's commitment to the needs and projects of specific communities.

- *Congruence between knowledge, convictions and actions:* In various fields of social life in the country, there is a marked tendency to separate what is known, what is believed and what is practiced. For example, various codes of ethics and justice coexist, and the idea that legal justice is inadequate is very widespread. Formalistic teaching becomes a safe route within a national context that is counterproductive to education in democracy. The result is a gap between what is known and what is learned in the classroom, and between what is believed and what is done in daily life. Consequently, in the field of education in democracy, it is very important to investigate what happens in the hidden curriculum of schools and to review how the constitutional landscape, the country's social, political and economic situation and the ethical ambience of educational establishments are combined in school reality.
- *Articulation of education in politics with daily civics practice:* Another national challenge consists in finding ways to articulate teaching about democratic institutions in their social, cultural, political and economic dimensions within the realities of an increasingly urbanized and diverse society. As of now, these matters are treated separately, without demonstrating the relationships and relevance. In the plan of studies and in the conduct of school life, there is little attempt at establishing these interrelations. The result is a kind of parallelism, for example, in the areas of social sciences and religion, and in celebrations of special days.
- *Creating links between school educational processes and education by the family, mass media and the urban surrounding:* Some current experiences related to the creation and maintenance of a citizen culture are evidence of the importance of education for urban life in education for democracy (Espinel, 1995). The city, as an educational ambience, is growing in importance. Some mayors' offices have begun to experiment with plans to further existing possibilities, and there are integrationist developments (Buenaventura, 1995).

The growing presence and impact of the new computerized media also call for articulation among communication paradigms of oral tradition, writing and mass media. This would lead to an integration of mass media and traditional ways of transmitting knowledge, and contribute to the school's efforts in education in democracy.

With respect to relations between the school and other socializing agents, the creation of links between schools and parents is of prime importance. The General Law of Education, for example, establishes an important role for parent associations in the guidance and conduct of educational establishments. Low achievements might be due, among other factors, to the fact that government and non-government organizations and the educational establishment itself give lopsidedly greater attention to the development of programs

and strategies for teenagers in their last years of school to the detriment of students in basic elementary and the first years of secondary education. It becomes imperative that basic competencies and developmental processes in education in democracy be established from the earliest years. To that end, the national case study and the achievement expectations that were determined constitute an important referent.

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NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE CIVIC EDUCATION OF CYPRUS

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Notes:

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Background

Cyprus is situated at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. A small island occupying an area of 9,251 square kilometers (Kadis, 1980), Cyprus, through the centuries, has been subject to incursions from larger countries (Republic of Cyprus, 1995a). The most recent attack came in 1974, when Turkey occupied 36.4 per cent of its area and two-fifths of the population became refugees (Republic of Cyprus, 1996).

Cyprus is an independent, sovereign presidential republic. According to the 1960 Constitution, the executive power is entrusted to the President of the Republic elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term of office. The President exercises his executive power through a Council of Ministers appointed by him. Legislative power is exercised by the House of Representatives, consisting of 80 representatives elected by universal suffrage of adults over the age of 18 for a five-year term (Republic of Cyprus, 1995a). Fifty-six seats are occupied by Greek Cypriots. The remaining 24 seats, which are for Turkish Cypriots, have been vacant since 1963, when the Turkish Cypriot rebellion took place and the Turkish Cypriot Representatives withdrew.

The main political goal of the government is the survival of Cyprus as a unified independent and sovereign country (Papanastasiou, 1994). To that end, Cyprus is exerting great effort to become a full member of the European Union (Republic of Cyprus, 1995b) in which human rights are guaranteed by all state members. Besides this political action there is the pervasive popular principle of 'I am aware, I do not forget and I struggle' (Ministry of Education, 1994a), which means that the legitimate inhabitants/owners have not forgotten their villages, schools, churches and properties in that part of Cyprus controlled by Turkey.

The economic approach adopted by the Cyprus Government is based on the free enterprise system. The private sector is the backbone of economic activity whereas the government's role is limited to general planning and the provision of public utilities (Republic of Cyprus, 1995a). Cyprus is a country with a high standard of living compared to neighboring countries (Ministry of Finance, 1995). Consequently, Cyprus attracts foreign workers, the majority of whom have entered the country illegally.

Education and citizenship/civic education

The formal education system of Cyprus is centralized. Pre-primary, primary, secondary general, secondary technical/vocational, special, non-formal and some sections of tertiary education operate under the authority of the Ministry of Education, which is the highest authority in educational policy. Apart from public education, there are a few privately owned primary and secondary schools and a number of private tertiary educational institutions (Papanastasiou, 1994).

All students in the public sector are taught using the same books and the same curriculum. Teachers have the obligation to teach the entire curriculum suggested by the Ministry of Education. For civic education, though, there is some flexibility in choice of topics, but this is constrained by the limited time available. In primary school, civic education is not a subject with fixed teaching hours. The relevant textbook, entitled *Becoming a Good Citizen*, for Grades 5 and 6 of the primary school, is taught occasionally. The following topics are included in the book: school, family, community, state, functioning of the Cyprus Government, relations between Cyprus and other countries and institutions and the 1974 coup and the ensuing Turkish invasion (Ministry of Education, 1993). In general, it is thought that the aims of civic education are achieved through all the subjects of the whole curriculum. The aim of the subject, as defined in the curriculum of the Ministry of Education (1994b), is to help students develop into free, responsible and democratic citizens, who will, in turn, perform their duties according to their conscience and adopt democratic principles and procedures in their relationships with others. In the case of the gymnasium (the junior secondary school), civic education is taught as a subject once a week (45 minutes) for one semester.

The subject of civic education aims to introduce students to the concepts and the structure of social and political life, at acquainting them with the fundamental functions of a democratic state and at developing a sense of responsibility towards the State and society as a whole. Moreover, it aims to acquaint students with the Cypriot form of government, to help them understand international organizations and their relations with Cyprus and to develop in them positive attitudes towards their homeland (Ministry of Education, 1991). In the case of the lyceum (the upper secondary school), the student-teacher handbook deals with four main topics: the fundamental concepts of civic education, the individual as a citizen of his or her country, the individual as citizen of the world community, and the individual and his or her environment (Ministry of Education, 1995).

It is worth mentioning the fact that the general aim of Greek Cypriot education in the primary school curriculum refers to 'the development of free and independent citizens'. Additionally, the philosophy of Greek Cyprus Education is officially described as 'democratic, combative and humanistic in content, inspires love of the mother country, strengthens the will and determination to liberate our occupied territory, safeguards our national, religious and cultural tradition' (Ministry of Education, 1994b, p.17). The education provided in the public schools considers 'patriotism, humanistic ideals, democratic beliefs, love and respect for work, conscious discipline, and exercise of rights as basic virtues of the citizen' (p.18).

Research Methods

To gather the required data, we collected from the Ministry of Education books and curricula on civic education that are used by students and teachers in schools. We also carried out an in-depth study of the few Cypriot journals that concern education, namely the *Bulletin of the Association of Pedagogical Research*, the yearbooks of the Pedagogical Academy and the publications of the Pedagogical Institute. Furthermore, we sent letters to all secondary school and primary school teachers who are part of the Cypriot educational system to inquire whether, during their studies at university or at a later stage, they became involved in topics related to civic education. With relevant information difficult to find, we made use of the EUDISED databank, relying on the following descriptors: civics, ethics, moral education, peace studies, prejudice, freedom, moral value, responsibility, socialization, political socialization, moral development, political behavior, youth attitude, nationalism, identity, cultural identity, citizen participation, student participation, social history and tolerance.

As very little data were collected from these sources, we interviewed high-ranking officials in the educational system of Cyprus and also teachers of civics. More specifically, these people were: a university professor who was the first to suggest the introduction of the subject in schools; the Director of Program Development, the Director of Primary Education, the Director of Secondary Education and the Director of Technical and Vocational Education. We interviewed the Pancyprian Coordinating Council of Secondary School Students, the Nicosia Council of Secondary School Students, the President of the Professional Association of Secondary School Teachers, the authors of the civic education textbooks, six teachers of civic education in three gymnasias of Nicosia, and four teachers in two lycea.

Findings

Democracy, rights and political institutions

The concepts of democracy, democratic life and human rights, both in formal declarations and in practice, are important subjects in formal schooling practices and in the educational environment as a whole. Democracy is a fundamental concept included in the general aims of public education in Cyprus. According to the primary school curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1994b), the general aim of Cypriot education is 'the development of democratic and responsible citizens' (p.13). According to the National Report of Cyprus for the 41st session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva (Ministry of Education, 1989), 'one of the educational priorities of Cyprus at all levels is democratization' (p.3).

Human rights form a very important part of civic education. As such, it is emphasized within the curriculum as well as in extracurricular activities (Ministry of Education, 1991, 1995). Equal rights are emphasized, and children's rights are treated with particular sensitivity. In civic education, the human rights issue receives a great deal of emphasis because of the situation in the Turkish controlled part of Cyprus (Ministry of Education, 1993, 1995).

The primary school curriculum aims to (a) promote knowledge and understanding of human rights, as these are presented in international documents; (b) help students develop into free, responsible and democratic citizens, who consciously perform their duties, claim their rights and apply democratic principles and procedures in their relationship with others within the family, the school, the community, the nation, and mankind as a whole, and to respect the value of freedom; and (c) become conscious of the violation of human rights that is taking place in the part of Cyprus under Turkish occupation, and to fight for their restoration (Ministry of Education, 1993, 1994b).

The school is described as the democratic place where each child becomes accepted with individual capabilities and weaknesses and is treated as an individual personality, with different needs, interests and inclinations. Within this framework, the students should respect their fellow human beings and adhere to human rights (Ministry of Education, 1994b). Also, in the introduction to *Becoming a Good Citizen* (Ministry of Education, 1993), it is mentioned that primary school children are the young citizens of the Republic of Cyprus and that it is necessary for them to know their rights and obligations at school, in the family, in the village or parish where they live, and in the Cypriot State in general. From the above, it is obvious that the democratic school places a great deal of emphasis on the rights and obligations of the citizens within a democratic environment on the basis of the declaration of human rights.

The school textbook for Form 6 of the primary school (Ministry of Education, 1993, 11th ed.) begins with a map of Cyprus and the military boot of the Turkish invader stepping on the northern part. The text accompanying the picture is: 'The territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus were flagrantly violated by the Turkish invasion of 1974' (p.9). This is followed by a section entitled 'Basic Rights and Freedoms of the Citizen' as well as a special section on the right of freedom of speech and expression (pp.11-17). The following chapter, 'The Republic of Cyprus', includes information on the establishment of the Cyprus Republic, the Constitution, the three powers and the composition of the Cyprus Republic (pp.31-45).

The following is mentioned as a general teaching aim for history in the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1986): 'The objective examination of forms of government and the familiarization of students with the democratic manner of political organization and life' (p.12). The civic education textbook for the third grade of the gymnasium (Ministry of Education, 1991) also includes the concept of democracy and the process of becoming politically

active in a democratic society. This concept means conscious acceptance of freedom accompanied by a sense of responsibility that manifests itself through interest in public affairs and the condition of the State. The citizen who is free and has a sense of responsibility is presented as the citizen who, with fairness and respect for the rules of justice of the State, participates creatively in the effort to accomplish the objectives of the State and to struggle for human rights (Ministry of Education, 1991).

The active participation of students in the teaching and learning process at primary and secondary school is encouraged. In the primary school curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1994b), it is specifically mentioned that the teacher must (a) create conditions of active participation on the part of students; (b) contribute knowledge; and (c) observe the development of students' work and help students when they face difficulties. On the basis of information provided in the textbooks, small-scale research is encouraged in areas such as environmental studies, science, conflict resolution, helping persons with special needs, and elections of student councils.

At primary school, there are no examinations relevant to the concept of democracy because the aim is the general development of the student through personal contact with the democratic way of life by way of all the subjects and school life in general. Visits and conversations with representatives of local authorities, student council elections and the student-centered organization of the school community are some examples of student contact with the democratic way of life. However, at the gymnasium, tests can be constructed on topics of civic education, in which students are asked to develop their ideas on issues such as the meaning of democracy and human rights and how democracy is realized.

Both at primary school and the gymnasium, students have many opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities offering them the chance to learn more about the topic. Considered to be foremost among these opportunities is the organization of student councils in schools. At the first stage, the student councils are elected for each class; at the second stage, school councils are elected from among candidates from the various classes; at the third stage, the representatives in the Students' Pancyprian Coordinating Committee and the Central Council are elected from candidates from all the schools of a district.

From the information collected through interviewing officials of the Ministry of Education and four representatives of the Pancyprian Coordinating Council of Secondary School Students, it appears that both ministry personnel and students concur in saying that student councils are not realizing their full potential at this time and that 'the proper team spirit has not been cultivated'. For instance, students believe that their opinions are not taken under serious consideration at any level, whether at the school or at the Ministry. Also, because of the fact that the Central Coordinating Committee is not yet

a formally established body, the four student representatives believe that they do not have 'the necessary standing for their claims to be taken into consideration'. However, teachers at the secondary level who voluntarily answered the specific questionnaire and the representatives of the Ministry believe that

the students are neither mature enough nor ready to function in a democratic system because they (the students) view with suspicion the points of view of their elders on matters which concern them and because, even though they do not have an opinion on many matters, they move as a group in a manner which resembles a herd simply to demonstrate their power.

The students, especially those of the lyceum, take part when they wish in political demonstrations or events. They do this in association with adults (outside school time). According to the officials of the Ministry, the student representatives and the President of the Professional Association of Secondary School Teachers, they are very well informed about political and other matters. Discussions on politics are allowed in school, and the general impression that is projected is that the active participation in common affairs is an obligation of the citizen and that the government is responsive to the wishes and claims of its citizens. Moreover, students in Cyprus are members of the youth organizations of political parties, which are special sections of political parties dealing with issues that concern the young. Students are expected to comprehend that diversity of opinion is a characteristic of democracy and that the mass media is both a result and an expression of this diversity. Especially at the lyceum level, students are encouraged to read newspapers and follow the news, current affairs and discussions on the radio and television (Ministry of Education, 1995).

The students are taught the main articles of the Constitution, especially those which concern the structure of the form of government. As teachers said in their interviews, matters relevant to the separation of powers often arise in class because of the frequency of appeals to the Constitutional Court. Textbooks, as well as newspaper clippings, that refer to discussions or decisions of the Constitutional Court are used as sources on the topic (Ministry of Education, 1995).

The topic of elections is also very interesting because no political party commands an absolute majority. This fact, in association with the very small population of the country, makes each vote very important. Students bring up their home discussions on politics in school and, as a rule, they adopt the political positions and convictions of their parents. This is apparent during election periods according to the evidence from student and teacher interviews. The students do not have any actual opportunities to discuss the positions of political parties or the differences in the positions of candidates at school because the time devoted to the subject of civic education at the gymnasium is very limited.

Life itself has become more democratic in practice within Cypriot society since, as of 1990, private broadcasting stations have begun to operate and state broadcasting no longer dominates the process of providing information through the radio and television. The organization of student councils, and the establishment of political party youth organizations with students who have taken positions on politics, are characteristic of the last 10 years. But much remains to be done. As Sophroniou (1996) states, 'despite the democratic nature of the Constitution and the general framework of our state, in practice, there exists considerable and somewhat concealed violation of the citizens human rights, mainly as a result of the economic and social imbalances and the unequal provision of opportunities' (p.5). The author goes on to explain that much needs to be done both in the area of education and in our 'democratic' practice in general.

The democratic ethos of the average Cypriot is only half-developed. There still exists in Cyprus a lack of tolerance towards contrasting views as well as towards foreigners, minorities and different religions. The fact that even the notion of religious reform has never been discussed makes us very different from the average Western-European country. However, what is almost unique in European Cyprus is the complete lack of multi-cultural education or even the recognition of this concept and of the need for such education. Students of all grades never come to know about the life and the culture of the Turkish Cypriots or about the Maronites, the Armenians and the Latins who live among us. This situation narrows the students' horizons and hinders their development as well as the development of mutual understanding and respect among the various communities of Cyprus. For a small country trying to mend its lost unity, such an attitude and political approach appears to be very short-sighted and limited (Sophroniou, 1996).

National identity

The subject of national identity is considered very important for the formulation of educational policy in Cyprus. According to Spyridakis (1974), the survival of the Greek population in Cyprus, despite the long occupation of Cyprus by several conquerors, is due to the preservation and the consciousness of national identity. The church also played an important role in Cyprus towards preserving national identity, especially during the Turkish rule (1571-1878). According to Myrianthopoulos (1946) and Philippou (1930), the church undertook the education of the Greek Cypriots and supported it with the teaching of the Greek language and the orthodox religion. It was a strong national feeling that underlaid the liberation struggle of EOKA (1955-1959), which had as its aim closer relations between Cyprus and Greece.

Immediately after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, there was an attempt to base educational policy on the concept of democratization rather than on that of national identity (Koutselini, 1997a). At that time, an attempt

was made to redefine the concept and the meaning of national identity. Moreover, the terms 'democratic training' and 'mutual understanding between different people and civilizations' were added to the statement of the aims of education (Ministry of Education, 1986). In 1993, the Minister of Education used the term 'Hellenocentric education' (Simerini, 1993) to characterize the philosophy and the priorities of the education offered in Cyprus at present. This policy has met with both strong support and strong opposition. Some have described it as nationalistic and contrary to the efforts of Cyprus to adjust to the principles and the policies of the European Union. The Communist Party of Cyprus (AKEL) described this policy as chauvinistic and believed that it created difficulties in the attempt to solve the Cyprus problem within the framework of the United Nations resolutions (*Haravgi*, April 27 and 28, 1993). On the other hand, many scholars in the field of education claimed that the pursuit of national objectives on the part of the educational system is not opposed to the European Union Treaty (Maastricht), and that this pursuit is a common phenomenon in many countries that belong to the European Union (Persianis, 1996).

Political parties, in keeping with their respective ideologies, take special interest in the influences exerted on young people. As regards the issue of national identity, the Communist Party AKEL questions the merit of putting emphasis on it, condemns the events which augment national sentiment, and considers the symbols of state as more important than the national ones. Likewise, it is the development of a Cypriot consciousness that is seen as more important than that of a Greek one (Minutes of the House of Representatives, 1989). The right wing parties DHSY and DHKO as well as the Archbishop advocate a national policy. They consider the preservation of national identity to be one of the fundamental aims of public education in support of the struggle against the Turkish occupation of Cyprus (Church of Cyprus, 1987; Political Manifesto of Democratic Party, 1993; DHSY, 1993). This is not solely a conservative opinion, as similar ideas were expressed by the Socialist Party (Socialist Party EDEK, 1991).

The overall aim of education in Cyprus at present, according to the Primary School Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1994b), is to foster student development in relation to (a) ideas affecting the nation; (b) spiritual development according to the principles of the Orthodox Christian religion and Greek tradition; and (c) the socialization and strengthening of national and cultural identity and a feeling of belonging to both the State of the Republic of Cyprus as well as to the wider Greek nation. Greek Cypriot education proposes to inspire love towards the home country, strengthen the desire and the determination for liberation, secure our national, religious, and cultural traditions and be available on an equal basis to all children in the Greek schools of the Republic of Cyprus, according to the Constitution.

At primary school, the subject 'Orthodox Christian Training' is also taught,

the aims of which are for students to feel that they are members of the Christian Orthodox Church, to learn the fundamental truths of Christianity, and to experience the relationship of love between God and human beings and among people.

At the gymnasium and the lyceum, topics and events relating to the development of national identity (religion, culture) and events marking the history of the Greeks from ancient times to the present, are taught both in the subject areas of history and religion as well as in the subject area of civic education. According to the Ministry of Education (1986), the aims for the subject area of history are the awareness of the long history of the Greek character and the development of a pure, patriotic spirit.

One of the aims of the subject area modern Greek language and literature is for students to comprehend the unbroken historical continuity of the Greek spirit, so that they fully realize its contribution to the building of a living national experience that is free and adjusted to the demands of our times. Moreover, in the subject area of civic education for the gymnasium, the concepts of state and nation are taught in an effort to have students understand how the independent state entity of Cyprus relates to Greek national identity among the Greek Cypriots.

It is important to mention at this point that up to 1980 the policy of the Ministry of Education of Cyprus concerning school textbooks had been to use textbooks that were published in Greece. In the last few years, criticisms of some textbooks imported from Greece (Frangoudaki, 1978; Georghiou-Nielsen, 1980) have focused on issues concerning the promotion of stereotypes, like gender discrimination. Content analysis of the textbooks for Greek language and history (Achlis, 1983; Bonides, 1995; Pipentzi, 1995) revealed negative attitudes towards Greece's neighbors (e.g. Turkey and Bulgaria), considering them as enemies. The content of readers in the primary school for years 1954 and 1974 was characterized as leading to 'imposed ideologies and violations of the educational process' (Frangoudaki, 1978). In that regard, as Georghiou-Nielsen (1980) observed in her study, schools ignore present times and real life. Furthermore, Achlis (1983) claimed that there exists in these textbooks a prejudice against our neighboring countries, with Greeks being presented as superior to them.

Criticisms such as these led to improvements that are still being made. One author of the new readers for the primary school has maintained that the new books lie 'within our cultural tradition and democratic practice and theory', with the focal point being 'the contemporary modern Greek reality' and the broader framework being 'the life and culture of the world community' (Vouyioukas, 1985). Bonides (1995) is not convinced on this point, however, arguing that content analysis of these new books does not support Vouyioukas' point of view.

In the civic education textbook for the primary school, under the subtitle

'I Have Not Forgotten' (Ministry of Education, 1993, pp.62-63), there is special mention of the refugees together with photographs showing their present condition. The relevant section ends with the sentence: 'They realize that our refugees have never forgotten our occupied villages and towns and they live daily with the longing and the hope for their return' (p.63). In the activities and assignments that follow, an attempt is made to develop a love for the land and the community with student essays on the topic 'I Love My Community'. In the chapter entitled 'The Cyprus Republic', information is given on the Constitution of the Cyprus Republic, the state symbols (the Cypriot flag and the emblem of the Republic of Cyprus) and the national symbols (the Greek flag and the Greek national anthem). The objective is for students to realize that they belong to the Greek nation as the result of common history, common national origin, common traditions and customs, common culture and civilization and common ideals. At the same time, the intention is for students to see that Greek nationality is not in conflict with Cypriot citizenship. In the same textbook, information is provided about the 1974 coup against Archbishop Makarios, President of the Cyprus Republic, and the Turkish invasion. The coup is presented as the action of unlawful para-governmental organizations moving against the elected leader of the country and as something about which the nation must feel ashamed (p.53).

Social cohesion and social diversity

Minority groups do not constitute a special topic for consideration in civic education at the primary school or the gymnasium. Nevertheless, the students, according to the Ministry of Education (1994b), are expected to learn to respect those who belong to minority groups and not to tolerate discrimination against them. The three minority groups, namely, the Maronites, the Armenians and the Latins, are protected by the law (Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus). Each group elects its parliamentary representative, who promotes its interests. It is customary practice for the President of the Republic to honor with his presence the traditional events organized by all minority groups. The television and radio stations present extended programs before and after their festivals and national and religious celebrations.

One group against which there is some prejudice and/or exploitation is that of foreign workers—short-term employees. Some are employed illegally and so are more open to exploitation. The subject of foreign workers is not examined in civic education. The mass media strongly condemn any form of exploitation whenever such a case becomes known, and the State has passed legislation to protect foreign workers (Termination of Employment Law, 1967).

Among the objectives of civic education at the primary level, students are expected to learn that the personalities, nationalities, religions and the rights of others in general are to be respected. The students must come to know the great variety which characterizes the Cypriot community (Greeks, Turks,

Maronites, Armenians) and to work towards the harmonious coexistence of all the inhabitants (Ministry of Education, 1994b). All of the above are intended, general aims of education, but these goals are not realized at the teaching level mainly because the topics are not included in the textbooks (Koutselini & Papanastasiou, 1998). As regards gender discrimination, it is worth mentioning that a study by Kantartzi (1991), based on content analysis of the Greek readers at the primary level, showed that many stereotypes of women continue to exist today, although to a lesser degree. The participation of women in politics and their presence in key positions in the civil service are limited. There is one woman on the 11-member Council of Ministers, and only two women out of a total of 56 are Members of the House of Representatives. In the teaching profession, the majority are women (55 per cent) (Department of Statistics and Research, 1994). Women's Day (8 March) is honored with special events at the schools, and so is the Declaration of Human Rights Day, along with the anniversaries relating to the Turkish invasion. Up to 1994, the subjects that were taught at school made a distinction between boys and girls. At present, in accordance with the aims of the curricula, there is no such distinction between the two genders.

Local problems

The most important problem, after the national-political one, is considered to be the environment, which, while studied in the context of Cyprus, is also presented as a wider, international problem (Ministry of Education, 1995). The issue of violence and unlawful behavior also has been of major concern to Cypriot society in the last few years.

The curricula of social subjects and that of science for primary and secondary education make special mention of topics dealing with environmental education. It is expected that students protect their immediate environment and develop an environmental consciousness. It is also important to mention that human geography in primary school occupies a central position in the geography curriculum. The general aim of this course is to help students become acquainted with the human being and the problems related to the area where a person lives. Students undertake small local studies in which they identify problems faced by their community and then attempt to suggest ways in which the community might resolve these problems (Ministry of Education, 1994).

The textbooks for geography, science, civic education and language contain a considerable amount of information on wider environmental problems and the destruction of the environment, both natural and humanmade. According to the civic education textbook for the lyceum (1995), the aim is to make students sensitive towards the preservation and the reclamation of the environment. The need for broad co-operation among people is promoted as indispensable if solutions for the various environmental problems are to be found.

The annual week of the environment, called the Tree Week, is celebrated every January, and students contribute towards the improvement of the environment by planting trees given by the Department of Forestry and by cleaning the school area. Student visits and excursions are organized to places suitable for the observation and study of the environment. In addition, students participate in competitive debates about current issues concerning the environment, some of them intra-school and others organized either by the Council of Europe or the Cyprus Youth Organization. However, the number of students who participate is limited.

The greatest obstacle to the systematic/experiential involvement of students with current local problems is the curriculum itself, which is focused on the required teaching material and is mainly academic in its contents, even at primary school level. Emphasis is still placed on the basic subjects (writing, reading and language, and arithmetic and mathematics).

Nation and state in civic education

The issue of nationalism and regionalism is very crucial in the case of Cyprus, mainly because the 1960 Zurich Constitution recognized in the newly established independent state of the Republic of Cyprus two different national communities, the Greek majority (80.1 per cent) and the Turkish minority (18.6 per cent) (Papanastasiou, 1994), thus highlighting the two different national characteristics.

Neither the Greek Cypriots nor the Turkish Cypriots were satisfied with the Zurich Constitution (1959-1960). On the basis of that constitution, the Communal Chambers rather than a central body undertook the provision of education. This move led to a sharpening of the division between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Education continued to have as its basic aim the strengthening of the Greek national identity for the Greek Cypriots and of the Turkish national identity for the Turkish Cypriots (Ministry of Education, 1995).

Immediately after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus (1974), there was an attempt to base educational policy on the concept of democratization rather than on that of national identity. This took place because it was believed by the officials of the Ministry of Education that the promotion of national identity as the main aim of education had led to chauvinistic tendencies in the past. At this time, an attempt was made to redefine the concept and the meaning of national identity, and the terms 'democratic training' and 'mutual understanding between different people and civilizations' were added to the statement of the aims of education, as well as to the statement of the objectives of civic education (Ministry of Education, 1993, 1994b, 1995).

In all subject areas covering civic education, one stated aim is to develop

true patriotic spirit, which means the realization of national identity, that is, the appreciation of the contribution of each nation to human civilization and the avoidance of chauvinism (Ministry of Education, 1994). Moreover, in the subject area of civic education for the gymnasium, the concepts 'state and nation' are taught in an effort to achieve student understanding that the independent state of Cyprus does not conflict with the Greek national identity of the Greeks of Cyprus (Ministry of Education, 1991, 1995).

Symbols like the flag, the national anthem and orthodox church monuments are deeply respected both within the schools and the communities. Students are encouraged to respect the Cypriot flag as the flag of their country and the Greek flag as the flag of their nation (Ministry of Education, 1995). According to Article 4 of the Zurich Constitution of 1960, the Republic has its own flag 'of neutral design and color'. It is also stated that the authorities and institutions of the Republic, such as schools, shall have the right to fly the flag on holidays, together with the flag of the Republic and either the Greek or the Turkish flag at the same time.

The aims of education, including those of civics, provide that students acquire, at one and the same time, both national identity (Greek), that is, a consciousness regarding their national heritage, and a sense of their mission as citizens of an independent country with half its territory under foreign occupation. Efforts also are made to imbue students with the need to work towards the ultimate goal of attaining freedom for the island as a whole.

It is obvious that the most important issue concerning the fundamental aims of civic education is whether the Greek character of Cyprus should be emphasized and to what extent this emphasis will lead towards the eventual re-unification of the island as a common home for its Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot citizens. We should not fail to mention the existence of political parties, as well as student and student groups, which dispute the appropriateness of Greek symbols (such as the Greek flag). A recent example of the controversy and the tendency towards open confrontation over the Greek focus in education and ethnic symbols arose in the controversy among the university student unions concerning the raising of the Greek flag next to the Cyprus flag. The controversy turned on the fact that the University of Cyprus was established as a public institution, which, according to the Constitution, has to fly the flag of the Republic. A large proportion of the university student body does not seem to accept this.

The Neo-Cypriot Association, established shortly after the Turkish military invasion of 1974, advocates the development of a common Cypriot identity for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the need for reconsidering the state symbols (e.g. the flag of the republic) and even proceeding with the composition of a new national anthem to replace the national anthem of Greece (Phileleftheros, 1992). However, this rapprochement policy of the Neo-Cypriots has met with little support from either the Greek Cypriot or the Turk-

ish-Cypriot side. From the official point of view, the political problem of Cyprus is not a problem of rapprochement between the two communities but a problem of military invasion of Cyprus by Turkey and that is how the matter is presented in civics textbooks. The Neo-Cypriots appeared on the scene in 1974, immediately after the coup d'état and the ensuing Turkish military invasion of July 1974, at which time the establishment of the Neo-Cypriot Association got coverage in a number of articles and announcements in the press. The Neo-Cypriots nowadays do not have a strong voice neither do they command significant support given that neither parties nor policy-makers officially endorse their positions. It is also worth noting that the Neo-Cypriots aimed at promoting the rapprochement between the two communities in Cyprus through a common Cypriot identity for both Greeks and Turks (Koutselini, 1997b).

In conclusion, there is much to support the view that strengthening national identity through education has been the focus of controversy throughout the entire history of education in Cyprus. At present, the topic is again the focus of controversy. Specifically, the concern is how to place a valid emphasis on national identity on the one hand without endangering harmonious living with minorities on the other.

Conclusions

The most important issue in the case of Cyprus is the national-political problem. However, it should be noted that at present it is neither considered nor presented to the students as a national problem but as an international one. This is because the issue is no longer one about the relationships between communities but an issue of military invasion and occupation as well as of human rights violations. Thus, the role of international entities, especially the United Nations and the European Union, is expected to be more important than it has been hitherto. A number of United Nations resolutions provide guidelines for a just resolution of the problem. Consequently, students are expected to discuss the meaning of the United Nations resolutions on the Cyprus issue, to demand and defend human rights wherever they are violated and to show tolerance towards others and respect for diversity in order to promote harmonious living with other minorities in a united Cyprus.

In 1990, Cyprus applied for membership of the European Union and declared its European orientations. With that in mind, civic education is expected to adjust its focus so that it will resonate with European aims and objectives, namely, the realization of the European dimension in education and the development of the European citizen.

What is more, civic education will be expected to help students understand that the new world order is based on inter-relationships among nations and

requires communication and cooperation. From that point of view, civic education is also expected to foster in students appropriate attitudes (tolerance, trust, mutual understanding and solidarity) combined with skill and knowledge (technological and managerial) that they will need to live effectively in the global village.

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THE CHANGING FACE OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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Notes:

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Introduction

The changes in the political system of the Czech Republic in 1989 led to a need for urgent change in the content of social sciences teaching in Czech schools. Enthusiasm was widespread and the opportunities seemed immense. A number of very creative and critical individuals became involved in reforming the civic education curriculum. At times, they have lacked experience, clear concepts and knowledge of national and historical traditions and educational trends in developed western democracies. There is no doubt, however, that considerable progress has been made in civic education. Teachers and pupils are now able to use basic curriculum materials and choose from a number of textbooks. The reform of civic education has certainly had results. This chapter, based on the IEA Civic Education Study, is concerned with these results: what they are and how they came about.

To understand the present state of civics in the Czech Republic, it is necessary to describe briefly the current political, economic and social situation in the Czech Republic, which civics education obviously reflects. A brief description of the system of basic education in the Czech Republic and the system of curricula is also needed for background.

The current political, economic and social situation

The Czech Republic as an independent country was founded on 1 January 1993 after the Czechoslovak Republic split into two independent states (the Czech Republic and Slovakia). Parliamentary democracy was restored relatively quickly and a two-chamber parliament was formed. Since the end of 1996, there has been a House of Representatives; there has also been a Senate. New legal, economic and social institutions are being built in tandem with a new system of laws. These laws are being monitored against the guidelines of the European Union (EU). Discussions among both Czechs and some foreign commentators reveal that some people think the pace of decentralising the government and building a civil society is too slow.

The desire of the Czech nation for a quick integration of the country into Europe after the fall of the iron curtain has been strong and universal, and the direction of 'back to Europe' generally accepted. But now, nine years after democratic institutions replaced the communist regime, the Czech nation must discern whether the longing for freedom and democracy perhaps simply masks a desire for a higher living standard. As a universal welfare system is still not on the horizon, the polls show an alarming decrease of confidence in democratic institutions (parliament, government, political parties). The extended time required for changes in people's attitudes and habits conflicts with their impatient desire for an immediate improvement in their material

conditions. Fortunately, European integration continues: the Czech Republic has been a member of the Council of Europe since 1993, a member of OECD since 1995 and has been invited to become a member of NATO and the European Union.

The economic transformation in the Czech Republic was, in its first phase, considered very successful. The transformation from central planning to a market economy started with a price liberalization at the beginning of 1991. Salaries (till 1995), rent, prices of fuel and energy and some transportation fees have remained regulated. Small-scale privatization, restitution and large-scale privatization were the next steps. Tax reform and the reform of social benefits and pensions were also important starting points. The Czech crown has been fully convertible since 1 October 1995. There was also success in avoiding excessive inflation along with relatively low unemployment. The gross national product of the Czech Republic in terms of the parity of buying power per capita reaches about \$US9,000, which is almost 50 per cent when related to the average among the countries of the EU and superior to all other Central and Eastern European countries, except Slovenia.

Only a small percentage of households has really suffered, even though there has been a drop in real income since 1989. Success in the first phase of the economic transformation resulted in unhealthy satisfaction and complacency, which, in turn, led to economic difficulties: increasing inflation, foreign trade deficit, small increases in gross national product, and slight increases in unemployment. These problems, which have been generally recognized since the end of 1997, caused disillusionment and social tensions, which were made worse by the lack of clarity related to further transformation of the political parties. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the Czech Republic among countries with a high standard of human development within the worldwide comparison of the United Nations confirms its relatively high economic and social status. The comparison is based on indicators of human development that include, besides the gross national product, health and education.

The population of the Czech Republic is just over 10 million and is ethnically homogenous, with 95 per cent of the population being ethnically Czech. The larger minorities are Slovaks (315,000) and Roms (170,000). In spite of the warning signals coming from an increasing number of acts of xenophobia and racism, many politicians and other public persons still characterize the situation as calm and do not consider these signals as pointing to an important problem in the Czech Republic. In fact, problems in relationships between minorities (especially Roms) and the majority are on the increase.

System of education

The education and care of children up to six years of age can be given over, at least partially, to pre-school institutions, if parents wish. In fact 88 per cent of children 3 to 5 years of age attended kindergarten in the 1995/96 school year. Czech basic school (basic education) includes primary and lower secondary levels (ISCED 1 and 2) as one organisational unit. There are nine years of mandatory school attendance starting at the age of six. The basic school is divided into two levels: the first stage includes Grades 1 through 5; the second stage, 6 through 9. There is one teacher for all subjects in the first stage. In the second stage, the teaching process is provided by different teachers who are specialized usually in two subjects. After finishing the first stage of basic school, the most talented students (in the school year of 1995/96, these students comprised about 11 per cent of students from an average class) can enter the multi-year gymnasias upon successfully passing entrance exams.

The term secondary school (ISCED 3) usually means the upper secondary level of education. After finishing basic school, students apply to a secondary school of their choice. The school principal determines which applicants are accepted. There are three types of secondary schools: gymnasias, secondary technical schools and secondary vocational schools.

Educational Objectives

Standard of basic education

A central agency, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of the Czech Republic, determines the objectives and contents of the teaching program in basic schools. *The Standard of Basic Education* is normative. This document formulates the general objectives and educational contents of mandatory basic education. The following provides some examples of objectives from the *Standard*. (Note that the class categories were created by the authors of this chapter.)

In terms of individual needs:

The process of education allows pupils:

- to gain orientation toward choosing their careers;
- to gain orientation in different situations of personal, emotional, family, professional and civil life and in basic life values that will help them to solve life situations and to build relationships with other people and the community where they grow up;
- to gain skills in inter-personal communication and social contacts, abilities to speak and express their own views, to respect the rights and views

of others, to be tolerant, to critically evaluate and think about public affairs, other people's actions as well as their own expressions, and to resolve different life situations according to their own conscience.

In terms of academic knowledge:

The process of education allows pupils:

- to gain knowledge of national geography, the legal state, social politics, economics, ecology and anthropology, which are important for life in society and for forming morally responsible actions;
- to gain useful knowledge from the field of law, to learn to find their way in important legal issues and in the practical application of principles of responsible decision-making.

In terms of civic and global education:

The process of education allows pupils:

- to understand the basis of democratic statehood and economic life in society;
- to develop their ideas about human and civil rights and duties and their importance; and to come to an understanding of how important it is to abide by democratic principles;
- to learn ways of behaving as responsible and active citizens in a democratic society and how to shape their own moral character according to common moral values;
- to learn to evaluate and compare the social aspects of their own country with those of other societies;
- to build an understanding of local and global issues in today's society and of ways to solve them at local, national and international levels. (Ministry of Education, 1995, pp. 21-22)

Goals concerning individual needs, academic knowledge and civic education are well represented. It is also clear that the formulations are far-reaching and very general and give the designers of curricula considerable freedom.

Research methods

In this first phase of the IEA Civic Education Study, directions from the international coordinating center were followed. This first phase of the study was completed under the leadership of the national representative of the Czech Republic, Dr Jaroslav Kalous, a researcher in the field of educational policy, school management, civic education and the director of the Institute for Research and Development of Education at the Faculty of Education, Charles

University (IRDE).¹ The co-ordinator and editor of all the prepared study materials in the Czech Republic was Jana Válková, a junior researcher in the field of civic education and also a member of the Institute.

During their regular meetings (about once a month), the research team participants acquainted each other with their findings, discussed problems and edited prepared texts. The literature review was prepared by teachers and students of the Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, Brno, under the leadership of R. Marada and J. Válková. The review includes the following: special literature; textbooks; methodology manuals for teachers; conceptual materials from the Ministry of Education and higher education institutions for teacher education; specialised periodicals; records of public discussions; reports of sociological and psychological research and interviews with specialists in the field—from institutions such as the Ministry of Education, Faculty of Education Masaryk University in Brno, and the Institute for Teacher Education in Brno.

Detailed analyses of curriculum documents and textbooks were conducted, and a questionnaire survey was administered to about 20 teachers of social sciences subjects. Although there was an attempt to include teachers from all parts of country and teachers from multi-year gymnasiums, the sample cannot be considered fully representative. Therefore, in addition, a few interviews were conducted with teachers to concentrate on limited issues of the study such as favourite textbooks, methods of instruction, and ways of presenting individual themes. Interviews with specialists focused on the concepts underlying school curricula as well as on identifying problems in civic education and their causes.

Historical influences

This section presents key characteristics of education during the First Republic (1918–1938) and under communism, analyzing the legacy of these periods in present-day education and specifically in civic education. We decided to concentrate on these two periods because they are generally considered to be the most influential for present-day education.

¹ Among the researchers invited to join the team of experts were other members of the Institute: V. Horská (a member of the Civic Education Department at the VUP); M. Bezchlebová (a member of the Social Sciences Department at the Research Institute of Vocational and Technical Education); S. Stech (Head of the Education Psychology Department, Faculty of Education, Charles University); R. Marada (Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, Brno); and teachers of social science subjects at basic and secondary schools who had been co-operating with the IRDE for a long time, namely, B. Dvůrák, V. Dvůráková, M. Homolová, K. Stary and K. Václavíková.

Traditions from The First Republic

In the years between 1918-1938, the Republic of Czechoslovakia (First Republic) is generally regarded to have been an economically strong, free and democratic country with a high standard of living. Although democracy in the First Republic had its limits, this period is considered to be one of the high points of Czech history. Even now, it is perceived as a model for today's society. There are calls to re-discover and continue the democratic traditions and values of the First Republic and its education and to seek inspiration there. These appeals are often made without in-depth knowledge of the problems that existed during the period.

It is hard to define the main features of the First Republic's educational system in an uncomplicated way, but it can be said that it was a period influenced by a broad and intensive reform movement related to new methodological principles, forms of organization and instructional methods (differentiation, individualization, project method, and problem method). Special attention was given to pupils, to development of their talents, to socially disadvantaged students and to education for society. In the First Republic, activities in the field of education were considered to be very progressive and on a par with developments in Western European countries.

The school subject civics was introduced in the academic year 1920-1921. Civics was considered to be of the utmost importance for dealing with secular moral standards, that is, moral standards founded on a secular base and parallel to those taught in religious education. However, parents could ask the school to excuse their child from attending the class. A new curriculum for civic education and civics was introduced in 1923 and in 1926. The subjects 'elementary teaching' and 'national history and geography' played an integral part in basic education (ISCED 1). These subjects incorporated aspects of history, geography, science, civics and art. The teaching of other subjects arose from them. This organization of subject areas was based on psychological principles: they respected the experience and interests of pupils and started from well-known facts that were close to the child, that is, from his or her home.

At the lower-secondary level (ISCED 2) during the period of the First Republic, there was the same tendency to strengthen the moral and civic aims of the school. The democratic impulse to narrow the gaps between different levels of society was reflected in the strong reform movement which resulted in the so-called comprehensive school. The comprehensive school meant an amalgamation at the lower-secondary level of what had been two levels, the higher grades of basic schools and the lower grades of secondary schools. Thus, the comprehensive school included children from 11 to 15 years of age. The second school level, however, continued to concentrate on general education and to prepare pupils for higher education; the set of subjects remained the same with the division of subject matter into discrete subject areas and a concentration on learning facts.

Developments in education in general and in civic education in particular in the 1990s have built upon the precedent established during the First Republic. Civic education is currently defined in the same way as it was in the period of the First Republic, that is, a subject integrating different parts of other subjects (history, geography, political science, religious education, economics, anthropology, and so on). It is certainly a progressive model. Integration is understood as

teaching carried out on the basis of interdisciplinary relations and in connection with theoretical activities and training. It has the following forms: 1. integrated subjects or courses; 2. modules or themes as part of further subjects; 3. projects demonstrating knowledge gained in individual subjects along with practical experience and productive activities; 4. integrated days when the whole school works on the same theme. (Prucha, Walterova & Mares, 1995, pp.88-89)

The vision of civics as an integrating subject has been realised only in a small number of schools. Teachers very often limit their teaching to the lecture method, focusing on presenting new facts or testing pupils' knowledge. Testing is usually done in traditional ways through written tests and oral examinations. The situation described here is due in large part to inadequate pre- and postgraduate teacher education, which generally undervalues the educational and psychological aspects of learning and, instead, emphasizes theoretical aspects.

Unlike the First Republic period, civics in the present day has not been introduced at the first grade of basic schools (ISCED 1). The subject areas 'primary (elementary) education' and 'national history and geography' are taught at this level, but not many teachers see them as an integrated education involving civic education. The curriculum of elementary teaching and national history and geography contains social issues only peripherally and it is rather unsystematic.

At the lower-secondary level, differentiation of pupils according to their abilities took place after 1989. Eleven-year-old students can now enrol in eight-year gymnasias. In the academic year 1995-1996, around 11 per cent of 11- to 13-year-olds enrolled in the gymnasias. The number of those who applied was much higher (OECD, 1996, p.115). The issue of early differentiation of pupils is a matter of debate among experts; parents view it positively. In this matter, the present is not taking its lead from the movement founded in the First Republic for comprehensive schooling. In establishing the eight-year gymnasias, what prevailed was the desire for a radical change from communist comprehensive schools, even though the comprehensive school model prevails in the countries of Western Europe.

After 1989, a reform movement among teachers became institutionalized in organizations like NEMES (Independent Inter-Sector Group for Transformation in Education), PAU (Friends of Involved Learning) and others. Members of these organizations are active teachers who want to undergo further

training and who are trying to implement progressive changes in the field of teaching methods, evaluation, approach to pupils, school atmosphere, and the like. These organizations draw upon the reform efforts of teachers in the First Republic period, efforts that were interrupted and forgotten for a long time. However, the main source of energy in teacher reform groups comes from international experience and up-to-date professional literature.

The main argument of those opposed to the resurrection of pre-war school ideas is the fact that society has undergone great changes over the last 50 years. Domestic and foreign experts also point to some less positive aspects that have been retained from the First Republic: over-concentration on facts, strict division of education into subjects and re-introduction of differentiated lower-secondary schools by introducing multi-year gymnasias.

The communist heritage

Awareness of influences remaining from the communist regime is essential for understanding the state of civic education in the Czech Republic. Those influences will be felt throughout the Czech lands and all of Eastern Europe for a very long time. After World War II, the communists exploited anti-German sentiments and the imperfections of the First Republic and, supported by Stalin's Russia, wiped out the foundations of parliamentary democracy. During the Cold War, people lived in an atmosphere of distrust and fear. There was a short release from tension in the 1960s, resulting in a short-lived period of cultural openness. Following the occupation by the Soviet army in 1968, a new period began, and a passive attitude took root in society. People stopped believing in the democratic development of the country. Career advancement depended either on a non-confrontational relationship with the government or on an active involvement with communist powers.

Private entrepreneurship was impossible, and the economy was based on non-market and illogical principles that ignored international experience and the results of research. Communities were relatively closed and based on non-political interests (e.g. groups of families organizing trips together and sports groups). The members of these communities knew each other very well, and the resulting high level of trust allowed for clear and honest expressions of ideas. Anti-regime resistance both in Czechoslovakia and abroad was operating. However, most people adopted a passive, non-confrontational approach, escaping into privacy without regret. Nonetheless, their cumulative dissatisfaction erupted during the demise of the communist regime in 1989. Because many students were raised in a different way at home than at school, they were wary of the way their teachers presented issues and, as their attitude towards the revolution of November 1989 showed, many of them developed values that were in sharp contrast to the intentions of socialist schooling.

Between the 1950s and 1980s, education was under the control of communist ideology. The aim was to educate pupils who would identify them-

selves with that ideology. Schools prepared their pupils for the role of controlled, manipulated citizens. The curriculum was comprehensive, and the ideological approach, content and methods of teaching were strictly regulated. There was one set of textbooks for each subject. These textbooks were written by prominent authors and approved by the Ministry of Education. Educational innovation and individual approaches to instruction were strictly limited.

Before 1989, civic education existed as a subject at schools in the form of a compulsory subject, and it was the subject most influenced by the communist ideology. The main aim was to prepare pupils for life and work in socialism and the protection of the socialist home country. It was based on the utilitarian philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, communist morality, socialist collectivism and class struggle. Teachers of this subject were selected from among those who were the most convinced proponents of the truth of these values. Thus, education for democratic values was touched upon only lightly, if at all, during history and literature lessons. Even the bravest teachers sympathetic to democratic values had to concentrate on mere facts.

A large number of teachers did their best to survive in the system while teaching according to their own convictions. They did not slavishly carry out curricular aims and influenced the development of democratic values among their pupils. These efforts by some teachers were, of course, only a compromise: their efforts put them in a certain amount of danger. These efforts included mentioning facts which contrasted with those in the textbooks, so that pupils could not help noticing the contradictions; teaching about the First Republic with implied sympathy towards its regime; and teaching about different historical personalities who had an impact on democratic developments.

Children took part in so-called 'beneficial to the public' activities, such as collecting old paper, gathering chestnuts for animals and spring cleanup jobs. These activities were supposed to be voluntary, but some parents and young people questioned the interests of those requiring them to be carried out. Nevertheless, even today, some people consider these service activities as positive and contrast them to a present-day lack of interest in public service.

Conditions affecting civic education as a whole have changed recently, but in many cases the influence of communism can still be found. Immediately after 1989, the depoliticization of education started on the basis of general consensus. The ideological control of education and the use of education as a tool for manipulating people was over. The humanist and social science elements of education were revised and their content reorganized. Civic education was organized on entirely new lines. It is currently a subject without indoctrination and does not favor any of the political parties.

Despite these policy changes, the behavior of many people, including most teachers (influenced by socialist ideology and years of political control), has retained many of the attitudes and forms of behavior developed in the com-

munist period. A fear of innovation combined with a distrust of the central government and a lack of skill in preparing new instructional programs has resulted in much inertia. According to the authors of the OECD review of national policy in education:

No survey data exists to enable researchers to evaluate the percentage of schools, teachers, parents, etc., who have changed their attitudes and behavior, or that of those who have not. In general, it is estimated that the former, the innovating sector, are only a small minority, perhaps 15 to 20 per cent, which would mean that in 80 to 85 per cent of cases linked to some of the essential aspects of educational developments such as curriculum or teaching methods, the system has not yet really changed. (OECD 1996, p.19)

At present, society's need to educate citizens differs considerably from the former needs of the communist society. The schools should educate citizens who are able to think independently and critically, who are morally strong, tolerant, active, educated and responsible. Schools are rather slow to react to some social changes. Most of the current teachers began teaching before 1989 and the system of continuing teacher education that could help to make some desired changes is inadequate, as mentioned before. The teachers continue to emphasize discipline and children's knowledge of facts. At most schools, training in skills such as critical evaluation, problem solving, discussion techniques and active participation in social life remains in the background. Teachers are often influenced by parents to prefer traditional approaches to teaching. Parents, in turn, are simply responding to the demands of the Czech education system which bases school promotion on a system of entrance examinations that are content-oriented. Children take entrance examinations to secondary schools (including multi-year gymnasias) between ages 9 and 15. The demand for placement in language schools, multi-year gymnasias, four-year gymnasias and some other secondary technical schools considerably exceeds the number of spots available. The form of entrance examinations is set by each school and mostly concentrates on knowledge of facts. Once the student is in a secondary school, the knowledge of facts is still preferred because entrance to higher education also depends on entrance examinations that concentrate on cognitive knowledge.

Current curricular programs

Curricular programs are expected to comply with the overall Standard of Basic Education in developing related aims and tasks. Curricular programs set the content and conditions for achievement through the selection of individual subjects, allocation of class time and the creation of content outlines for lessons.

Multiple curricula are an answer to those who asked for the freedom to select from a number of possibilities. At present there are three school curricula programs that have been accredited—the National School Curriculum, the Civil School Curriculum and the Basic School Curriculum. Schools must select one, unless they design and have accredited their own curriculum. However, state-school directors have the right either to adjust the curriculum for up to 10 per cent of the credit hours or adjust the content of the teaching syllabi of individual subjects for up to 30 per cent of the credit hours, either by a change in proportions or by the addition or omission of subject matter.

The subject matter in all three curricula is divided into individual subjects. Students in Grades 6 to 9 are introduced to the social sciences through history (a minimum of five to six lessons a week) and civic education. Civics is a separate subject with a minimal mandatory time allocation: two hours in Grades 6 through 9 for the Civil School Curriculum and the National School Curriculum, and a minimum of one lesson a week in every year of Grades 6 to 9 for the Basic School Curriculum. It is possible to find elements of civics in other subjects as well, especially in Czech language and Czech literature, history, drama (found only in the Civil School Curriculum), music and art.

The content of history is clear. It is present in all three curricular programs and focuses almost entirely on a chronological presentation. In all three curricula, civic education is defined as a subject with a broad content. It includes moral, national and geographical education, economics, anthropology, ecology and politics. The authors of all these curricular programs state in the introductory chapters that civic education should be infused into other subject areas. However, this is not a common situation. We discuss some of the causes below.

Most of the schools (about two-thirds) chose to follow the Basic School Curriculum. It was the view of the IEA Czech team of experts that this was probably due to the fact that this curriculum was designed by authors appointed by the Ministry and the schools consider it to be the least controversial. Although, at present, there is no pressure on schools from the Ministry of Education in the selection of a curriculum program, the schools probably think that the one developed by the Ministry will be valid for a longer time and that it will guarantee the best and least-problematic transfer of pupils from basic to secondary schools. Furthermore, the name of the curriculum is identical to the name of the level of the school for which it was designed. Thus, it sounds correct and does not call for any novelties or any particular kind of teaching experience.

In this curricular program, teachers are somewhat more clearly instructed as to what they should teach and what the result of their work should be. It is the only school curriculum which specifically treats outcomes—what students should know. Other curricula describe only the content of the subject matter. According to the team of Civic Education Study experts, the Basic School

Curriculum most closely fulfils the aims set by the Standard for Basic Education. Some examples of syllabus content in civic education in the Basic School Curriculum include:

Thematic units for the 6th and 7th grade: our school, our community; our region, our country; cultural heritage; property, ownership and economy; life in society; humankind and morality; humankind and human rights; global problems of humankind; humankind and adolescence.

A selection of examples concerning economics, including what the student should learn: the place of property among other life values; differences in the use of private and public property; sources of the family budget and the further division of family income, fixed spending and savings; the buying opportunities of the individual (or family) and how these can influence decision-making concerning individual (family) budgets; suitable and unsuitable ways of using individual (family) budgets; the advantages of rational housekeeping (time, personal resources, natural resources) for their personal life and for life in society (Ministry of Education, 1996c, pp.191-92).

The second approach found in The Civil School Curriculum Program was valued by some members of the national team of experts for its clear and structured conceptualisation based on a deep philosophical background. Ethics and morality items corresponding to the Czech tradition are found throughout. A minority of experts on the team believed that these moral aspects are too much influenced by Catholicism, showing little consideration for other religions, and that some of them are outdated. There was also public discussion, though limited, about this topic in the press when the curriculum was developed.

However, this curriculum did notable service in presenting a value system and it filled a vacuum that had been criticized by OECD experts in 1996 (OECD, p.124). Though this curriculum is not very popular, it merits high recognition for what it attempted to do. Some explain its low popularity by citing mistrust coming from the past, in particular the rejection of anything resembling indoctrination.

The curriculum authors took into account the psychological maturity of students as well as diversity in learning ability. From the familiar and symbolic image of their home, the landscape of learning extends to homeland and after that towards the concept of human beings, their interior selves and conscious reflection.

The Civil School Curriculum is formulated around a set of key words and expressions. There is no clear statement about expected outcomes—what students should learn. Examples of syllabus content of civic education in the Civil School Curriculum for Grades 6 and 7 include the following thematic units: (for Grade 6) a year—its metamorphoses and ceremonies; home and family; our homeland; town, region and country; (for Grade 7) family, nation

and motherland; property and wealth; natural resources and their protection; culture and its development; the State and law.

There is also some content concerning economic education within individual thematic units. For example, in the Grade 6 household economy, topics include thriftiness and savings, sources of income and wealth, and respect for work. Similar topics at a more advanced level are found in Grade 7, including inequalities in wealth and social justice and concepts of ownership (Ministry of Education, 1996a).

There is also material relating to national identity: Our home country—what has made us famous? Scientists and inventions (e.g. Mendel, Jansky, Ressel, the Veverka cousins); products (e.g. Pilsner beer, Skoda cars, Czech crystal); artists and their works (e.g. Dvorak, Janacek, Seifert); natural formations (e.g. medicinal springs, caves, semi-precious stones). There is material relating to natural resources and their protection: cultivation of land (settlement, irrigation, roads, towns and villages, nature reserves) and estrangement from nature; and the little known effects of human intervention in nature, including pollution, and the idea that even a well-meant action may have negative effects (Ministry of Education 1996a, pp. 245, 248).

The third curricular program, the National School Curriculum Program, is brief. Civic education is covered along with family education in only three pages. The program was created to fulfil the demands of innovative and alternative teachers who wanted to have even more freedom in the content and methods of teaching. The Civic Education Study expert team considered it to be well suited for those teachers who seek full involvement and are willing to use integrative teaching methods and create their own curricula and lessons.

The focus of civic education within the National School Curriculum Program is on socialisation of children. This program is quite general and, of the three programs, is the least aligned with the Standard of Basic Education. According to the panel of experts, the content of civic education is not sufficiently structured. Examples of syllabus content in civic education in the National School Curriculum for Grades 6 and 7 include these thematic units: (Grade 6) home, family and the bases of cultural behavior; (Grade 7) nation, country, natural resources and their protection; culture and its development; and the danger of addictive products (Ministry of Education, 1997, p.79). Content concerning economic education is found within individual thematic units relating to family in Grade 6 and the country in Grade 7.

For all three programs, laying out the content of the subject in this way, by thematic units and, within these, by curriculum keynotes, leads many teachers and authors of textbooks to present the subject in a traditional way, for example, in the form of a lecture and without sufficient linkage between individual units. Content-oriented instruction is also driven by the fact that the curriculum is overloaded, especially in the Civil and Basic School Curricula.

Schools can create their own curricula and have them accredited. Accord-

ing to estimates by OECD experts (OECD, 1996, p.123), no more than 10 per cent of all schools were able to produce significant curricula innovation, and only a few schools have their own accredited curriculum. The team of experts believed the reasons for this low number to be as follows:

- The procedure for accreditation takes a very long time.
- The existing Standard of Basic Education and existing school curricula materials already give schools a big range of possibilities in the area of methods, approaches and strategies.
- The current regulations allow schools to change 30 per cent of the content of the subject matter in each subject.

This curricular freedom is a policy response to schools that did not like central control. Parts of the subject matter that a school considers less important can be left out, and schools can work on a different issue or work on interdisciplinary projects. For example, according to the Basic School Curriculum Program, a teacher or a whole school may decide that it will spend only two hours on the 'property, ownership and economy' thematic unit. Some parts of the subject matter can be left out; other parts only briefly discussed. This topic could be replaced by 'racism issues' in areas where it is a very important local problem. In contrast, another teacher or school may consider the 'property, ownership and economy' thematic unit very important and will spend 12 lessons on it. Both approaches are possible.

The writing and selection of textbooks

The Ministry allows independent publishing houses to produce textbooks and to market them to schools. The Ministry, however, issues publishers with an approval clause based on the quality of the textbook and its correspondence to any of the three accredited curricula. This approval allows schools to buy the textbooks with centrally allocated funds. Schools are also allowed to use textbooks without the approval clause. It is completely up to the schools to decide which textbooks to use.

Many textbooks have been published since November 1989. In the first phase, these were merely the existing textbooks, but with the omission of those passages influenced by communist ideology or formulated in a way typical of the socialist society. These textbooks now have been completely replaced.

Any person or team of authors can author a textbook. So far, writers have been experts from institutions of higher education. Publishing houses approach successful authors or famous experts because they want their textbooks to gain the approval clause and be more marketable to schools. Typically, authors write books that correspond to the most widely used Basic School Curriculum, which, in turn, further popularizes the program. In some cases,

textbooks correspond to all three curricula simultaneously. Authors write textbooks that are full of facts to be learned, using traditional teaching methods (lecturing, test questions, and so on), either because they are conservative themselves or are aware that most teachers are conservative. This conservatism is not obvious at first sight, as the textbooks are very attractive with lots of pictures, fine graphics and interesting tasks. However, the expert panel offered the opinion that many of these textbooks were not thought through systematically or with an integrated approach.

Teachers can choose from a large number of textbooks. For example there are seven main textbooks which have approval from the Ministry for use with civic education at Grade 7. Neither an evaluation system nor an information system about textbooks is in place. The choice of the right textbook depends on the school or on the teacher. It is clear that price is among the deciding factors.

The examples already provided for economic education units within the three accredited curricula demonstrate that the content of subject matter can vary considerably. Also, the authors of textbooks tend to set out the same topic differently. For example, one textbook might look at 'property, ownership and economy' from the point of view of education for values (about 10 pages of a story and some exercises and five pages of supplementary activities and ideas), whereas another might be full of facts about the roots and design of economic values from primeval times to the present (about 22 pages of continuous text).

Methods of teaching, teacher education and evaluation

The expert team's research and investigation work showed that many civic education teachers use various instructional methods, including a communicative method based on the creative co-operation of the students. However, a disproportionately large number of teachers still emphasize the acquisition of knowledge. They focus their teaching process on the simple learning of facts by heart and underestimate the role of practical experience.

The Czech Republic has no special exams or formal evaluation of the teaching process related specifically to each of the following domains: democracy, the problems of national identity, ethnic minorities, economics, and other civic-related areas. The evaluation of teaching results in these domains is included in the overall evaluation of the entire subject, civic education.

In order for instruction in civics to reach its learner goals, it is necessary to have clear and sensible rules and classifications for evaluation, including those related to student behaviour. However, at the moment, the head teacher of the school and the teachers themselves are responsible for defining and implementing standards. These standards may or may not go beyond knowledge acquisition, the application of knowledge and some aspect of the student's

active participation. Differences among individual schools in this area are beginning to increase.

Methods of teaching and evaluating the teaching process depend largely on the quality of teacher training. A fundamental change has occurred in this area in all fields and in all universities since 1989. Instead of education in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, education in the idea of democratic principles and traditions has been gradually growing and widening. However, the quality of teacher training in individual faculties, universities and other institutions and within various educational programs is uneven. There is no national project for systematic and obligatory teacher education. In the absence of any guiding overall framework, everything hinges on the thinking and orientation of individual university professors.

A very important component of teacher education is in-service teacher training. In-service training is especially important for teachers who studied during the old regime. Until 1989, in-service teacher training was very formal and, in terms of the lifelong professional development of teachers, not very functional. This system was abolished in 1991 and so far has not been replaced. A variety of courses are offered by regional centres and are oriented to subject teaching and methodology but often without a systematic approach and without a clear objective: 'What is sorely lacking is a comprehensive concept of in-service training, the interlinkage of qualification growth, promotion and salary scales, as well as a network of institutions and specialists providing these' (OECD, 1996, p.55).

Implications for the domains addressed by the international study

After the political changes in 1989, the task for teachers and educational professionals appeared to be obvious: education must adjust to the new situation and reflect it. The point is particularly relevant for civics, which is supposed to educate towards citizenship and the respected values of society. Initial thinking about the concept of civics suggested various possible solutions:

- Rediscover and link with democratic traditions and values from the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938).
- Retain the structure of relevant and desirable existing educational programs, eliminating only those themes and ideas most influenced by and connected with the ideology of the 'communist morality' and 'builders of socialism'.
- Completely break with the past to develop civics as a process that teaches democratic technology and democratic virtues and that concentrates on a plurality of perspectives.

- Adopt foreign models and programs that have been proven in developed democratic countries.

After 1989, there was a certain degree of uncertainty as to which direction to take. In order to accommodate this initial indecision, one of the first decisions was the formal announcement that one third of the curriculum could be freely chosen by teachers. Another response was to generalize the nature of curricular documents which, while demanding more local and individual effort, would allow textbook authors and teachers further freedom. Experience has shown that, on the whole, neither the authors nor the teachers have used this freedom very much and that this was perhaps not the best solution.

Today, there is a general consensus that civic education must come from historical traditions. Any further innovations in the curriculum should respect these traditions and include, but not be limited by, the experience of developed democratic countries.

Civic education and democracy

Education for democracy can best be realized through the active participation of children and their parents in a school based on democratic principles. A favorable school climate is critical for students to understand and accept the principles of democracy. The atmosphere of some schools has been positively influenced by changes in practice: head teachers who emphasize the democratic management of their schools and democratic elements in the teaching and educational process; the participation of teachers in creating school curricula; and the participation of teachers, parents and students in the everyday conduct and life of the school.

Such changes in school atmosphere have, however, been minimal at most schools. A Czech school inspection carried out in 1995 at 362 basic schools reported that official school rules in 66 per cent of schools do not mention student rights. Orders and prohibitions predominate. Nearly one fifth of the schools have their school code of conduct formulated exclusively as a set of orders. The level of participation of Czech pupils in school activities has not yet been evaluated, but the results of an investigation done by Mares and Krivohlavy shed some light by showing that, at Czech schools, teachers spend at least two thirds more time speaking than do the children (Mares & Krivohlavy, 1990).

The Standard of Basic Education states that pupils should:

understand the bases of democratic statehood and economic life in society; they should form a view of the importance of human rights and civil rights and duties in such a way that it helps them understand the importance of complying with democratic principles; they should gain knowledge of law, learn to find their way in important legal issues and practically apply the principles of responsible decision-making. (Ministry of Education 1995, p. 21)

These statements are very general, and so the authors of school curricula and textbooks have elaborated further questions to be included in the content of the subject. The results of their endeavors are varied. When we take into account that it is mainly the responsibility of the teacher as to what students are taught in civic education, there is no way of analysing the subject matter content. Nor can we ascertain how much the students learn and what type of comprehension is expected of them. It is only possible to say that the situation varies at different schools. Data from earlier periods do not exist.

We can get some sense of what is available to students from the topics usually covered in the textbooks:

- the importance of associating in society (from the historical point of view)
- types of social order
- freedom of association
- democratic principles of autonomy
- representation in community and local authority
- the need for setting inner rules on the basis of principles
- the difference between autocratic and democratic rules
- direct and indirect democracy
- political parties
- division of state power
- election principles and procedures
- legal standards and regulations and their enforcement
- legal institutions
- human rights
- understanding of rights and duties
- the limits of rights and freedom.

Some of the above-mentioned key principles are left out in some textbooks. Other textbooks include them in a very detailed form. For example, in one textbook, the topic 'political parties' takes up about two pages including a preparation for further discussion. In another textbook, used in Grades 6 to 9, the topic of political parties is absent.

Civic education, national identity and social diversity

The concept of national identity has changed significantly since November 1989. An interest in our own history has been revived. New research publications are currently shedding new light on the periods that were previously concealed and distorted for political and ideological reasons. New interpretations of historical events, with which the nation has to come to terms, have been appearing. It is also evident from newly available archival materials and

new research publications that many parts of social studies textbooks have been revised.

Popular opinion holds that racism and nationalism are not important problems in the Czech society. However, there are serious warning signals: increasing numbers of racially motivated violent attacks by neo-Nazi and nationalist groups against ethnically different populations; a residue of nationalism and intolerance; open non-violent discrimination against minorities; and increased numbers of young people identifying themselves with the skinhead movement or with an extremist political party. Research in the academic disciplines has been exploring the content of democratic citizenship to determine the boundaries between national feelings and nationalism and to create national unity between the majority nation and minorities in the Czech Republic (especially the Romany minority).

Despite the alarming signals and the results of this research, the curriculum for Czech schools in certain fields (education for racial tolerance) has been changed only slightly. For example, pictures of Romany children are missing from textbooks; subject matter is based on social and cultural principles that Romany children do not understand; and subject matter concerning the relationship with minorities is mentioned only in some textbooks, and even then insufficiently and somewhat randomly. It is difficult to identify all the causes of this situation, but some come to mind: society's general lack of interest in education; the strong latent racism in society against the Romany minority; little experience with the danger of extremism; the extent of nationalism and racism within society; the low level of co-operation between researchers and education policy and curriculum decision-makers; and the slow reaction of education to social changes in general.

As for raising consciousness of national identity, this is usually built into the subject of national history taught in Grades 4 and 5 of basic school. National identity is based on the consciousness of oneness with other people in the national community and of belonging to people with the same mother tongue, national traditions and values. In Grades 6 and 7, the theme of home country and patriotism is developed even further. In the higher grades, these issues are dealt with only implicitly.

The theme of national identity is explicitly dealt with in civics, history and literature textbooks, but less so in the geography textbooks. Students are acquainted not only with the development of the Czech state and important personalities but also with the periods of national trauma. Items related to education for tolerance, anti-racism and coexistence with minorities are missing. In other textbooks, they are barely represented. What is obvious is that individual textbooks and the approach of individual teachers to these matters vary considerably.

Civic education and the economy

Transformation from a state-controlled economy to a market economy greatly influences the content of civic education. Given that the basic curricular documents are set out in general terms, it is not possible to summarize what students learn at schools. The Standard of Basic Education, for example, includes a statement that 'pupils should gain knowledge in the field of economics that is important for social life and for forming morally responsible actions, they should understand the basis of democratic statehood and economic life in society; they should acquire the basic idea about values, consumer markets and principles of micro- and macro-economics' (Ministry of Education, 1995, p.21).

Some of the formulations of the topic units concerning the study of economics for Grades 6 and 7 in three accredited curricula were mentioned earlier. An overall picture about the state of economics education in curricula materials can be gained from some of the goals or content of economy education for Grades 8 and 9 presented below. According to the Basic School Curriculum, pupils in these grades, should be able to:

- *describe basic functions and principles of work division in the family and in the society;*
- *correctly distinguish and use the words 'supply' and 'demand' and ...explain the functioning of the market and the labour market;*
- *give examples of important productive and non-productive branches of the national economy;*
- *explain the principles and importance of the social welfare state. (Ministry of Education, 1996, pp.202-03)*

In the Civil Curriculum Program, the content for Grade 9 is given by the key words of the following curriculum summary (Ministry of Education, 1996a, pp.260-61), namely, 'A Citizen in Legal and Economic Relations':

Legal order and its observance: the necessity for legal regulation of extensive areas of life like neighborhood, family, protection of life, health and property, and taxes; the law and other binding regulations; the identification of rights on the basis of previous experience and similar examples from the past; law—civil, administrative, penal, labor, economic and international, courts of justice, prosecution, defense attorneys, and the police.

Economic life: the division of working activity, blue collar and white collar sectors; the concept of economic value, exchange and function of money; market economy; private and state sectors; economic competition and monopolies; special status of the non-profit-making branches; the availability of various sources of funding and setting up new funds.

National economy: ownership structure; basic areas; structure from the viewpoint of the division of the national economy into particular branches; the

standing of the national economy within the world economy.

An individual in economic life: preparations for earning one's living and self-realization; general education and specialized education; continuous education; attitude towards work and ability to cooperate; different opportunities for self-realization and earning one's living; employment and the resulting relations; independent entreprenuring or joint ventures; the significance of high standards and responsibility for the success of the company; freelance professions (creativity, initiative).

Economic policy: objectives of economic policy—economic growth, currency stability, employment; implementing economic policy—rules of economic competition and other regulations, the taxation system, state budget; relations to foreign countries—customs duties, flow of financial funds, integration, trade.

Limitations of the development of civilization: changes in the emphasis which, in the course of historical development, people place on various components of power and wealth, such as number of soldiers, powerful weapons, power expansion, economic power and expansion and technological advantage; the relative stability of the fundamental human situation; civilization disorders in exchange for comfort and consumerism; and the cultural sphere as a sensitive reflection of society's problems.

Quite unrealistically it is proposed that the list of themes in this unit should be taught, according to the authors of the Civil Curriculum Program, in six to eight hours. The National School Curriculum contains nothing about economic education for Grades 8 and 9.

The textbooks have approached the tasks related to economic education in different ways and to different degrees. Some are full of statistical data, others present only basic issues and do not go into deeper analyses. To improve the quality of civics lessons, teachers are expected to take the initiative themselves. This is the main problem. The theme of the relation between the economy and politics is not, according to our findings, popular among teachers. This is because most teachers are insufficiently prepared to teach this topic. The education that teachers received before 1989 is not relevant because the conception of the relation between economy and politics was completely different. Current economic concepts emphasize the integration processes, the perspective of membership of the Czech Republic in the European Union, the importance of global economic problems, and so on.

It is necessary to emphasize that teacher training in this domain depends in large part on the thinking and orientation of individual university professors. The number of experts in economics in Czech universities is quite small. Experts educated in the field of modern economics have an opportunity to work in other fields. As a result, education, generally thought of as 'unrewarding and low-paying', lacks economic experts. Authors of the textbooks

do not usually cooperate with economists. Moreover, in-service teacher training in this domain is unsystematic and only a small number of teachers participate.

Conclusions

The first phase of the IEA Civic Education Study has allowed a formulation and explanation of some problems in civic education in the Czech Republic. Despite the problems apparent in many parts of this chapter, it is possible to say that many important changes have been made in the field of civic education. Basic curricular materials and a number of textbooks have been issued; education has been depoliticized and deideologized; decentralization has been introduced in the administration of the system of education; and schools have been given more freedom in curricular issues.

The shortcomings in civic education should be viewed as challenges for further development. On the basis of this first phase of the Civic Education Study, some ideas and hypotheses can be formulated about these matters. The second phase of the study should be a source of valuable data that will help us analyze the situation in civic education in the Czech Republic and compare it with the situation and results from other countries. A systematic, wide-reaching and reliable international study should significantly contribute to desirable changes and innovations in the area of civic education in the Czech Republic.

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RE-EXAMINING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

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Notes:

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Background: tradition and context

What is clear from reviewing this field is that there is no great tradition of explicit teaching of civic or citizenship education in English schools or of voluntary and community service for young people. As a result, there is no consistent framework for discussion of this area. Civics or, as it is currently termed, 'Education for Citizenship', is a broad area which is fraught with difficulties. The difficulties arise because of the nature of the endeavour. Citizenship education is concerned with young people's understanding of society and, in particular, with influencing what students learn and understand about the social world. Citizenship education attracts the interest of many groups in society. These groups invariably have differing perspectives as to what citizenship education should encompass and divergent views about the methods of approach.

Rowe (1997) has categorised these differing perspectives into eight models of citizenship education, which he asserts have been developed in democratic societies such as Britain: the constitutional knowledge, the patriotic, the parental, the religious, the value conflict or pluralist, the empathetic, the school ethos and the community action models. There is no space to outline these models here. It must also be remembered that much of the thinking and practice concerning citizenship education in England is more disparate than the models suggest. Nevertheless, they are a useful way of thinking about citizenship education because they highlight differing approaches to citizenship education, both in terms of emphasis and in teaching and learning styles.

The continued support of groups in society and of teachers in schools for elements of these models of citizenship education helps to explain why discussion of citizenship education in England is never far from the top of the political and educational agenda. It also explains why that discussion is often characterized by a lack of clarity of definition and approach. Though there is general agreement that the development of citizenship education in English schools is important, there is a general lack of consensus as to how such development should be carried out. Indeed, the history of education for citizenship in England is a curious mixture: noble intentions, which are then turned into general pronouncements, which, in turn, become minimal guidance for schools. The avoidance of any overt official government direction to schools concerning political socialization and citizenship education can almost be seen as a national trait. Such education has long been perceived by educators and politicians as unbecoming, vulgar and 'unEnglish'. It explains why when citizenship education has periodically come to the fore in the English education system, it has usually been located in the implicit or hidden curriculum rather than in the explicit or formal curriculum.

There has never been strong support for a discrete subject entitled civics or citizenship. Instead, what passes as citizenship education has been character-

ized more by an emphasis on indirect transmission through school values, ethos and participation in school rituals than by direct delivery through subject teaching. Indeed, transmission has been weighted toward student exposure to good role models and sound habits rather than to direction through specified subject content. The intention has been to mould character and behavior rather than to develop civic awareness. As such, citizenship education in England has been traditionally insular, largely devoid both of political concerns in contemporary society and of awareness of developments in other countries.

Education and citizenship education: important points from the past

The history of educating for citizenship in England is well documented (Batho, 1990; Heater, 1990; Kerr, 1993; Oliver & Heater, 1994). The first key point is that there has been a renewed interest in citizenship education over the past decade, which has resulted in its renaissance as a cross-curricular theme, 'Education for Citizenship', in the National Curriculum (England) in 1989. Interestingly, citizenship education has been defined differently in the National Curriculum of Wales and Northern Ireland. In Wales it has been termed 'Education for Community Understanding', and in Northern Ireland 'Education for Mutual Understanding' and 'Education for Cultural Heritage'. This renewed interest has been indicative of the oscillating fortunes of citizenship education and of its periodic rise to prominence in the debate about the shape of the whole curriculum. It is a prominence which has often been accompanied by an attempt to define what it entails and how it might best be approached by schools. However, such attempts at definition and approach have been less than successful, often resulting in general statements rather than specific guidance and advice for schools. The 1990s has been the latest of these periods of reconsideration.

The second key point is that there is a complex relationship between citizenship and education for citizenship. Citizenship is a contested concept. At the heart of the contest are differing views about the function and organization of society. Because education is accepted as central to society, it follows that attitudes toward education and citizenship education are dependent on the particular conception of citizenship put forward. The periodic definition of citizenship education is a by-product of a much larger, wider debate concerning the nature of English society and the role of education within that society. That debate has often been linked to some major movement or trauma, such as the spread of industrialisation or involvement in a world war.

The current focus on citizenship and citizenship education has two triggers. The long-term trigger was the impact of the world oil crisis of the mid-

1970s in western, industrialised democracies. This has caused such democracies to radically restructure economics, welfare and education. This restructuring has led intellectuals to question whether it marks a watershed, namely the end of modern, liberal democratic society and the onset of a less certain post-modern world. They have also begun to redefine the concept of citizenship in this post-modern world. Indeed, citizenship has been a continuous topic of discussion in the past decade in intellectual and political circles in England. It has attracted comment from social commentators, political and economic theorists and politicians across the spectrum. Everyone, from the New Right, across the crowded Centre, to the Old Left, have been preoccupied with redefining and claiming ownership of the concept (Dahrendorf, 1987; Heater, 1990; Turner, 1990; Andrews, 1991; Demaine & Entwistle, 1997; Callow, 1997).

However, these attempts to redefine citizenship have had only a limited impact on debates about citizenship education in schools. They reached their apogee in the late 1980s and early 1990s with discussion of the implications for schools of the then Conservative Government's championing of civic obligation or 'active citizenship' (Hurd, 1988).

More important, in terms of citizenship education, has been the short-term trigger, namely, the seemingly pervasive erosion of the social, political, economic and moral fabric of society in England in the face of rapid economic and social change. This has resulted in increasing disquiet at the apparent breakdown of many of the institutions and values which have traditionally underpinned society and encouraged social cohesion and stability, such as family, marriage, religion and respect for the law. It has led to a particular concern about the impact of such developments on the attitudes and behaviour of young people.

From the early 1990s, this short-term trigger has ignited increasing discussion of citizenship education in relation to values education and the development of students' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. The discussion has grown into the current concern, in many quarters of British society, about the lack of a coherent program of personal, moral, social and citizenship education for students both inside and outside schools. This concern has prompted a number of initiatives.

The third key point is that the history of citizenship education confirms the extent to which 'Education for Citizenship' is a product of the spirit and concerns of the age. Citizenship education has been ascribed various purposes in the past. These include the promotion in Victorian times of the duties associated with social standing; in the 1920s of the importance of understanding local and national communities; and in the 1960s and in the 1970s of the desirability of fostering world citizenship. The focus is often dependent on the views of the dominant social or political group at the time. It is no coincidence that in the late 1980s and early 1990s the focus on the rights,

obligations and allegiances of the individual citizen reflected the influence of the rhetoric and policies of the prevailing Conservative Government. It was encapsulated in the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's famous remark in the mid-1980s that '*there is no such thing as "society". There are men. And there are women. And there are families.*' The Conservative Government championed the individualism of the free market and placed an emphasis on the importance of civic obligation or 'active citizenship'.

The term 'active citizenship' was part of a wider Conservative philosophy based on the rights and responsibilities of the individual over those of the state. The Conservative Government urged individuals to actively take up their civic responsibilities rather than leave it to the government to carry them out. It backed up the call with policies which encouraged greater private ownership and the consumer rights of individuals in all areas of life, including education.

By contrast, the new Labour Government, which came to power in May 1997, has championed a communitarian rhetoric with an emphasis on 'civic morality'. This is part of a wider philosophy of 'new Labour', as the Prime Minister Tony Blair has termed his party, and its policies, based on the civic responsibilities of the individual in partnership with the state. The Labour Government is urging individuals to act as caring people, aware of the needs and views of others and motivated to contribute positively to wider society. The emphasis on 'civic morality' is heralded publicly as a much needed antidote to counter the harmful effects of the rampant individualism which underpinned 'active citizenship'. It will be interesting to see the impact of the new Labour' rhetoric.

Yet another key point is that the history of citizenship highlights the continuities between the recent approach to citizenship education and what has gone before. Many of the characteristics of the 1990s version of citizenship education—*Education for Citizenship*—have strong echoes from the past. They include the lack of consensus about the specific purposes, approaches and outcomes of educating for citizenship in schools; the non-statutory, cross-curricular approach to 'Education for Citizenship'; the general nature of the official advice given to schools, as embodied in the National Curriculum Council guidance document *Education for Citizenship* (1990), and the distrust in schools and elsewhere of anything associated with attempts to introduce overt political education into the curriculum.

Research methods

The data-gathering process in the completion of this case study has been extensive and intensive because of the varied conceptions of citizenship education in England. It has been conducted, in the main, by the National Research Co-ordinator (NRC), David Kerr, at The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) based in Slough. The approach has been determined, in part, by the nature of the answers required for the topic domains (democracy, national identity, social diversity and cohesion) and also by the tight timetable for completion of the case study. The data gathering has been largely qualitative in nature, although with some quantitative elements. It has involved gathering and analyzing a wide range of materials and sources of information through a variety of approaches. These materials and sources of information have then been synthesised to provide answers to the topic domains.

The sources of information gathered and analysed have included:

- Academic books, articles and reports both from within education and also from the wider academic and public community.
- Articles in the popular and education press.
- Publications for professional educators.
- Official government legislation and curriculum documents.
- Guidance for schools from official government and non-government organizations and agencies.
- Curriculum materials, including textbooks.
- Questionnaire responses from teachers in secondary schools.

Materials and sources of information have been gathered from different time periods, ranging from the 1950s to the present, in order to provide a crucial historical perspective in some of the answers to the topic domains.

The approaches to the gathering, analysis and synthesising of materials and sources of information have included:

- A literature and research review for each topic domain, carried out with the assistance of the extensive support services offered by the NFER library.
- Individual interviews with the 12 National Expert Panel (NEP) members and with individuals and organisations they suggested as further sources of information. This was conducted largely by telephone because of pressures of time. Individuals and organisations were also encouraged to send to David Kerr written responses on each topic domain related to their interests and experience. Obtaining targeted written responses was made more manageable by breaking down each topic domain into four categories, namely, *General Issues*, *Official Curriculum Decisions*, *School Focused Matters* and *National (non-Government) Organisations*. Individuals and

organisations were able to make a response under the category or categories most appropriate to their activities and concerns.

- A curriculum analysis of official government sources and of developments in relevant subjects and curriculum areas.
- An analysis of curriculum materials, including textbooks.
- A national survey of approaches to Values Education in secondary schools, conducted by NFER. This national survey completed by teachers included a number of questions on citizenship education. Follow-up telephone interviews were conducted with teachers in some of the schools at the start of the second phase of the Values Education initiative.

Citizenship education in England: key findings

The findings in relation to the topic domains highlight many aspects of citizenship education in England. However, there is room here to focus only on the most significant ones. What is most striking in the findings is the huge gaps that currently exist in the knowledge and research base which underpins this area in England. There has been little research on political socialization and citizenship education in England during the past 20 years (Furnham & Stacey, 1991). Debates and discussions, the making of official curriculum policy, the efforts of curriculum developers, and the making of policy in individual schools take place in almost total ignorance of current aims and practices of citizenship education at the school level, and of the impact of such education at the student level. In particular, little is known about the following at the school level:

- the impact of school ideology or ethos on approaches to citizenship education
- the provision for citizenship education in secondary schools
- the strategies, resources and approaches employed by teachers in the classroom
- the needs of schools and teachers regarding citizenship education
- the outcomes of citizenship education programs.

At the student level, little is known about:

- the extent and type of knowledge and understanding 11- to 16-year-olds have of society
- the stages of development that students of this age group go through in acquiring social knowledge
- the individual, social and cultural determinants of the development and growth of students' social knowledge

- the relationships between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour among this age group
- the degree to which schools, teachers and the curriculum can affect the acquisition of social knowledge by students and influence their attitudes and behavior.

This lack of knowledge has made it difficult to provide detailed answers to issues concerning curriculum organization and student experiences.

The other striking aspect of the findings is the extent to which the prevailing political context influences the nature of the discussion of citizenship education. This has created a particular ebb and flow in the discussion across the decades, as citizenship education has risen periodically to prominence in the debate about the shape of the whole curriculum. Indeed, political context has been chosen by the National Expert Panel as the theme which is of most interest arising from the research about civic education in England. It is discussed in more detail in the next section.

All three topic domains raise important concepts and sets of issues for England. However, these concepts and issues are rarely examined explicitly either in society or in schools. This makes it difficult to be specific about the extent to which the topic domains of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion are important as ways of understanding aspects of citizenship education in England. This has been confirmed by the findings of a recent major comparative research program into aspects of citizenship in Britain and in the United States (Crewe, Searing & Conover, 1996; P. Phillips, 1997). The study discovered that for British respondents citizenship was an alien concept and played only a peripheral part in their self-perception; they attached far more importance and value to their sense of Britishness. If citizenship meant anything it was defined in relation to being a member of a community (local rather than national) and doing something beneficial in that community. Arnot (1996) in a survey of student teachers in England at the end of their initial training course also found that the student teachers had great difficulty defining the concept of citizenship and listing the characteristics of a 'good citizen'.

The distancing of citizenship from the questions of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion in England is deep-rooted. There is no tradition of developing national allegiance or social cohesion through the political system and civic culture. Nor is that culture embodied in contractual symbols of democratic importance such as a bill of rights or written constitution. Indeed, there is no common core of civic principles and values which command national allegiance and are transmitted to students through schools and elsewhere in society. This is in marked contrast to other countries such as the United States.

This distancing has been carried over into the education system. The connection between education and student acquisition of a sense of national iden-

tity or civic loyalty has long made people uneasy. This is largely because of the fear of bias in such a connection and the difficulties posed for teachers in maintaining the distinction between the education of students as opposed to their indoctrination. Though the maintenance of a democratic society is a central aim of education in England, it is not formalised in the curriculum. Rather it remains an intended outcome of the whole educational experience for students offered through many different forms and contexts, and involving not only schools but also parents and society in general. As a result, schools have long been viewed as institutions which develop critical reasoning skills and attempt to shape the behavior of students rather than serve nationalistic ends.

The school curriculum

It is not surprising that in England there are no explicit official (i.e. government) curriculum goals related to the three topic domains. Instead, there are implicit goals in the official curriculum framework for schools, as set out in the 1988 *Education Reform Act* (ERA) (GB. Statutes, 1988). ERA placed a statutory responsibility upon schools to provide 'a balanced and broadly based curriculum that promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society...[and] prepares pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life' (Section 1(2)). This was to be achieved through a National Curriculum for students aged 5 to 16 consisting of three core and seven foundation subjects and religious education, and supported by cross-curricular dimensions, skills and themes. Education for Citizenship was identified as one of the five cross-curricular themes. The implicit goals underlying this official curriculum framework have been developed from the 1970s and the framework itself has been subject to revision since 1988.

The current situation is that it remains up to each school and Local Education Authority to decide how best to approach the revised National Curriculum framework. The path from the establishment of official curriculum goals by central government to the decision of each school as to how to approach them in their own institution is an extremely complex one. It involves not only central government and its national agencies, but also political interest groups, local agencies, school staff, school governors and non-governmental national organisations. Indeed, the drawing up of the National Curriculum goals was itself a tortuous process involving not only periods of public consultation but also significant political input.

The topic domains of democracy, national identity and social diversity and cohesion have generated a great deal of public discussion and controversy in England over the past 20 years. They remain on the education and public agenda, particularly in the light of the next proposed revision of the National Curriculum in the year 2000. They are also kept there, in part, by the efforts

of the large number of non-governmental national organizations which take an interest in what 11- to 16-year-olds should know about these topics. They are a diverse group. They range from those at the forefront of supporting the development of citizenship education in schools (notably The Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education, The Citizenship Foundation and The Institute for Citizenship Studies); to those who work with children and young people (such as youth agencies, charities and children's rights organisations); to others such as political interest groups, the media and national organizations concerned with equal opportunities and racial equality. Many of these organizations, particularly those in the voluntary sector, report feeling marginalized from the official debates about the nature of citizenship education. They view such debates as overly dominated by narrow concerns about the shape of the school curriculum, to the exclusion of wider issues about the overall educational experience of students both in schools and in the community.

The case study findings also highlight, in particular, how little is known about just what emphasis is given to citizenship education in schools and about how it is addressed through the curriculum. They demonstrate how each school has a large degree of autonomy in delivering the non-statutory curriculum framework and in deciding how, where and when the topic domains associated with citizenship education might be included as part of students' experiences. Though there is rich potential for addressing citizenship education through National Curriculum subjects, the additional subjects and cross-curricular elements, tapping that potential is dependent on schools identifying suitable contexts and planning for experiences within subjects. This requires making time in a crowded timetable to give citizenship education some priority.

The limited research base on how schools address citizenship education reflects the impact of this institutional autonomy and breadth of opportunity (Fogelman, 1990). Part of the approach to the case study was an attempt to add to this limited research base. Accordingly, a number of questions on citizenship education were included in a national survey of provision and practice for values education in 173 secondary schools conducted by NFER (Taylor & Lines, 1998). Initial responses support the previous conclusions. The curriculum subjects most frequently mentioned for delivery of citizenship education are history/humanities (63 per cent of schools at Key Stage 3, i.e. students 11 to 14 years of age, and 55 per cent at Key Stage 4, i.e. students 14 to 16 years) and English (42 per cent at Key Stage 3 and 32 per cent at Key Stage 4). Only 19 per cent of schools deliver it as a defined cross-curricular theme and only 2 per cent as a separate subject. However, the most frequently mentioned place for delivery is Personal and Social Education (PSE) (83 per cent and 78 per cent) as well as in form time and tutorial groups (58 per cent and 50 per cent).

Student experiences

Unfortunately, it proved impossible in the case study to measure the extent to which students are assessed on what they have learned about topics associated with citizenship education. There is no national examination or formal assessment that all students take which does this, and little is known about the classroom assessment practices of teachers. Nor was it possible to identify a relevant set of text materials (i.e. textbooks) which address citizenship education in the context of secondary schools in England. First, there is no list of approved textbooks in England. Instead, each school purchases its own textbooks from a wide selection available from commercial publishers. Second, it is not easy to identify the most popular textbooks because of the free market in the production and purchase. Third, many of the textbooks do not cover citizenship education because it is not explicitly addressed in the official curriculum framework.

It also proved difficult to find out what kind of activities and assignments students cover in the classroom in relation to citizenship education. The official curriculum neither explicitly addresses citizenship education nor prescribes methods of instruction. Instead, the decision is left to the professional judgement of teachers. However, there has been little research into specific teaching and learning activities which address the topics associated with citizenship education. Kerr (1996), in a survey of 144 primary schools, found that teachers felt the most effective approach to citizenship education was through active strategies, such as discussion and debate. Crewe et al. (1996), in a comparative research program into aspects of citizenship in paired communities in Britain and the United States, found that nearly 80 per cent of students aged 15 to 16 in their British sample communities engaged in little discussion of public issues in the classroom.

It was a similar picture in relation to the common extracurricular activities inside schools, which give students the opportunity to learn more about citizenship. There is a singular lack of research evidence on extracurricular activities in English schools. The limited research that has been carried out suggests that there is no standard or common practice inside schools. First, there are no national holidays or famous landmarks in the country's history or literature which are universally celebrated in schools. Nor are there periods of time officially designated to commemorate certain events, such as Women's History day, or Black History week or European Awareness month, around which schools can base activities. Instead, students may be involved in a broad range of extracurricular activities, from school councils and community activities to clubs and school teams. Fogelman (1990), in a survey of 455 secondary schools, found the most common extracurricular activities involving students were community activity or service (90 per cent of schools) and school councils (60 per cent).

Second, students 14 to 16 years old are more likely to participate in these

extracurricular activities than are younger students. This is particularly apparent in more formalised activities such as school councils.

Third, these activities are intended to broaden students' experiences and encourage active student decision-making. There is a growing groundswell of support from outside the formal education system in England, led by children's rights, community service and youth movements, for greater student involvement in such decision-making activities (Lansdown, 1995; Willow, 1997; British Youth Council, 1997; National Youth Agency, 1997). This case study included an attempt to add to this limited research base. As part of a national values education survey, conducted by NFER, secondary schools were asked to list the activities through which students have opportunities inside school to experience citizenship. Initial findings confirm the broad approach in many schools. At Key Stage 3 (students 11 to 14 years old) the most common activities are charity fund-raising (87 per cent of schools), visiting speakers (69 per cent), school councils (67 per cent), clubs and societies (57 per cent), environment projects (50 per cent) and community activities (49 per cent). The list also includes work experience, formal award schemes, school magazines, mock political elections, voluntary work, debating society and school committees. Key Stage 4 (students 14 to 16 years) responses show a similar breadth. The most common activities are work experience (84 per cent), charity fund-raising (78 per cent), visiting speakers (70 per cent), school councils (63 per cent), community activities (57 per cent) and formal award schemes (54 per cent) (Taylor & Lines, 1998).

This case study also reveals how little is known about students' experiences of activities outside school. There are many opportunities for 11- to 16-year-olds, through the experiences offered by organizations such as youth groups, often associated with religion, the boy scout and girl guide movement, sports and recreational clubs, volunteering and community groups and charities and environment groups, to gain experience relating to the topic domains of citizenship education. However, little is known about levels of participation of young people. A research study by Roker, Player and Coleman (1997) of 1,160 14- to 16-year-olds has suggested higher levels of interest and participation of this age group in voluntary and campaigning activities than previously reported. The study found that the majority of those questioned had been involved in some form of political or community action in the past year. Further detailed research is required.

Teachers

As to teachers, the case study reveals that teachers in secondary schools have had little explicit or implicit preparation for delivering citizenship education in classrooms. The topic domains are not a priority in pre-service (termed initial) and inservice (termed INSET or CPD) training in England. Though there have been occasional courses in the past, boosted by the appearance of

Education for Citizenship as a cross-curricular theme, these have all but ceased. INSET and initial teacher training for the secondary sector, the latter based on one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) courses, are dominated by the demands of the formal curriculum. Teachers train to teach a main (usually National Curriculum) subject. However, those teachers who have completed a PGCE course in the past 10 years are likely to have covered issues relating to personal and social education, equal opportunities and multicultural education as part of their educational or professional studies course component.

Recent research by Arnot (1996) has shown that, despite these increased opportunities, many student teachers in England feel ill-prepared and uncomfortable, at the end of their PGCE course, in addressing issues related to citizenship education in schools. In particular, less than 10 per cent of student teachers felt confident in teaching about social class and ethnic groups or public and working life in Britain, while only 4 per cent felt confident about teaching legal rights. Many also recognised the inherent difficulty of teaching common values in a heterogeneous society. However the new generation of teachers also defined the primary aim of citizenship education as the promotion of greater harmony between different social groups, the encouragement of active participation in society, and individual responsibility.

This situation has caused official concern at the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (now the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)) which establishes and monitors qualifications and curriculum at national level. It may lead to citizenship education being strengthened in pre-service and INSET training following the revision of the National Curriculum in the year 2000. Indeed, the recent consultation papers from the Teacher Training Agency on new national professional qualifications for head teachers and subject leaders have included, under the category *People and Relationships*, an expectation of staff and students with regard to 'encouraging moral and spiritual growth and civic and social responsibility' (1996, p.7).

Outside agencies

The case study process also highlights the lack of knowledge about the influence of outside agencies such as the media and politicians. In particular, there has been a lack of systematic research to date both on the use of the media by 11- to 16-year-olds and on its influence on their political socialization, developing sense of national identity and acquisition of ideas about social cohesion and diversity. However, the case study found that the volume of research is now increasing, driven by research findings from the United States, and that what little is known suggests a number of characteristics in students' engagement with the media in England (Carrington & Short, 1997). First, the media, particularly television, is embedded in the culture of 11- to 16-year-

olds. Recent statistics have revealed that 4- to 15-year-olds watch over 19 hours of television per week and have access to the 27 million copies of daily and 31 million copies of Sunday newspapers sold in Britain each week (GB. CSO, 1996).

Second, there are ample opportunities for students to sample material through the media related to the topic domains associated with the international core framing questions. For example, Parliament is now televised, daily news coverage is dominated by national and local political issues and many television soap operas have storylines which focus on different types of families and relationships, on the treatment of women and ethnic groups and address issues of discrimination.

Third, 11- to 16-year-olds are critically selective consumers of the media, in that they make conscious, informed choices as to what they watch and read. This is very noticeable in the area of television and newspapers. Television viewing by this age group is dominated by children's programs (25 per cent of viewing time) and light entertainment (20 per cent) with news a low priority (6 per cent). A similar pattern emerges in terms of newspaper (both national and local) reading habits, with entertainment, features and sports pages the most popular.

Fourth, they have a low interest in political affairs as currently defined and presented in the media (Walker, 1996). Students of this age find most news and politics boring. They often do not know enough about the context, and the issues appear remote from their everyday experiences.

Interestingly, Billig (1995) and Anderson (1991) have claimed that material presented by the media is a vital part of the everyday reproduction of a cohesive, national identity for people in Britain. Billig, in particular, argues that this form of nationalism, what he terms 'banal nationalism', operates beyond the level of conscious public awareness but is nevertheless deeply ingrained in people's consciousness. However, more research is needed into the impact of the media on this age group before the merits of this thesis can be evaluated.

What is clear from the case study is that political parties do not attempt to influence directly exactly what students learn about the topic domains associated with citizenship education. Instead, there is a broad political consensus that education should prepare students for their roles and responsibilities in adult life, including those as citizens in a democracy. However, there is nothing to stop materials produced by political parties being used in the classroom. Influence by political parties tends to be by indirect means. It is confined largely to involvement in determining the overall shape of the curriculum, and the impact of public pronouncements by prominent politicians which are widely reported in the mass media.

The case study reveals that a particularly pressing issue for the three main political parties (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat) is the declining

number of 18- to 34-year-olds actively participating in the political process at national and local levels. This was demonstrated in the cross-party support for the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship in 1990. Though much of the effort of the political parties is aimed primarily at those over 16 years of age, there is a growing recognition of the need to encourage 11- to 16-year-olds to become interested in the political process. Accordingly, there is cross-party support for a number of initiatives and competitions aimed at secondary schools. These include endorsements by politicians of public speaking and debating competitions and of initiatives, such as mock parliaments and elections, involving students in this age group. Many Members of Parliament regularly visit schools in their constituencies to talk to students. There is also cross-party support for making information about the political process more widely available to schools.

Since the 1970s, politicians have also taken a growing interest in the periodic reshaping of the curriculum. Indeed, the emerging accounts about the creation of the National Curriculum have highlighted the extent of interference from Conservative politicians in the curriculum process (Graham with Tytler, 1993; M. Phillips, 1996). It will be interesting to see how the new Labour Government handles the further revision of the National Curriculum, which will be completed in the year 2000.

Deep-seated obstacles

Finally, two findings emerge from research findings over the past 20 years, reinforced by the questionnaire responses of teachers directly involved in the case study process. The first is that schools in England face a number of deep-seated obstacles in dealing with citizenship education. They include the low interest of students in such issues; a lack of tradition in explicitly addressing democracy, national identity, social diversity and cohesion; a lack of teacher commitment and confidence arising from the dangers of promoting bias, indoctrinating students and alienating groups in the community; and a lack of pre-service or inservice training for teachers to develop teacher skills in appropriate teaching methods.

The second finding is that these obstacles or problems remain for schools in England in the late 1990s. Indeed, they have been accentuated by the inclusion of clauses 44 and 45 in the *1986 Education (No.2) Act* to prevent student indoctrination, and by the introduction of the National Curriculum. Because citizenship education is not explicitly included in the National Curriculum framework, it has been difficult for schools, given the demands of delivering the core and foundation subjects plus religious education, to find time to address democracy, national identity and social cohesion and diversity. The potential for addressing these topic domains through the cross-curricular theme of Education for Citizenship and the cross-curricular dimensions has not been realised by secondary schools (Whitty, Rowe & Appleton, 1994;

Saunders, MacDonald, Hewitt & Schagen, 1995).

Indeed, as part of this case study, 173 secondary schools in a national survey of values education, conducted by NFER, were asked what were the main obstacles or problems faced in dealing with citizenship education. Schools reported that the main obstacle or problem is pressure on the school timetable (79 per cent of schools), followed by lack of funding for resources (51 per cent), lack of an agreed-upon definition of citizenship education (38 per cent), lack of staff expertise (35 per cent), lack of staff commitment/confidence (31 per cent), non-availability of suitable resources (28 per cent) and lack of national advice and guidance (27 per cent). The demands of the National Curriculum have clearly prevented most schools from giving more attention to citizenship education during the last 10 years. This has prompted calls throughout the 1990s for a proper debate about the status and nature of citizenship education. These developments are discussed in more detail in the next section.

Citizenship education and the political context

One of the striking aspects of the findings concerning citizenship education in England is the extent to which the prevailing political context influences the nature of the discussion of citizenship education. The discussion has centred on a number of overarching questions, most notably: What is British society? What does it mean to be a British subject or citizen? What is the purpose and role of education in British society? These underlie the topic domains in the international core framing questions and generate a further series of sub-questions.

At the heart of the discussion of democracy are sub-questions about the health of the democratic system in England, and the role of education in maintaining and improving that system. These are supplemented by concern about the attitudes and behavior of young people, particularly in relation to their ability to take up their future roles and responsibilities in a democratic society, and by anxiety about the effectiveness of schools in preparing students for adult life.

Meanwhile, the discussion of national identity centres on the sub-question of the desirability and extent of a national history and/or a national literary canon at the heart of the school curriculum. It has become enmeshed in issues of citizenship, national loyalty, cultural heritage and language, particularly concerning the relationship between the majority in society and minority groups. The discussion also involves arguments about the treatment given to certain groups through British history and literature, particularly the extent to which those from minority groups, and their cultures, can or should be incorporated into the school curriculum (Collicott, 1990). It also encom-

passes concerns not only about new forms of content and pedagogical approaches, such as the 'new history' and media studies in English, but also about the role of history and English in British society at the end of the 20th Century.

The discussion of social cohesion and diversity covers similar ground to that of national identity. It focuses particularly on the changing relationship between the majority society and minorities, and the extent to which those from minority groups and their cultures should be incorporated into society and schools. There has been much discussion of this issue in relation to citizenship, national identity and cultural heritage, including the acquisition and use of language (Lynch, 1992).

Attempts to answer these questions and associated sub-questions have sparked fierce debates in each decade, many of which remain unresolved. Clearly, the answers to the first two key questions—what is British society? and what does it mean to be a British subject or citizen?—influence the answer to the third question—what is the purpose and role of education in British society? This, in turn, impacts on proposals as to the organization of schools and the shape of the curriculum. The discussion of these questions has been one of ebb and flow in each decade, often leading to controversy when proposals and concerns within the wider political context clash with those generated from within the education system. The following provides a brief historical overview which examines the impact of the prevailing political context on the nature of the discussion of citizenship education over the past three decades.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was an emphasis from within education on the personal and social development of students. It included support for political education or 'political literacy', the development of multi-cultural and anti-racist education and the evolution of a less British-centred curriculum, as a central part of such development (Crick & Porter, 1978). This was driven largely by those on the left of education. It was a reaction to the historic conservatism of the curriculum which gave teachers little opportunity to discuss controversial and contemporary issues with students.

The emphasis on students' personal and social development heralded changes in approach to traditional subjects, such as the development of 'new history' courses. It also saw the growth of a range of school courses incorporating political education in the widest sense of the term. These courses attempted to have more relevance for students in terms of their experiences and needs in modern society. They included personal and social education (PSE), social studies, peace studies, war studies, civics, law-related education, global education, human rights education, environmental education, women's studies, Black studies and European studies courses. The majority of these new courses were centred upon the core concept of social justice and respect for human rights. They were aimed at both primary and secondary school

students. They reached their apogee with the publication of the Swann Report, *Education for All*, commissioned by the government in 1985. The report included a series of recommendations for a curriculum for students in a culturally plural society. The recommendations were overtaken by the debates surrounding the introduction of the National Curriculum.

These developments led to increasing concern from the political right about the dangers of political bias and classroom indoctrination in such courses and about the threat they posed to the traditional conservatism of the curriculum. In particular, efforts to be more inclusive of minorities, through multi-cultural and anti-racist education, which recognises ethnic and cultural diversity and acts positively against prejudice and discrimination, were viewed by many on the right as divisive and a threat to the identity, culture and language of the majority (Hillgate Group, 1986). The anxiety about indoctrination resulted in the inclusion of two clauses (44 and 45) in the 1986 *Education (No. 2) Act* designed to protect students from bias and political indoctrination. The Act, while recognising that controversial issues could not be kept out of the curriculum, imposed a statutory responsibility on teachers to be even-handed in their handling of such issues in the classroom.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, the discussion had shifted to take account of the increasing central government control over the school curriculum. Controversy now arose over two issues. First, there was the debate about the introduction of the National Curriculum and what was to be included in it. Second, what were the implications for education of the Conservative Government's concept of 'active citizenship'? The National Curriculum was viewed in many quarters as an attempt to reassert or restore British heritage and culture in the school curriculum in the face of gains by cultural pluralism in the previous decades. This was evidenced by no mention of race, ethnicity or multi-cultural education in ERA and by the exclusion of a number of school courses which had grown in popularity, such as PSE, political education and social studies, from the curriculum framework.

Indeed, the National Curriculum ushered in the resurgence of the traditional conservative curriculum. It led to the rapid decline of school courses centred on the concept of social justice which had developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, the debates about the National Curriculum were dominated by those subjects linked to the transmission of British heritage and culture, notably history, English and religious education. The history debate was particularly acrimonious involving academics, politicians and educationalists (Clark, 1990). The debates were rejoined with the further revision of the National Curriculum in 1994 (Tate, 1995; R. Phillips, 1996).

Meanwhile, the Conservative Government's concept of 'active citizenship' sparked debate about its implications for education and young people (Hurd, 1988). The debate was further fueled by the publication of two documents which attempted to define citizenship education. First, *Encouraging Citizen-*

ship (Commission on Citizenship, 1990) made recommendations as to ways of encouraging social citizenship through education, public services and the voluntary sector, and second, *CG8: Education for Citizenship* (1990) offered guidance for schools from the National Curriculum Council on how to develop essential components of education for citizenship.

The issues of national identity, social cohesion and diversity, culture and the curriculum remain on the political and educational agenda (Haydn, 1996; M. Phillips, 1997). They have been kept there, in part, by the strong support of Dr Nick Tate, now Chief Executive of the new Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), for the use of the curriculum to promote the majority culture and British identity in schools (Tate, 1994, 1995, 1996). Dr Tate has stated that he sees such promotion as an important way of combating racism among students (1997). Indeed, the implementation of the National Curriculum has brought increased recognition of the tensions and problems in trying to promote national identity through education policy, particularly in the wider societal context of increased globalisation and rapid cultural change in Britain.

The mid-1990s to the present day has witnessed the latest episode of public discussion and controversy concerning citizenship education. It is centred on the moral, spiritual and social dimensions in education and modern life and has been brought to a head by a number of developments in the public domain. First, the social, political and moral fabric of society in England has seemingly been eroded by the impact of rapid economic and social change. This has resulted in increasing disquiet at the apparent breakdown of the institutions and values which have traditionally underpinned society and encouraged social cohesion and stability, such as marriage, family and respect for the law. There has been particular concern about growing apathy toward the formal political process, as evidenced by the decline in the number of people voting at national and local elections.

Second, such developments have had a potentially damaging effect on contemporary English society. A number of research studies, both national and comparative, have concluded that there is a perceptible decline in civic culture in English society and a marked absence of a political and moral discourse in public life, in contrast to other countries (Crewe et al., 1996; P. Phillips, 1997).

Third, such developments have had an increasingly negative impact on young people. A number of the studies have focused on attitudes and behaviour of the 18 to 34 age group. The findings have prompted concerns about the succeeding generation of school-aged children (Park, 1995; Wilkinson & Mulgan, 1995; Roberts & Sachdev, 1996). There has been increasing anxiety over the rising level of anti-social behaviour by school-age children and of the sharp rise in the number of student exclusions from schools.

Fourth, there are the shockwaves caused by a series of high profile trag-

edies involving school-aged children, most notably the murder of the toddler James Bulger by two schoolboys, the massacre of infant pupils at Dunblane and the fatal stabbing of the London head teacher Phillip Lawrence outside his school.

These developments have, in turn, been translated into growing anxiety about the lack of a coherent framework for moral, spiritual and social education both inside and outside schools in England (White, 1994). This anxiety has prompted action both from within the education system and from without. Many grassroots initiatives have sprung up, aimed primarily at influencing the behaviour and attitudes of students and enabling them to voice their feelings and concerns. These include the growth of such things as: mentoring schemes providing adult role models for students, for example, KWESI in Birmingham for ethnic minority students; local children's rights forums, often linked to local councils or children's organisations, for example, Article 12 and the Children's Rights Office (Willow, 1997); and campaigns designed to encourage young people to get their views and actions across to a wider audience through, for example, the Commission for Racial Equality's 'All Different, All Equal' and 'Roots of the Future' campaigns or through lobbying (BYC, 1997).

The anxiety has also resulted in a series of national initiatives. The most prominent are the establishment of the National Forum for Values in Education and in the Community; the setting up of a Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, by the Runnymede Trust, to be chaired by Sir John Burgh; a proposal from the Hansard Society for a Commission on Education for Democratic Citizenship to be chaired by Sir Stephen Tumim (Hansard Society, 1996); the designation, by the European Union, of 1997 as the European Year Against Racism, and the creation of the Phillip Lawrence citizenship awards in memory of the murdered London head teacher. The National Forum has already identified and gained public agreement on a number of core values vital to the functioning of modern English society. It has also set about drawing up model programs of study centred upon personal, social, citizenship and parenting skills for schools, along with guidelines for community service by students, for inclusion in the revised National Curriculum from the year 2000 (National Forum, 1996).

These projects and initiatives are aimed primarily at encouraging the greater involvement of young people in addressing issues related to political socialization and citizenship education, often through their local communities. They have the potential to be emulated more widely in schools and to influence future reforms at national level. Indeed, Dr Tate has hinted strongly at the need for a proper debate about the status of citizenship education and the values underpinning British society, as part of the next revision of the National Curriculum to be completed in the year 2000 (Tate, 1996).

The new Labour Government, in its first Education White Paper,

Excellence in Schools (GB. Parliament. House of Commons, 1997), signaled its intention to build on existing developments at national and grassroots level. The White Paper announced a period of public consultation on citizenship and the setting up of an Advisory Group to strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. The Group is chaired by Professor Bernard Crick of Birbeck College, University of London, who spearheaded the national program for Political Education in the late 1970s. Its patron is Betty Boothroyd, the speaker of the House of Commons. Its members include the former Education and Home Secretary Lord Kenneth Baker. David Kerr has been seconded from NFER to offer the chairman and Group members specialist expertise and advice.

The Group will give advice on how schools can teach their students about the nature and practices of participation in democracy and the duties, responsibilities and rights which individuals have as citizens; and encourage them to play an active part in their communities. It will identify opportunities for effective education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. The Group is already being offered considerable advice on how to proceed. It will be interesting to see the extent to which the Group's deliberations and final recommendations are influenced not only by the legacy of the discussion of citizenship education in England over the preceding decades, but also by the prevailing political context.

Conclusion: the challenges of citizenship education in England

The English case study has borne witness to the diversified state of citizenship education in England and to the varied views as to its content and underlying sets of values. These pose a series of fundamental challenges for educationalists and, in particular, for the Government's new Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools. The main challenges are outlined below.

Definition: What is meant by citizenship education? What aspects does it encompass? Is it a body of knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, values or experiences, or is it also about encouraging participation and active citizenship? To what extent is there, or can there be, a shared understanding or agreement on such matters by the teaching profession and leaders in society, since it has been extremely difficult to achieve a degree of consensus in the past. How can such a consensus be built? Is it a necessary step in order to drive forward citizenship education in England?

Location: Where is citizenship education best located? Is it best in the school curriculum or in the community, or a mixture of the two? If the answer is in

the school curriculum is it to be in both primary and secondary school? Is it best as a cross-curricular component, or in particular subjects such as history/humanities and English, or in personal and social education (PSE), or in designated time slots? What percentage of curriculum time is it to occupy? Is there a role for community-based activities as well as classroom learning?

Approach: How is it to be approached? Rowe (1997) has identified eight models of citizenship education and each model has particular implications for pedagogical approaches. Is it possible to devise a coherent approach to citizenship education? What model(s) should the government support and promote? What is to be the status and nature of central government recommendations? Is citizenship education to be a statutory, curriculum component or, as it has often been in the past, a non-statutory element?

Involvement: Who is to be involved in citizenship education and who is best placed to deliver it? What is to be the role of students, teachers, parents, community representatives and support agencies? Are all teachers to be involved, or will it be the responsibility of designated specialist teachers? How can parents, governors, community representatives and support organisations best be involved, perhaps in partnership with schools?

Resourcing: How is citizenship education to be resourced? Teachers need assistance in terms of training, resources and time to get to grips with citizenship, but who is going to provide and pay for such assistance? Who is going to meet the particular training needs of newly qualified teachers? How can the guidance and resources offered by support agencies and community representatives be better targeted and co-ordinated?

Purpose/Outcomes: What is the purpose(s) of citizenship education? Who are the chief beneficiaries—individual groups or society in general? Are benefits confined to students while they are at school or do they have a potentially lifelong impact? What are the outcomes for students of involvement in citizenship education programs? What is meant by student progression in citizenship education? Can it be measured and assessed? What are student outcomes at the end of compulsory schooling? What can citizenship education achieve?

It will not be easy for the government and its Advisory Group to overcome these fundamental challenges. However, a useful starting-point is to revisit past approaches to citizenship education in England. As this case-study chapter highlights, there is much that can be learnt from the past. Indeed, such revisiting is vital if the next set of recommendations on citizenship programs in schools is to avoid the fate of previous attempts and achieve lasting inclusion in the curriculum, and in the practices of teachers and schools. All too often, past attempts, such as the National Curriculum Council's *Curriculum Guidance 8: Education for Citizenship* (1990), have been launched on a wave

of high expectations only to subside as short-lived, consultative exercises. Key criteria to increase the chances of future success include: creating a much stronger research and information base to underpin discussion of this area; overcoming the scepticism of teachers in schools, and broadening the discussion to encompass students' experiences both in schools and in the community. This last point would encourage greater involvement of those groups and organisations who work with young people in society. They currently feel excluded from what they perceive to be a discussion dominated by the narrow concerns of the school curriculum. Citizenship education is as much about the communities in which schools are situated and the nature of society, as it is about the school curriculum. All too often in the past this fact has not been sufficiently acknowledged.

It is premature to speculate on whether the proposed government initiative concerning citizenship education will be a success. However, revisiting past approaches suggests two conclusions. First, any recommendations on citizenship education will spark considerable controversy and debate. Second, civics will remain on the political and educational agenda in England, as the country moves toward the 21st Century. It is hoped that this chapter on the state of education for citizenship in England, and the comparative information provided by case studies from other countries, will make a significant contribution to the on-going review of this crucial area, in both England and abroad.

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TOWARD A DYNAMIC VIEW OF SOCIETY: CIVIC EDUCATION IN FINLAND

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Finnish civil society in the 1990s: tradition and change

The concept of civil society in Nordic thinking presupposes both political rights and shared social and economic security. Political democracy has prevailed in Finland continuously since the beginning of the 20th Century. Universal suffrage, including for women, was introduced in Finland as early as 1906. The electoral system is based on proportional representation, which has led to a multi-party system.

Finland gained independence in 1917, in a trend toward national autonomy which rose after the First World War, and according to the Constitution Act her form of government is republic. The constitution grants the President considerable powers, but nevertheless the power of the Parliament is strong. The Constitution Act has remained almost unchanged ever since. Not even the totalitarian winds of the 1920s and 1930s managed to erode this foundation to any significant extent. Although Finnish society itself was deeply divided after the Civil War in 1918, the totalitarian trends were reflected only in a temporary crisis with restrictions on civil rights.

Finland got through the Second World War as an independent, though defeated, country. No change took place in the polity, although the complicated relationship with the victorious nation, the Soviet Union, resulted in foreign-policy limitations and self-censorship in the decades to follow. As a result of developments that had begun in the 1930s, Finland became a Nordic welfare state. Rapid economic growth in the 1960s made it possible to complete the welfare structures. Education and health services, together with many recreational services, were included in the range of public funding, and available for everyone. Various social safety networks were set up. In the 1980s, Finnish society directed substantial financial support to children's day care. Equality between the sexes was implemented to a large extent in workplaces, as well. Owing to the trade unions, the distribution of income was, in the 1980s, one of the most even in Europe.

Decision-making became even more democratic in the sense that more authority was transferred to the local and community level. Since the early 1990s, the municipalities have been able to decide themselves how they allocate state subsidies to various needs. However, democratization attempts in companies and schools have been less likely to yield lasting results.

In terms of economic and societal democracy, the 1980s signaled a change in the welfare state. Changes in global economic thinking, gearing toward hard-line neoliberalism, had repercussions in Finland, as well. Consequently, the grip the national central bank used to have over business was relaxed. The trade unions could only watch, as, along with quickly spreading automation, hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost in industry. Economic deregulation gained momentum especially in the 1990s. In Finland the public sector had never owned or controlled more than about a fifth of capital in the economy,

but in the 1990s even part of this fifth was privatized. Economic recession together with the new policies resulted in retrenchments in administration and public services.

The crisis in social thinking in the early 1990s was accompanied with a severe economic recession. Between 1992 and 1996, 13 to 19 per cent of the labor force were unemployed. The threat of unemployment was experienced not only by industrial workers but also by middle-class, clerical employees. Although the welfare structures still guaranteed reasonable unemployment benefits, some marginalization was evident. Discussion about the remedial actions concerning unemployment was very dissonant: some views were based on the ideas of the welfare state, while others derived from hard-line neoliberalism. With consensus beyond reach and the economic crisis growing more serious, the differences in income distribution increased.

A new turn in the development of Finnish democracy took place in 1995, when Finland joined the European Union. Even though most of the legislative authority remained in the national parliament, the norms set by the European community affected Finland's industrial structure by reducing small farms and the labor force in certain sectors of industry. Joint monetary policy called for adopting a fiscal line and meant reconsidering the structures created in the name of the welfare state.

The challenges to Finnish democracy in the mid-1990s relate to the issues of social equality and citizens' influence. This article is a review of the Finnish civic education, and of recent developments within the Finnish school system with relevance to civics. The article is based upon systematic analysis of curricula and social studies textbooks, as well as upon research findings on the political and social attitudes and the world view of the young.

Civics in civil society

The development of the welfare state and the democratization of civil society, described in the previous section, has also been reflected in the Finnish school system, which, in recent decades, has been subject to continual reforms aiming at the ideals of equality. In the 1970s the parallel school system was replaced with the comprehensive school. It can be characterized as a school of civil society seeking to ensure similar educational opportunities for the entire age group from 7- to 16-year-olds, although in practice there are many obstacles barring the system from reaching this ideal. In its present form the comprehensive school consists of the lower stage (Grades 1 to 6) and the upper stage (Grades 7 to 9). After comprehensive school, about a half of the age cohort continues their studies in the senior secondary school, which is an institution for general education and a gateway to universities. Alongside this line of general education there is a range of various vocational institutes.

The Finnish school system is experiencing large-scale change. Both the comprehensive and the senior secondary school curricula were reformed in the early 1990s. At the same time, hitherto centralized administration was decentralized, and schools and municipalities got much more authority in educational issues. This change can be seen as part of similar decentralization trends in other sectors. Responsibility for curricular planning now resides at the local level. The National Board of Education (1994) has published framework curricula both for the comprehensive and the senior secondary school, leaving the schools much more latitude than the syllabi of the national curricula did in the past. Deregulation provides opportunities for considerable variation between schools, potentially increasing educational inequality.

The curricula, experienced by the students, have also become much more flexible and individualized. The senior secondary school is already course-based, that is, not graded in year-classes, and so students may pursue their studies at their own pace, within certain limits. In addition, the range of optional courses has been increased. As school-based and student-based flexibility is increasing, it is more difficult to picture the kind of education any given student receives. Due to its cross-curricular nature, civics is dispersed over the syllabi of several subjects. Broadly speaking, it is actually a task of the whole school system, along with the development of a student's personality (*Comprehensive School Act* 27.5.1983/576).

The comprehensive school's curricula are founded on general education, which covers not only cognitive aspects but also ethics, aesthetical sensitivity, observation and social skills. The new curricular guidelines (1994) specify values that promote socialization. As far as growing up as a member of a democratic society is concerned, the most significant elements are social skills and the perception of the student as an active organizer of his or her own knowledge structure and conception of the world. The framework curricula of 1994 laid a more articulated emphasis on individual initiative than did the previous guidelines of 1985.

In the curriculum, growth toward becoming a member of civil society has been taken into account as one of the elements of the value basis (see *Framework Curriculum for the Comprehensive School*, 1994, p.17):

Some of the characteristics of a functioning society of citizens are the citizens' mutual equality and people's willingness to actively participate in attending to common affairs. The members of citizens' society have the right to voice and promote their own opinions. Furthermore, the citizens have a chance to oversee the work of political decision-makers as well as that of the authorities.

Social studies can be seen as the core subject for civics. The curriculum guidelines of 1994 no longer define detailed topics which ought to be addressed in various subjects. For social studies, the guidelines briefly mention the Finnish governmental and social system, citizens' status in society, main

features of the national economy of Finland, and central issues of social policy. The contemporary Finnish society should be looked at from the functional point of view, which means that the instruction should not be confined to abstract examination of institutions and systems. Now the curricular guidelines no longer specify a given year for specific courses. Social studies is combined with history in the same syllabus. The syllabus for history includes civics and national identity. Content areas of history include citizens' position in society in different eras. In addition, geography, mother tongue and religion (or alternatively, ethics) address topics with certain relevance to civics.

According to the Framework Curriculum for the comprehensive school of 1994 (pp.103-04), the central aims of history and social studies are that the student:

- *gets such information and experiences with which he can become acquainted with his roots, clarify his picture of himself, and by so doing, strengthen his self-esteem in a healthy manner and build his picture of the world;*
- *becomes familiar with his homeland and its history and cultural traditions so that his national identity is strengthened;*
- *becomes familiar with the significant events and periods in history of the world, especially with the neighboring areas and the rest of Europe;*
- *masters information and skills that he needs in society; and*
- *can get and use historical and social information and handle historical and current problems.*

With specific reference to social studies, the Framework Curriculum lists the following starting points. The student:

- *adopts social ethical values such as social responsibility, respecting his own people and home district, respecting work and human rights, international mutual understanding and desire for peace;*
- *has a real interest in historic and social issues and understands general social phenomena;*
- *understands that he, as a citizen and consumer, can wield influence when social decisions are made;*
- *is prepared to continuously analyze information and apply it creatively, and is prepared to think critically on the grounds of his ability to estimate and exercise his sense of proportion.*

Mother tongue subjects prepare students for interaction in society, for exerting influence, for dealing with various messages and acquiring information. Geography is a subject that combines the thinking of natural and social sciences. Confessional religion is related to moral issues and value considerations. One of the goals of teaching religion is to develop in students a sense of responsibility for the consequences of their actions and to enable them to

make personal decisions on the basis of values.

Also, the so-called cross-curricular educational themes, or intercurricular issues, have significance for civics. Through these theme areas, schools can approach current phenomena and make their curricula more flexible in content. In this respect, there is much variation from school to school, however. The intercurricular issues include:

- *international education (especially equality, understanding and attitudes toward difference, human rights and ethics);*
- *consumer education (ability to act as a well-informed and prudent consumer, consumers' channels of influence);*
- *communication education (growing in social awareness, following current topics, analytical skills, critical thinking, communication and interaction);*
- *environment education (environmentalism as a social issue; environmental decision-making and influence on these matters);*
- *entrepreneurship education (initiative).*

As far as *teacher qualifications* are concerned, in Finnish comprehensive and senior secondary schools the teachers are required to have a university Master's degree. The classroom teachers of the lower stage of the comprehensive school have pedagogics as their major, whereas in the upper stage and in senior secondary schools the teachers have majored in subject areas. The borderline between class and subject teachers is becoming less distinct, however. Teachers of social studies have usually majored in history and minored in social studies (at least 35 study weeks). In the upper comprehensive schools their duties often include mother tongue or religion, as well. Besides their subject-specific studies, the subject teachers of upper comprehensive and senior secondary schools are also required to have done pedagogical studies (35 to 40 study weeks). These studies consist of pedagogy, subject-specific didactics, and teaching practice.

The young and society: research findings

Young people's values, including their societal valuations and attitudes, have been the focus of numerous studies in Finland (Saari, 1996). This has to do with the long-time public concern about young people's alienation from politics. The studies concerning attitudes toward politics and society have concentrated especially on young adults, surveying their voting behavior. In contrast, little research has been focused on 15-year-olds and their views of politics.

Nuutinen (1983) examined teenagers' images of society at the end of comprehensive school and after two years of upper secondary studies. According to the descriptions given of certain societal concepts, their perception of society could be characterized as integrated in about a half of the cases, while

about a third had a rather atomistic view with fragmentary details, and the rest failed to give an appropriate answer. Some students could not define the functions of social institutions (such as the State, judicial system, politics, education, social policy), and many of the definitions were narrow. Only 15 per cent of the responses could be considered well developed. No great changes appear to take place in teenagers' attitudes during the time span covered in this study, although criticism toward society increases at the upper secondary stage. Students in academic secondary schools had a better grasp of these issues than their peers in vocational schools.

In the matriculation examination at the end of the senior secondary school, the questions in social studies tend to be fairly popular choices. However, an analysis of how the answers are organized reveals that the knowledge is often fragmentary and superficial. Evidently, these pieces of information and knowledge are largely obtained from instruction which is mainly declarative in nature, taking things for granted, rather than questioning and analyzing them (Virta, 1995).

From the students' point of view, knowledge about society and political decision-making, as well as the social reality itself, may seem difficult to grasp and distant from their own world of experience, as it may be for many adults, too. This difficulty is likely to go hand in hand with their lack of interest in this field. History and social studies, the subjects that systematically address the topics of society and its development, were not ranked high in a survey of comprehensive school pupils. The subject combination was ranked as the 10th in terms of importance, and 14th in popularity, among 18 subjects (Saari, 1993, pp.134-35). The teachers of history and social studies feel concern for the position of their subjects, and are dissatisfied with their scarce resources (see, e.g. Kleio, 1995, numbers 4, 7).

Helve (1987), in her longitudinal study, has explored the formation of the world view in two age groups ($N = 125$, those born in 1965 and 1968) in a suburban district near Helsinki. The study was extended from 1976 to 1985. Among the young people surveyed, more than half regarded politics as insignificant, while a third found it important. The latter view was more common among males than among females; interest in politics also grew along with age. In a more recent study, Helve (1993) examined the values among 16- to 19-year-olds in Helsinki and in western Finland ($N = 461$). Young people's negative perception of politics was evident. According to a word-association task, for example, the young deemed politics as 'incomprehensible speech', 'foul play', 'dull' and 'plain stupid'. Politicians were characterized as 'clowns', 'swindlers' or, for instance, 'old, stupid people past 50 making unwise decisions'. Dissatisfaction was also strong about economic spheres, presumably because of the negative publicity the banks and business life have gained in recent years in Finland. Nearly 50 per cent of the young regarded politics as irrelevant for them, and 12 per cent saw it as a negative phenomenon, whereas

one third recognized the significance of politics as a way to deal with public affairs. The study showed how alienated young people are from the traditional party politics. Responses to the attitudinal statement 'None of the political parties promotes issues that are important to me' were distributed roughly as follows: 40 per cent did not know, 30 per cent agreed, 30 per cent disagreed. The 16-year-olds were more negative, on average, than the 19-year-olds, and similarly the urban people were more critical than their peers in rural areas. Almost one half of the respondents were going to vote in the next elections anyway (Helve, 1993, pp.60-62).

Attitudes of young adults towards politics have been investigated particularly in the light of their voting behavior, which, however, describes only a limited part of political socialization. Among the young, the percentage of those voting in national elections has been very low, even accounting for the generally declining trend in overall voting percentages since the 1970s. This (declining) trend has continued even into the 1990s (Neptunian, 1987, p.138; Borg, 1996, pp.173ff). According to a study in the late 1980s, for instance, the proportion of non-voters among young Finns was found to be exceptionally large in comparison with the situation in Central Europe or in other Nordic countries (Martikainen, 1988, pp.6, 15). Rather than discontent and protest toward the political system itself, the low voting percentages show alienation from the traditional channels of influence and even from the voting procedure (Jääsaari & Martikainen, 1991, pp.56-58). Young people do not necessarily see voting as a way to influence or as a civil duty as their elders often do (Borg, 1996, p.204).

There are also, since the late 1980s, clear signs of increasing negative attitudes towards and rejection of political parties, since the late 1980s (Martikainen, 1988; Martikainen & Yrjönen, 1991). The ideological differences between parties as well, have become less significant to young people (Martikainen & Yrjönen 1984). This is related to the fact that, ideologically, the political parties have grown fairly similar to one another, diminishing the significance of the traditional political division into left and right.

The critical and untrusting views about politicians may be at least partly explained by the contradictions the young people can see between proclaimed political ideals and reality (Jääsaari & Martikainen, 1991, p.169). However, the political positions presented by the young themselves were often very superficial. Only a few young people could provide consistent arguments for their critical views. Such criticism is usually connected with general political passivity and overall rejection of politics (Martikainen & Yrjönen, 1984, p.128). These research findings can be interpreted as evidence of young people's critically passive socialization process into Finnish society (see Venkula & Rautevaara, 1992, p.50). One should notice, however, that among the older age groups a considerable proportion generally remains politically passive and uninterested. On the other hand, there is no evidence among the youth of

any new forms of political culture, either, unless participation in environmental movements is regarded as such. Despite the passivity and negative attitudes toward party politics, the young have confidence in the foundations of civil society in Finland. This finding also gets support also from studies on identity and values.

Virrankoski (1991) has studied comprehensive school-leavers' views on Finland as well as various components of national identity. As things that they appreciated most in Finland, these around 15 years of age mentioned the political system, nature, social conditions, culture and education. As for qualities of the political system, they named freedom of speech and democracy, suffrage, a free country, freedom of religion, equality, multi-party system, same laws for all, independence and negligible risk of war. In these answers one can find essential qualities pertinent to the concepts of State and democracy (constitutional government, constitution, fundamental norms, security).

According to various opinion polls, the vast majority of Finns appreciate Finland and Finnish identity. Nature and the country's peaceful character are central in that appreciation; second to that come independence and culture (see Rikkinen, 1996, pp.19-21; Saari, 1996). Environmental aspects are important fields of interest among young people, both in Finland and more widely in Europe (Helve, 1993, p.71). This is related to the fading of traditional values, such as patriotism on the one hand and the rise of new, global values on the other.

On the basis of her world-view studies, Helena Helve has referred to *privatization* and *individualization* trends among young people, which are related to the fact that they do not find political or societal matters interesting. Today, the young no longer hold collective values as much as the generation of the 1960s and 1970s. The values of modern young people are still unorganized, and they do not commit themselves clearly to any particular ideology. Being 'ideologically homeless' they have abandoned traditional religiousness but have not replaced it with any new religious movement. Similarly, independent political positions contribute to passivity in party elections.

Helve (1993, cf. 1996) has found three different value systems among the young ($N = 461$) she has studied—traditionalism, humanism and individualism. People with humanistic orientation base their views on Christian and humanistic values, and they may also have connections with the leftist or green ideologies. Humanists are in favor of soft values and environmental protection, and do not value technology or economic growth. Individualists typically show critical and negative attitudes toward political parties and other traditional institutions. Obviously, this attitude has been feeding on the economic problems of recent years. Traditionalists, in turn, are conservative, appreciating their country and standard of living, and they also believe in enterprise and diligence. It has to be noted, however, that the majority of the young in this study could not be neatly classified in any of these categories

since their views encompassed contradictory elements (Helve, 1993, pp.63-70; 1996, pp.88-89).

Rikkinen (1996) has studied university students and their regional identity. The respondents displayed strongest commitment to humankind at the global level, while the next strongest relation was felt to home country. At the continental level, ties to Europe were weak in general, and especially in political terms. When comparing these results with earlier findings, it was found that identification with Europe has not been intensified even by Finland's joining the European Union. With reference to Helve's studies, it is interesting to note how, in a way, there are traces of patriotism on the one hand and of rising universal humanism on the other.

Studies focusing on young people's views about the future, its threats and expectations also can shed light on their values. Typically, their wishes are related to personal matters, family, education, and work, whereas fears include global and social concerns, such as environmental catastrophes, war or unemployment (see, e.g. Nurmi & Nuutinen, 1987; Kankaanrinta & Virtanen, 1989). A large-scale review by Nurmi (1989) found that surveys in various countries have produced somewhat similar results. It is also typical that future expectations contain contradictory elements: while personal prospects are often happy, global views tend to be more gloomy. For instance, a study among 16- to 20-year-old senior secondary school students (data from 1994) showed these young people were mainly preoccupied with topics related to their personal future; they paid very little attention to current social problems, foreign-policy threats or party politics. Most students were optimistic or neutral about the future (Tossavainen & Vainio, 1995). In another study, Puohiniemi (1993) found that the youngest group of respondents (15- to 24-year-olds) mentioned fewer future threats for Finnish society than did all other respondents. From the viewpoint of their personal lives and the near future, the youth experienced unemployment as a greater problem than their older counterparts.

In general, the research on young Finns' social attitudes is scarce and somewhat incoherent. It has managed to outline, nonetheless, a general picture: youth is politically indifferent, questioning the traditional channels of influence, and their values are becoming increasingly incoherent. Yet, in the background, there are signs of commitment to Finnish identity and society, as well as concern for and interest in global ecological issues. These findings present a challenge to the school's efforts in civic education to shape young people as active participants in civil society.

Civics and the school curriculum

Social studies as a modifier of identity

In assessing Finnish national identity, Suutarinen (1996) drew on textbooks of different subjects, which can be seen as modifiers of collective awareness. Although different school subjects approach identity from different perspectives, usually they still have the collective point of view in common. For instance, geography focuses on regional identity, while history textbooks use the term national identity. It is possible that building collective awareness has been considered of special importance due to the fairly small size of our nation. The objectives for history and social studies emphasize strengthening of national identity. The teaching of history at the national level sees Finnish identity connected to Finland as a state, and changes in culture and economy linked with the developments of the State. Finnish identity is presented as a story of survival, or a struggle for existence.

Mother tongue is usually listed as the first subject in school curricula. The number of lesson hours allocated to it is also one of the biggest in the comprehensive school. The curriculum guidelines for this domain emphasizes strengthening students' identity, their 'growth as Finns' and their understanding of other cultures, as well as knowing about our own minorities. Issues related to cultural identity receive no particular emphasis, however.

In contrast, mother tongue instruction for speakers of Swedish and Sami (Lappish) strives to strengthen students' identity with their respective cultural communities. It can be argued, according to Suutarinen, that the national identity of the majority, the Finnish-speaking Finns, is based somewhat more on state-oriented aspects than cultural aspects, whereas the identity of linguistic minorities relies more heavily on cultural elements. This notion that the cultural identity of Finnish-speaking Finns is state-oriented is reinforced by the fact that the great cultural differences between various Finnish-speaking regions are not addressed in textbooks. Topics of ethnic and dialectal regions may have been left out for the sake of promoting the unity of the nation. Different cultural traditions affecting Finland are not discussed much in study materials. Thus, Finns' ethnic identity has been replaced with national, state-based identity.

There are also other ways in which school instruction fosters the image of national unity in Finland. For instance, the textbooks in history and social studies do not deal with issues of the distribution of goods. Even regional differences in terms of industrial structure are almost totally ignored; at most there is a brief mention about unemployment being a real problem in the less developed areas of the country. Religion textbooks, for their part, tell about Finland as the most Lutheran country in the world, with the vast majority of the population belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.

Textbooks in biology and geography convey an image of a country far in the north, with large forests.

Generally speaking, textbooks for various subjects depict Finns and Finland as a nation that is small, the most Lutheran one in the world, located in the remote north, speaking a hard-to-learn language, and whose history as a state consists of solitary wandering between crises and threatened peace. These components are dispersed across the textbooks, and it is hard to tell how a teenage reader interprets them, and what relevance they have ultimately with respect to identity formation.

Democracy as the value basis and the goal of civics

Democracy, citizen participation as a member of society, and related skills are bigger issues than simply items in school syllabi, since they are the essentials of the whole value basis of the school. The starting points for civil education in the comprehensive school are very democratic: equal educational opportunities for the whole age group (Virta, 1996). In what follows, we will discuss the image of democracy as conveyed by textbooks and syllabi for social studies. It should be noted, however, that what is *written* in curricula and syllabi—or in textbooks as their operationalizations, for that matter—does not allow us to draw conclusions about the practice in schools or instruction as *experienced by the students*. Variation in students' socio-economic background or in their parents' education level tends to cumulate so that the equality ideals of the comprehensive school ideology are not attained in practice.

The *core subject* for addressing the concept of democracy is *history* and its associated course, *social studies*. History discusses the development of democracy, and the alternatives and threats to democracy (dictatorship). Some cross-curricular issues, such as equality and internationalization, touch on democracy, its ideals and limitations.

A review shows that the Finnish textbooks for social studies written in the 1980s and 1990s consistently and somewhat laconically define democracy as a system where the power belongs to the people. Related basic terminology is defined rather minimally. Only one of the textbooks gives a definition for power:

Power has many meanings. Power is participation in decision making. Anyone involved in dealing with public affairs, i.e. politics, wields power. Power can be used to dominate others, for the benefit of one's own group or of a whole nation. Depending on how the power is distributed in society, we can speak of democracy, dictatorship, or other models of wielding power. (Nykyäika, 1995, p.202)

In textbooks, democracy is presented as an indisputable value, with no reservations on its less-than-perfect realization. Differing meanings or alternative interpretations of democracy are not discussed, either. Evidently, the books aim at promoting democracy and thus at assuring the functioning of society (for the concept of indoctrination, see Puolimatka, 1995, pp.122-24).

The textbooks illustrate mainly western, *representative democracy*. Representativeness is defined clearly, in some cases also with concrete examples. Attributes attached to democracy are, among others, striving for equality and justice, freedom of speech, open and publicized decision-making; and citizens' right to influence public matters, express dissident opinions, participate in decision-making, and vote.

The greatest difference among the textbooks can be seen in the way they discuss the various forms of exerting political and societal influence. Most of the books can be described as traditional and institution-centered. They discuss the mechanism of traditional representative democracy as the channel of influence for ordinary citizens (voting, selecting candidates). All textbooks present political parties as a central channel for influence. Elections, suffrage and the basic features of the Finnish electoral system receive attention in all the textbooks reviewed.

Two works, however, published in the 1990s, do deviate from the traditional line and discuss the means by which citizens can exert direct influence (*Yhteiskunta 9*, following the curriculum guidelines of 1985; *Nyky aika*, following the 1994 guidelines). In the more traditional textbooks, these issues receive only a brief mention in conjunction with freedom of speech or freedom of assembly. In the textbook *Yhteiskunta 9* there is a story of how people living in a city district took the initiative in an environmental issue. Also, the work of associations is dealt with as a channel of influence. The text takes a normative stand about exerting influence: 'If you wish to influence, you'd better take the floor and accept positions of trust when offered...Passive people have to content themselves with what others decide. Hardly anyone can affect decisions alone. One must seek the company of other people who share the same views' (*Yhteiskunta 9*, pp.123-26). Among the more recent books, *Nyky aika* (1995) also addresses at length forms of direct action, arguing that they are useful skills for a citizen. Apart from the citizens' opportunities to launch initiatives or submit complaints, the textbook also depicts civil disobedience, occupation of buildings (for housing) and environmental movements. Perhaps the text contains a subtle, even normative, undertone by way of teaching how to exert influence, with hints of praise for the use of force and its possibilities. It does not, however, say anything about the limitations of an ordinary citizen's influence.

This analysis implies that the concept of democracy, as described in social studies textbooks, is becoming more modern and diversified. This might demonstrate a striving to find new emphases as an answer to young people's notorious alienation from politics. This assumption gets support from the observation that the examples given in the books often deal with exerting influence in environmental matters. It is too early to talk about any major breakthrough of a new ideology, however, since the other recent textbook for social studies (*Horisontti 9*, 1995) is fairly traditional.

The syllabi of history also create a background for dealing with *direct influence and citizens' actions*. History textbooks discuss revolutions, coups, riots and extremist movements as a form of exerting influence. Finnish textbooks depict, in a positive light, the passive resistance by Finns during the Russification periods (1899-1905, 1908-1917) as an example of civil disobedience. In conclusion, the textbooks present direct action as unacceptable when it threatens Finns' own legal establishment; on the contrary, such direct influence when it means activity in defence of democracy is considered acceptable.

The social studies textbooks also pay attention to *civil rights* as fundamental to democracy and founded on the Constitution Act of Finland. The books present the civil rights and duties mainly as lists, with few comments. The basic tone is positive, or even admiring. One textbook states that the rights are so deep-seated in Finnish society that people do not even notice them and notes that the government should ensure that every citizen has a job. A more recent textbook (*Nyky aika*, 1995) discusses more widely than the others issues such as public rights of access, the position of minorities, racism as an offence against human rights and, as a new area, the rights to protection of privacy.

As an opposite to democracy, the textbooks describe dictatorship, with features such as centralization of power, use of police and armed forces to underpin the autocracy, violations of human rights, and citizens lacking influence. The picture of dictatorship is clearly negative. It should be noted that history textbooks, where treatment of the 20th Century emphasizes political development, discuss in detail the Third Reich of Germany and developments in the Soviet Union, for example.

The *central organs of government*, that is, the Parliament, the President and the Government, are traditionally the core of the subject matter. Their position, responsibilities, powers and respective division of authority are discussed in each of the textbooks. Also, local democracy and the functions of the municipalities receive much attention. The more traditional textbooks are more thorough and more institution-oriented when addressing the governmental system. According to the curricular guidelines of 1970, the course in social studies began from the top of the hierarchy, but the syllabus was reorganized in 1984 so that the presentation now starts from family and proceeds to the government.

In summary, the textbooks are usually neutral. Generally speaking, the approach is descriptive. In some places, though, the discussion on democracy appears slightly idealistic. Participation, the ability to influence, civil rights, collaboration and obedience toward the rules of society are especially presented as indisputably worthwhile. At the same time, it is notable how little these textbooks treat reservations, evaluation or reasoning. For instance, they do not take into account how little an ordinary citizen, or even a Minister of

Parliament (M.P.) for that matter, can affect the course of events. Some textbooks take up the party discipline in the Parliament as a restriction on an individual M.P.'s freedom of action. But various deals and negotiations, for instance, those taking place behind the scene, are ignored in the textbooks. Lobbying gets no attention. Most textbooks still present an ideal model: there is an existing system with ready-made channels of influence, and civic action should use those channels.

Knowledge itself is taken as a fairly unproblematic thing. In this respect, the textbooks do not bring up controversies or social conflicts, neither do they contain differing interpretations or views. These study materials do not direct their readers to analyze social questions. Puolimatka (1995) writes about critical thinking, the capacity to analyze information and decision-making as skills. These skills are indispensable for a citizen to be truly able to exert influence in a democracy (pp.110-11). Mere indoctrination in democratic values does not make people capable of functioning in a democracy (p.147). The approach of textbooks described above relates to direct socialization into democratic values, rather than training the skills needed for citizenship in a democracy.

The welfare state as a value basis for civics

Requirements for the welfare state

The birth of the welfare state is related to the history of *social equality*. With the advent of liberalism, the view of the State's tasks expanded to cover the responsibility for citizens' economic *security*. John Maynard Keynes taught political leaders to take care of the steady growth of *consumer demand* through an equal income policy. On these liberal and Keynesian arguments the Nordic model was built with a strong emphasis on universal welfare. In the Nordic context, the welfare state includes two essential principles: *equal access* to certain *services for all*, and *distribution of economic power*, also to those who do not control capital. The latter principle is linked with *equality between the sexes* in sharing economic power. In addition, the welfare thinking has, in the past decade, been linked with fostering a *healthy environment* and *sustainable development*. In Finland, there is an historical consensus about these principles. How they work in practice and are dealt with in the present atmosphere of neoliberalism will be discussed in the following sections.

When health care, education and other so-called life-quality services are open to everyone, no gap should occur between better managed private services and routinely free social services. Progressive taxation should guarantee that poor people not face unreasonable expenses. Everyone should contribute to the costs, in accordance with his or her income. The idea of solidarity, which underlies equal access to services, has been questioned to some extent in the last 10 years. Belief in the beneficial effect competition has on the quality of services has gained a foothold. Although basic services like education and health care remain public, private services are increasingly competing

with them. The *neoliberal* view that societies cannot afford broadening public welfare is gaining support. Economic accountability or *business thinking* has a stronger foothold.

Sharing the economic power with employees in private enterprises has not succeeded in Finland, despite efforts for several decades. *Industrial democracy* has not been established in legislation, nor in practice, to the extent that employees have a say in companies' decisions concerning allocation of resources. Therefore, the distribution of economic power still depends on the degree to which various industrial activities have been subjected to legislative regulations. Working hours, health and safety at work, environmental considerations and, to some extent, salaries and other work conditions are decided by Parliament, which also has the power to control the fiscal policy pursued by the central bank. In the Finnish context, we can still talk about a *controlled* or *mixed* economy. This term means that wages, prices and so forth are only partly determined by market powers. Social and financial legislation still sets limits on market forces.

Traditionally, the State has owned part of industry. In the metal industry in the 1980s, there were still a number of state-owned companies, the boards of which were elected by the Parliament. In the 1990s, state-owned companies have either been privatized altogether or reorganized. Railroads and part of telecommunications are state-owned, although increasingly responsible for their own financing. For the most part, social services for children and the old, housing production and various local and life-quality services are taken care of by the municipalities. In addition, the State supports some public services which are privately maintained, such as bus lines. Public services have undergone changes, however. They have been reduced and opened to free competition. It is believed that competition will decrease the cost, and standards are no longer officially controlled since competition is considered able to take care of the quality.

Even today, the Constitution prescribes that 'Citizens' labor enjoys special protection of the State'. When this amendment was made in the 1960s, it was expected that the State could take care not only of work safety but also of employment. A fairly extensive network was created to alleviate the consequences of unemployment. This network is still in place. In most cases, unemployed persons maintain their income and consumption levels for a fairly long time at above 50 per cent. This benefit has been questioned in public discussion in the 1990s, however. Unionism has been strong in Finland; in the industrial sector, the percentage of people belonging to a trade union is close to 100 per cent. Following the example of western market economies, the power of the trade unions lately has been questioned in Finland.

The international *integration of economies* restricts national economic powers. As economic policy-making is transferred outside national borders, the citizens have less influence on decisions. In the past 10 years, restrictions on

the operational freedom of international capital in Finland have been considerably dismantled. Multinational companies operating in Finland are still subject to Finnish legislation as far as taxation, markets and work safety are concerned, but they can fairly freely decide on their investments and capital transfers. Finnish companies have been increasingly internationalized through mergers.

Finland's joining of the European Union in 1995 meant that a part of decision-making on production was transferred to Brussels. It is the EU's economic policies that now determine how much the Finnish State can support agriculture and other branches of production in the country. The membership in the EU means structural pressures and changes for the Finnish economy and society. Foreign trade is no longer the only sector where developments may be beyond the scope of our own decision-making. Only a few features of a protected economy are left in Finland, as we have increasingly exposed our markets to the turbulent global streams of money and goods (Kosonen, 1992).

Women constitute half of the employed labor force. Yet their numbers in leading positions are relatively low. In 1990, 30 per cent of those in managerial positions were women. Even in lower supervisory positions women held only about 33 per cent of the posts. Among the entrepreneurs, 40 per cent are women. Among the Nordic countries, the average income by gender (in 1992) was the most equal in Finland, but women still earned only three-quarters of what men earned. The men dominate among the holders of economic power, despite the fact that the majority of university graduates are women and that equality of sexes has a long tradition in Finnish legislation. Recent laws have tried to establish efficient sanctions against any discrimination on the basis of sex. From the equality point of view, a positive trend is that the policy of family support facilitating women's career development has been enhanced despite the economic crisis of the 1990s.

The welfare state is facing criticism not only from neoliberalists but also in ecological circles. With respect to the economy, views can be divided into two: those based on *economic growth* and those building on *sustainable development*. The major political parties and entrepreneurs typically favor the first line of thinking, whereas the latter one gets support from Green Party affiliates and among the young. Sustainable development calls for taking into account respect for nature and conflicts with the demand for maximized economic growth. The supporters of sustainable development are afraid that international economic integration leaves them with poorer chances to protect nature. Because it has traditionally depended on the chemically intensive wood industry, Finland has had to compromise between environmental concern and economic profit. The sulphur emissions of the paper mills are today relatively efficiently controlled, thanks to environmental legislation advocated by younger voters, and environmental concern has spread.

The popular attitudes with regard to the welfare state

Solidarity as a basic social value has long and strong traditions in Finland. However, a *pluralization of values* has been observed in recent attitude surveys. While Finland in 1981-1983, in a large-scale 'World Values Survey', stood out from other industrialized countries in terms of citizens' *respect for work*, a 1990 study found Finns ranking employment lower than home and family life. Also, the retrenchments of the public sector could already be seen in people's attitudes; private employers were regarded more highly than State or municipality employees. Business was considered among the most attractive career options, together with physicians', teachers' and researchers' professions (Kasvio, 1994). When asked, in a recent survey, whether they support the relatively high social security, young people were more supportive than the rest but only slightly so. However, they were more in favor than older people of equal access to free health care and certain social services for all (Sihvo, 1997). The young Finns appeared to be true children of the Nordic welfare model.

A pan-European survey concerning young people's awareness of history revealed that young Finns shared the views of other young Europeans and regarded *success* to depend primarily on the individuals. With regard to economic security, the young showed trust in both their own and their country's future, although Europe, as they saw it, meant risks and problems (Angvik & von Barries, 1997). Young Finns are well aware of the contradiction between *economic growth and protection of the natural environment*. More than welfare structures, the young *defend environmental values*. They have little fear of their own country, at least, facing ethnic or social conflicts, but are concerned about the environment and pollution (Angvik & von Borries, 1997).

The fate of civil society can be said to be at stake in the Finland of the 1990s, as the traditions of both political participation and social solidarity have been shaken. By the same token, the old values of civil society do not seem to match with ecological thinking. Thus, when examining school instruction, we should consider what position the new and old values have gained.

The welfare state and school instruction

The strong decentralization of school authority in the 1990s has highlighted the significance of interest groups in education. The framework curriculum prepared by the central school administration refers to the values of the welfare state as the basis for education. School is also expected to promote equality between the sexes. However, the curricula have introduced *entrepreneurship* as a new shared value for schooling. The term refers not only to people's general initiative, but also to knowledge about business activities. The Central Organization of the Business and Industrial Employers (TT) has, since the 1980s, supported schools in their efforts to provide the young with an interest in actual entrepreneurial activity along with skills and capabilities important for the competitive strength of the national economy.

In regard to social studies, many other organizations can be included in the list of interest groups representing, for example, workers, farmers, banks or non-government organizations. These organizations provide teachers with various study materials and offer training. Environmental organizations have contacts mainly with biology and geography teachers. Critical ecological views come mostly from non-government organizations, such as the Finnish UN-Association (Suomen YK-liitto).

The *objectives* for school and social studies include social values such as solidarity, political activeness and environmental responsibility. In the following, we will discuss the position of these values in *textbooks* and in *instruction*.

In textbooks and school instruction, *solidarity* is still held in high regard. The welfare structures are not questioned. The social security system is seen as necessary. The State is supposed to revive the economy during a depression and take care of employment. In a true Keynesian spirit, a textbook lists the duties of the State in case of a depression: '... taxes can be reduced and public expenditure increased. For instance, schools and hospitals can be built, in order to revive demand and reduce unemployment' (Rinta-aho, Tiainen & Waronen, 1996, p.102). Private ownership, and the related concentration of economic power in the hands of owners, is taken for granted as an historic tradition. Socialistic planned economy is presented in history textbooks as a system doomed to fail.

Equality between the sexes is seen in textbooks as a positive, and related problems are touched on in many contexts. But the way historical and social developments are selected and presented often reveals a hidden message of male dominance in society (Lahelma, 1991; Lahelma & Gordon, 1996).

In the textbooks for history and social studies there is a contradiction with respect to ecology. History textbooks pay some attention to the environmental effects of industrialization and people's crowding into cities. In social science textbooks the predominant approach is based on the demand for economic growth. For instance, a popular textbook from 1996 does not mention environmental costs when treating what makes up the GDP, despite an adjoining picture showing a lumberman at work. Increasing GDP is presented as a criterion for good economic management (Rinta-aho et al., 1996, pp.97-99.) The geography textbooks also find economic growth as a desirable state of affairs, but in various settings they also warn about the ecological risks involved in increasing industrialization, intensive farming and energy production.

In summary, *neoliberal views*, which have spread widely in the economic discussion of the 1980s and 1990s, *have not yet reached study materials*, where the welfare state is still seen as the foundation of society. In this respect, study materials are inconsistent with the individualistic economic values which have gained popularity among the students.

Media education as a part of civics

Citizens' *action and critical thinking* in the information society are linked with communication skills and the capacity to influence others. *Media education* can therefore be considered a key area in civics. Media education in the comprehensive school aims at forming the young as critical media consumers. The mass media has a great impact on young people's picture of the world — perhaps even more than school. School should prepare the young so that they can handle information effectively and selectively (Härkönen, 1994; Sinko, 1996).

Through media education, the students have an opportunity to practice *active and analytical information acquisition* and also how to have influence through different media. In addition to media education oriented to social criticism, emphasis has been placed on students' skills in using the media. Media education no longer sees students as passive receivers but as communicators with an active role. Media education has also changed along with technological development, as teletext and computers have come into wider use. In the 1990s, media skills include components of visual, media, computer and network literacy. Schools include elements of media education in the syllabi of mother tongue or history and social studies.

The Finns are a nation of diligent newspaper readers. In 1991, 93 per cent of the population were reported to read daily newspapers. The reading habits of the young seem also to be fairly satisfactory, for in 1991 as many as 75 per cent of the 15- to 24-year-olds reported regular newspaper reading (*Vapaa-aika Numeroina*, 1993, p.26; Joukkoviestintätilasto, 1995, p.189). Siren (1990) examined the reading habits of 13- to 20-year-olds in the Helsinki region ($N=190$). The reading habits of this group were superficial. The most popular sections were radio and television programs, comics and sports; political and economic issues were deemed far less interesting (Siren, 1990; see also Sinko, resource materials, pp.72-73.) Consequently, the reading frequency does not imply that the students take advantage of the newspapers in order to get information about current political or social affairs, as is expected by their educators. There is a *contradiction between the ideals and practice* of media education as there is in civics in general.

Finnish school education emphasizes the printed word as a reliable source of information. *The young, however, prefer other media*, especially television. According to the official statistics, 15- to 24-year-old Finns spend about 77 minutes a day watching television (Joukkoviestintätilasto, 1995, p.467). Through electric and electronic media, the young get an opportunity to peek into the world of adults. However, teenagers do not necessarily acquire much information from the media but are more likely seeking passive entertainment.

Sinko has pointed out that educators' views about the media are two-fold. While the media are seen as useful and reliable sources of information which

students are expected to follow, the contents the young themselves favor are not considered valuable. Young people are criticized for not showing an interest in public affairs. As for freedom of expression, students are taught in school that we have freedom of speech in Finland and no censorship. We could ask, as well, whether the young learn to realize their influence and responsibility in that respect (Sinko, 1996, p.73).

Teaching methods and school practices in the education of politically aware and critical citizens

Curricular ideals

A goal of the work of the comprehensive school is to develop attitudes and capabilities in students which will make it possible for them to function as active, critical, and responsible members of society of citizens. The students must be...given a chance to practice participating in and exerting an influence on various causes and issues in society. (Framework Curriculum for the Comprehensive School, 1994, p.17)

The present curriculum guidelines (1994) build on *the concept of learner as an active composer and organizer of his/her own picture of the world*. The curriculum reform was preceded by an intensive public discussion among educational researchers, philosophers and teaching professionals on the nature of knowledge and learning. The new curriculum is underlain by a modern and dynamic concept of knowledge and learning, more specifically a cognitive-constructionistic notion of learning as a mental process calling for the learner's own activity. The teacher cannot furnish the student's mind with pieces of knowledge but the student needs to build his or her own knowledge structures into which to integrate new information. Learning must be experienced as personally meaningful. Following the basic ideas of humanistic psychology, the Framework Curriculum emphasizes support for the student's mental growth and development as well as making use of his or her experiences in the learning process. Social studies and civics can be meaningfully related to the view of the learner as an active knowledge constructor. Critical thinking, interest in social matters, and an investigative and questioning mind are fundamental qualities for learner and citizen alike. Reaching these ideals tends to be quite difficult in practice.

The problems of implementation

First, students' negative attitude towards politics and their social passivity often constitute a major impediment for addressing theme areas of civics. Young people's willingness to take an active role in their own knowledge construction cannot be taken for granted, and the barrier formed by the lack of interest in social matters is not easy to break. Also, the fact that the subject matter tends to be rather abstract hinders classroom teaching. Educational tradition can be seen as another problem. Although we can make certain assumptions

concerning principal teaching traditions and the generality of professional practices, there is probably considerable variation. Selection of work methods derives from teachers' and students' styles and preferences. Presumably, teaching methods and tradition in the social sciences follow other humanities in being generally teacher-centered.

A study by Ahonen (1996), Finland's contribution to the project 'Youth and History', implies that the form of teaching history in upper comprehensive schools is based on the teacher's presentation. A similar picture is conveyed by Välijärvi's (1993) study of senior secondary schools based on data collected in the late 1980s. About one half of the respondents felt that the senior secondary school experience accustoms students to passive reception of information and that matters are learnt only superficially and soon forgotten. These findings get support from studies on verbal interaction, which have produced a so-called 2/3 rule: teacher's talk takes up about 70 per cent of the lesson time. This suggests that students' role remains rather passive (Leiwo, Kuusinen, Njkänen & Pöyhönen, 1987). The most essential point, however, is not what kind of external features and practices can be attributed to classroom teaching. More crucial is what cognitive processes teaching provokes in a student. According to Välijärvi, senior secondary students regarded history, in particular, as a thought-provoking subject.

The lack of interest in social issues on the one hand, and the teacher-centered tradition on the other, may together result in *making instruction in social studies an exercise in 'what'-knowledge*, that is, students tend to memorize bits and pieces in a rather superficial manner, and just for school situations. In addition, the instrumental view of learning widely adopted by students is counter-productive in civics; only skills and matters yielding immediate benefits are considered important. Teaching of values and civil virtues are in danger of remaining idealistic rhetoric. Similar pessimistic views can also be found in American literature. Marker and Mehlinger (1991, p.345) note that critical thinking, for instance, as a goal for schooling, has been much written about, but there is little evidence that teaching has managed to enhance such qualities. These views are not surprising. It is widely known that school as an institution is quite slow to change. Reformation of work practices calls for resources, and the preparation of new, student-centered learning situations is time consuming. Many teachers consider it more important to ensure that certain areas of the subject matter are covered, rather than to activate students in independent studying and thinking. The belief in transfer of knowledge still lives on in the schools.

Although it is reasonable to assume that *teacher-centered methods and classroom practices will remain common in social studies*, there are possibilities for activating students even in that situation. In recent years the literature has recommended various work methods (e.g. public debates, project work, collaborative or team learning, following the media, interviews and expert vis-

its). Such methods call for participation and activate students to acquire information and express their opinions. Versatile use of the media is also an important aspect. People can easily get carried away focusing only on the positive sides of the new methods, for example, features fostering cooperation and discussion. No technical solution in itself is enough to improve the quality of learning or to enhance a student's development. Any method, no matter how good in itself, can be applied in a mechanical and routine-like fashion as contrasted with a meaningful application.

The last bastion for the old concept of learning may lie in the traditional form of student assessment. For instance, in social studies, students' achievement is assessed mainly through the knowledge they display in school exams, which at worst are composed of short-answer questions and multiple-choices, measuring the ability to reproduce certain things they have learned. The other important objectives of civics—growth as a member of civic society, citizen's skills, action and awareness—are then neglected. When assessing their students, many teachers take into account (as recommended) the student's participation in tasks and lessons. At best, the exams also include tasks calling for a student's own thinking and grasp of wider contexts. It is now recommended that instead of traditional school exams, continuous assessment be used, through monitoring the learning process by various means, such as the portfolio. The objectives set in the curriculum guidelines highlight social ethical values, as well, the assessment of which is problematic: rather, we should assess student's capability for discussion and argumentation about values.

In all, the *situation of civics is rather contradictory*. On the one hand, there is the modern concept of learning, which serves as the basis for the curricular objectives toward supporting students' development and happily matches with the ideals of civics. On the other hand, research findings tell about negligible interest in social studies and in social and political matters in general, as well as about persistent teaching traditions. From the standpoint of educational effectiveness, the situation is difficult. Schooling has high, idealistic objectives, but they and the means of reaching them are inconsistent with young people's everyday reality. As far as social studies are concerned, the greatest problem in the Finnish school system is how the subject could gain more relevance and effectiveness, and become a real and effective medium for civic education.

Conclusions

Finnish society in the mid 1990s is in a *dynamic stage*. A severe economic recession has revealed the vulnerability of socio-economic structures, new information technologies are shaking the labor force, and integration to the European Union with consequential adaptation requirements builds pressures

for structural changes. Consensus regarding the model of the Nordic welfare state has broken down. Some people disagree on the means of controlling the ongoing structural change; others still rely on national solidarity to influence income policies and extensive social security networks; others again are in favor of neoliberal models of free competition.

Various youth studies show that *individualistic* values and expectations are predominant among young Finns. This is reflected as a crisis of democracy in the sense that many young people no longer believe in the traditional forms of political participation, through elections and party politics. Society appears to have fragmented into a diversity of reference groups, which are not necessarily capable of interacting with one another. A relatively common view among the young seems to be that people are mainly responsible for their own economic security, and that social drop-outs should, in the first place, help themselves. Therefore, the existing welfare structures are not necessarily consistent with social justice as seen by the majority of young people. But then again, the young have identified themselves with environmental values and quite strongly with their own country.

Among the school subjects building national identity, history and social studies, as well as mother tongue, are at the fore. *In the Finnish comprehensive school these subjects are taught less than in the OECD countries on average* (Education at a Glance, 1996). History and social studies highlight the 'great saga' of the nation. The aims for mother tongue stress identity formation, but at the level of the syllabus such elements have little emphasis.

In Finland, the foundation of civic society lies in the socio-economic solidarity which is manifested in citizens' democratic rights and the welfare state. Citizens have the right to influence political decision-making and the duty to share material well-being with other citizens so that everybody has *basic economic security*. This latter principle of the Nordic welfare state, solidarity, has been a matter of public discussion in the 1990s, but its structures have so far been maintained.

The concept of democracy has, in the 1990s, been brought closer to the people, in the form of increased *local decision-making*. That said, it has also become *more distant* as a part of policy-making has been transferred outside the national borders to the EU. As such, democracy is the cornerstone of civics in school. The history syllabus highlights the events related to the development of democracy, whereas in social studies the functioning of democracy is explained through clear, although very static, structures. Practical teaching seeks to find ways and methods which would make democracy a more dynamic concept.

The welfare state, with its traditional structures, serves in school instruction as a *framework for civil society*. Study materials do not question social solidarity, but neither do they see any problem in the typical Finnish trend toward the concentration of economic power in the hands of big companies

and their owners. The power structures of the European Union are presented fairly broadly in textbooks, but in an unproblematic way. Opportunities for economic education leading to informed criticism of economic structures may, in contrast, be provided by the schools' *new efforts to open their doors* to the local business world.

The broadening field of communication with the development of information technology is a challenge to the Finnish comprehensive school. Living in an information society necessarily requires *preparedness for critical thinking*. In school a student should be able to form questions and evaluate contradictory information as part of practicing the skills of a critical citizen.

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CONCEPTS OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN GERMANY BASED ON A SURVEY OF EXPERT OPINION

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Notes:

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Background

Introduction

In comparison with other European countries, Germany did not become a nation-state until quite late, after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. This German state existed for 74 years until 1946. After the Second World War, Germany was divided into two countries, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) with different political and social systems in two opposing blocks. In 1990 the unification of the two German states was achieved. Given this history, national identity in Germany has been less self-evident than in other European countries. The interrupted experience of German national identity has repeatedly contributed to the rise of nationalistic movements, which led to the two world wars in this century. After World War II, national pride and national feeling diminished in German public discourse. The reasons for this are to be found in the awareness about German crimes committed during the National Socialist period. Since the German 'Reunification' in 1990, one again finds tendencies in the Federal Republic towards more national feeling and national pride, along with counter-movements that emphasize integrating Germany into European and international contexts (Krockow, 1992; Raisch, 1994; Erdmann, 1996).

Democratizing the authoritarian state

In 1918, the monarchy was replaced by a parliamentary democratic form of government, which was overthrown in the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933. After the Second World War, democratization took place in the zones occupied by the Western Allies, which led to the establishment of a democratic state (the FRG) in 1949. Parallel to this, a socialist system was founded in the eastern part of Germany (the GDR), likewise in 1949.

The peaceful revolution of 1989 in the GDR brought about an opening up and democratization of state and society. This process led to the dissolution of the GDR and its entrance into the FRG. This merger came 'from above' and from the West, not 'from below'. In the years since German unification in the political realm, studies reveal general apathy especially among young people. At the same time, however, there are movements that attempt to realize greater citizen input and participation in the decision-making processes, for example, the anti-nuclear movement and the ecology movement (Bürgerforum Paulskirche, 1993).

Ethnic minorities

Since the 17th Century, Prussia, the central state in the German empire, has had a tradition of integrating persecuted minorities. The Bohemians, forced out of their homes for religious reasons, as well as the French Huguenots and

Salzburg Protestants, settled in Brandenburg and Berlin and contributed to the wealth of the city. After 1871, in the wake of the economic upsurge in the German Empire, Slavic groups moved into the industrial centers (especially Berlin and the Ruhr area). These groups became thoroughly integrated into the lower social classes, and most were assimilated into the German social fabric.

Ostracism and persecution of the Jews during earlier periods was followed in the 19th Century by many gradually becoming culturally assimilated and integrated into German society. Anti-semitic tendencies intensified again during the imperial period at the end of the century. It was during the National Socialist period that anti-semitic policies exploded, culminating in genocidal politics.

Germany's colonial expansion ended after World War I. This explains why, in contrast to other European countries, there has been little immigration to Germany from the Third World. The recruitment of guest workers ('Gastarbeiter') starting in the mid-1950s did envision their permanent residence in Germany. However, recruitment of foreign workers stopped following the first major economic crisis in the Federal Republic in 1967, and limitations were put on the migration of their family members. Since the early 1990s, Germany has seen a flow of political asylum-seekers into the country, which has a very liberal right to political asylum written into the Basic Law passed in 1949. In 1992, over 400,000 asylum-seekers entered the country, many times more than the number of people who sought political asylum in other countries. France and Great Britain, for example, each had 25,000 applicants for asylum (UNHCR-Report, 1994). In the context of the economic crisis of 1992-1994, Germany saw a great deal of violence against political asylum-seekers and foreigners. A new, much more restrictive right to political asylum was passed in 1993. Since then, the number of hostile incidents against foreigners has fallen. Official German politics do little to encourage the integration of foreigners who have lived in the country for many years. Even members of the second and third generations of foreigners born in Germany find it difficult to acquire German citizenship, in part because foreigners are denied dual citizenship. In the 1990s there has been an increase in general hostility towards foreigners in Germany. However, Germany has put great effort into integrating refugees from the former eastern parts of Germany and from the GDR and immigrants with German roots from Russia and other eastern countries.

Context of the civic education of young people

Young people have largely grown up in a unified Germany. In 1999, those who turn 14 will have been only four or five years old when the border was opened. Their experiences with the two divided German states are largely those they hear about from their parents, grandparents and teachers. What

the generation of young people who first entered school in the 1990s has experienced first-hand are economic recession and declines in public spending. Students are sensitive to cutbacks, such as fewer field trips, a narrower selection of teaching materials, larger class sizes and the departure of young teachers whose contracts have expired. They are living through cuts in social welfare assistance and subsidies, the rising costs of health insurance and retirement, and intensifying struggles among different social groups. Young people also learn that political strategies often fall short. They have their attention called to politicians concerned with securing their own positions, and the corruption of some in political office and organizations. In their eyes, established party-politics holds little attraction. All this results in political apathy and a more pessimistic view of the future, both socially and ecologically (Jugendwerk der Deutschen Schule, 1997).

However, young people like to use their own free time in peer relationships. They are particularly interested in modern youth culture and share in consumerism. While, on the political level, young people have become less willing to tie themselves to formal organizations (Olk, 1988), they engage in social movements and protest events (Leif, 1991; Bürgerforum Paulskirche, 1993; Jugendwerk der Deutschen Schule, 1997). A majority of young people supports a multi-cultural society and the development of a shared world. The media they have grown up with provide diverse impressions and information from other societies (Lukesch et al., 1990). Many young people have learned first-hand how to get along with ethnic minorities in their neighborhoods, on vacation, in student meetings and through student exchange programs. They have developed the beginnings of a global awareness extending beyond national borders (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, 1990; Behnken et al., 1991; Jugendwerk der Deutschen Schule, 1992; Hurrelmann, 1994; Hoffmann-Lange, 1995; Büchner et al., 1996).

The educational context of civic education

Because of its federalist structure, the federal states of the Federal Republic of Germany have autonomy in cultural affairs. Despite efforts to make the educational system more uniform, state particularities continue to exist in the tripartite school system, in the list of subjects, in the number of required instruction hours per week, and what is to be learned. Such differences are particularly pronounced in the subject of civic education.

Civic education belongs to the school's general goals and is to be incorporated into all subjects. In most cases, subject specific instruction in civic education does not begin before Grades 7 or 8. As a rule, civic education is given at most one hour of weekly instruction in the curricula tables. However, it is regarded as a guiding principle that can be taught in integrated courses (for

example, history, geography, religion, languages and economy). In addition to this small allocation of hours, social and political education is limited by the German half-day school, which concentrates on teaching the subject matter of specific disciplines.

Most frameworks are based on a 'broad' concept of politics. Frameworks offer the following main topics: social relationships; the foundations of democratic orders; encouraging young people to commit to politics and act politically; the legal order; the media; the economic system and economic policies; international relations and peace-keeping; and the comparison of political systems. Some topics in these areas are also covered in history and geography.

The German educational system is highly selective. At age 10, children are separated into different branches of the tripartite school system. Only two of the 16 German federal states (Berlin and Brandenburg) mandate six years of compulsory comprehensive education. Only 7 per cent of secondary school students from Grades 6 to 10 attend comprehensive schools. Approximately 30 per cent attend the university preparatory high school (gymnasium), another third attends the intermediate 10-year school (realschule), while about a third attends the lower secondary school (hauptschule) (Arbeitsgruppe Bildungsbericht, 1994; Lehmann, 1994).

The former GDR had an integrated school system where most students attended small comprehensive schools from Grades 1 to 10. A smaller percentage (10 per cent) of each age group attended the college preparatory extended high school (Grades 11 and 12). After German unification, the GDR school system was dismantled and the selective tripartite school system of the Federal Republic was instituted. This took place despite the cultural autonomy guaranteed to the German federal states. West Germany basically exported its school system, and the new federal states had little chance to develop their own school systems. Following unification, 20 per cent of all teachers and most scholars who worked on issues related to politics or policy-making as well as those in the field of educational research and teacher-training were dismissed. Civic education teachers usually were denied the opportunity to teach this subject any longer. Instead, teachers who were educated in other subjects were trained to teach civic education (Wallraven, 1996).

In the FRG, all the teachers in civic education have studied at teacher colleges or universities. A large gap exists between studies in political science and the day-to-day demands placed on civic education teachers. Empirical studies (von Borries, 1995; Oesterreich, Händle & Trommer, 1997) show that both teachers and students prefer student-oriented, problem-centered civic education, but German secondary schools are dominated by teacher-centered instruction (Hage, Bischoff, Dichanz, Eubel, Oehlschläger & Schwittmann, 1985). Student-oriented and open teaching styles are more likely to be practiced in extra-curricular activities that are not compulsory, as well as in project days and project weeks. The majority of teachers now in the school

system belong to the 1968 generation of the student protest movement. Their political views tend to be left-wing and liberal. Civic education teachers are content with their subject and think that they can adapt to the interests of their students (Harms & Breit, 1990).

Teachers who work in comprehensive schools or lower secondary schools often decide to teach civic education, even if they have not been specifically trained in civic instruction. In this way, they can gain additional instruction hours with their class and more time to develop a learning culture and interdisciplinary projects.

In the FRG, teachers enjoy an extensive pedagogical freedom. In most federal states, frameworks are more like guidelines and have little directive power (Rauin et al., 1996). More important are the required curricula (prepared by the staff in individual schools) and the textbooks and approved materials. Empirical studies show that textbooks exert a large influence on instruction (Hopf et al., 1985). However, young people are not given textbooks for civic instruction in all schools, despite the fact that the FRG guarantees the free selection of teaching materials. Textbooks are passed out only for some instruction periods, or students are given photocopies of sources or worksheets. Since the 1970s, curricula have been developed proposing supplementary sources and experiences beyond the textbooks.

Wide-ranging scholarly discussion surrounding the subject of civic education is carried out in professional journals, such as *Kursiv Gegenwartskunde* and *Politische Bildung*. There are also professional associations, for example, the DVPW (association for the political sciences) and DVPB (Association for Civic Education), which hold congresses. The DVPB marked its 30th anniversary in 1995 (Weidinger, 1996).

Research methods

To explore civic education in Germany, we reviewed the literature and gathered detailed reports on research and discussions in three different fields: economic relations (Läidecke-Plumer & Sczesny, 1996), history (von Borries, 1996) and political education (Grammes, 1996). In addition, we examined the opinions of about 100 experts from different professional fields on the aims and reality of civic education in the school.

The experts we approached came from schools (21 teachers and 18 students), school administration, teacher education (16), university and research (23), and associations (18) (Oesterreich et al., 1997). Half were women and half were men; three-quarters grew up in West Germany and one-quarter in East Germany. We discussed both the questionnaire for the experts and our findings with a panel of colleagues involved in research and civic education. We also analyzed frameworks (Trommer, 1998) and 283 projects submitted

to the 1995 competition 'Demokratisch Handeln' (Democratic Action) (Händle, 1998). Since 1990, German schools have been encouraged to submit documentation of student-conducted projects on civic education to that program. All types of schools from all German federal states participate. A jury selects about 40 of the best and invites their representatives to a four-day workshop where they present their projects in an exhibition and participate in working groups. The projects give an overview of what teachers and students think is relevant in civics and provide good examples for 'democratic action' (Beutel & Fauser, 1995). The projects have been developed under different conditions: civic education lessons, extra-curricular activities or project weeks. These are conducted mostly in co-operation between teachers and students. For some activities, only a selected group of students participate; for others, all students of a certain age group or all those in a school participate.

In this report, we concentrate on the findings of our study on the experts' opinions of civic education at the Secondary Level I in Germany (Oesterreich et al., 1998). We asked 168 experts to assess the goals of civic education and their realization at the Secondary Level I. We formulated over 200 goals, most following the lines of the framing questions set by the IEA study, and added other topics of interest such as violence, the hidden curriculum, and particularly sensitive topics in the FRG. Ninety-seven of the experts we approached about participating in the study completed the questionnaire (58 per cent of the total). We then sent a follow-up questionnaire to this group in which we distilled the possible goals of civic education on the basis of the results from our main survey. The second-phase survey also asked additional questions to help explain the results of the survey and about pedagogical measures. Sixty-seven experts participated in the follow-up survey (69 per cent of the total).

Four possible responses were given for the questions about the learning goals and the extent of their realization. For the goals, the categories were: 'should be one of the most important goals', 'should be an important goal', 'should be a less important goal', 'should not be a goal'. For the questions about the realization of these goals, the categories are: 'goal is achieved fully', 'goal is achieved satisfactorily', 'goal is achieved only to a limited extent', 'goal is not achieved at all'.

We present all our data from the two surveys in a book (Händle, Trommer & Oesterreich, 1998), but we refer here only to those that refer to the central topics of the international study. We refer to our empirical material by quoting items (using quotation marks or parentheses). In treating goals, the percentages cited usually refer to the sum of the categories 'should be one of the most important goals' and 'should be an important goal', and in treating realization, the percentages cited usually refer to the sum of the categories 'goal is achieved fully' and 'goal is achieved satisfactorily'.

Summary of findings

Democracy

Democratic principles

In all frameworks, great importance is given to the foundations of the democratic order and to encouraging young people to commit and act politically. Students are supposed to be informed about the German Basic Law, parliamentary democracy, federalism, the social welfare state, law-making and the possibilities for designing politics. The concept of equality of all people underpins everything; it is not listed as a separate learning goal in the frameworks.

To 90 per cent of the experts, the knowledge of formal democratic functioning (the right to express opinions freely, the right to vote freely, the separation of powers) is a central goal of civic education. According to the large majority of experts, this goal is achieved satisfactorily. Eighty-one per cent of the experts also believed that knowledge of forms of direct participation is an important goal of civic education at the secondary level. These forms include demonstrations (the right to organize and participate in demonstrations, strikes, leaflet distributions and opposition groups outside Parliament). The experts considered that this goal is achieved at the Secondary Level I only to a relatively limited degree.

Almost all the experts (more than 90 per cent) believed that an important goal of civic education is to teach the concept of 'the equality of all people (women and men/ethnic groups/nations)'. Other important goals of civic education are information about 'the same political rights and responsibilities for all', 'tolerance of foreign cultures and religions' and social responsibility based on the premise that in a democracy everyone is responsible for the common good. According to the experts, these goals are also achieved satisfactorily.

Forms of society

As political alternatives to parliamentary democracy, civic education presents totalitarianism and state socialism. National Socialism is discussed as an example of the former, while the GDR serves as an example of the latter. In the opinion of the large majority of the experts, information about these other state forms is an important goal of civic education. This information focuses on the goals and development of socialism, the Cold War and the historical circumstances of the founding of the FRG and the GDR, the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist seizure of power.

According to the frameworks, National Socialism is to be discussed primarily in history instruction. The same holds for socialism. Civic instruction is supposed to deal with the differences in political systems through examples such as comparisons of electoral systems, educational systems and the role of

mass media. The changes in norms and values during the transition from a planned economy to the social market economy are part of the topic 'German reunification'. More than half of the experts believed that confrontation with National Socialism is achieved satisfactorily at the Secondary Level I (the National Socialist seizure of power, 66 per cent; their racist politics and the Holocaust, 81 per cent). In contrast, far fewer (under 50 per cent) believed that a confrontation with the history of the GDR is achieved satisfactorily (the founding of the GDR, 38 per cent; the 17 June 1953 'Popular Uprising' and the construction of the Berlin wall on 13 August 1961, 34 per cent; and the causes and circumstances of the German unification in 1990, 48 per cent). In addition, investigations of textbooks show that the extent of the confrontation with GDR history and developments has decreased.

How students experience democracy in the school

As an important goal of civic instruction, the experts supported the development of social responsibility in the school and local community. The frameworks also designate as a central goal introducing students to the design of tolerant social relationships. For young people, self-determination and consensus-building at school, as part of living together as a classroom community and school, should be learning goals. Nevertheless, the experts assessed the gap between desirable goals and their realization as particularly wide in this area.

A majority of the experts supported the right of students 'to criticize teachers and the school administration' (83 per cent) and 'to stick to their justified demands' (90 per cent). More than 90 per cent believe that teachers should help students 'through representing their interests, giving them advice, and also informing them of their legal rights', and that students should realize that student government is important for promoting their interests. That students actually practice their right to criticize teachers and the school administration was seen by two-thirds of the experts as achieved satisfactorily or fully, but fewer than half said the same for the other goals.

Studies show how difficult it is to make the school more democratic, transforming it from an institution predicated on a special relationship of power held by teachers to an institution guided by the aims of reciprocal communication (Holtmann & Reinhardt, 1971; Köhler & Reuter, 1973; Heider, 1984). The experts rejected authoritarian interaction in the school. Only about one-quarter believed that 'despite the student government, teachers should keep the upper hand' and slightly less than half wanted to see students learn 'to follow teacher instructions'. Over half of the respondents considered, however, that, in general, the school favors precisely such attitudes. Almost all the experts strongly supported the statement that students 'experience the school as an important location for democratic action'. They believed that this goal is achieved to only a limited extent. Making the school more democratic remains a goal but not an achievement in the civic education of young people.

Other surveys suggest that young people see the school somewhat less critically, although they too find fault with the scant consideration given to their interests and the few opportunities they have to participate (Hagstedt et al., 1980; Beisenherz et al., 1982; Czerwenka et al., 1990; Kanders et al., 1996).

As one looks at student projects in civic education, it seems that many students aim at bridging the gap between the importance given to democratic school life for civic education, on the one hand, and the limited realization of this aim on the other. Some projects concentrate on expanding the tasks of student government, for example, organizing free-time activities. Other projects try to encourage the widest possible participation by young people in representing their interests. Full student assemblies are established as school forums to discuss the problems of the school community. Many schools have projects where selected students participate in the resolution of conflicts as mediators and peer counselors (Mauthe & Pfeiffer, 1996). Such fuller dimensions of school life, along with measures established for resolving conflicts, tend to be found most in schools with heterogeneous and less privileged student bodies as well as in full-day schools.

Estimates of government interest in the political opinions of citizens

Among the German public, it is generally thought that the government has little interest in the political opinions of its citizens, only as much as is necessary to preserve the power of government officials and politicians. Apart from parliamentary elections, which take place every four years, citizens have few possibilities to influence government policies. In some federal states, it is possible to hold popular referendums as direct forms of democracy, but such decision-making forms are seldom employed. Over the last two decades, the political participation of German citizens has fallen steadily, especially in voting (Feist, 1994). A generation of young people was involved in political issues in the 1960s and 1970s. They have not maintained their interest, and young people also have been showing a lack of interest in established party politics in the 1990s.

According to the experts in our survey, the sources for the political apathy of young people are to be found primarily outside the school. As reasons for political apathy they named 'few possibilities to influence political decision-making' (76 per cent), 'neglecting the justified interests of individual groups, especially children and young people' (68 percent), 'opportunism and lies in political dealings' (64 per cent) and 'politicians and political parties interested in securing their own positions and (financial) interests' (60 per cent). As the experts see it, much of students' political apathy can be traced back to deficits in the political culture of the FRG.

Institutions and practices

Nearly all of the experts believed that the central goals of civic education include knowledge of general-democratic principles, such as the equality of

everyone before the law, the separation of powers, the right to vote, the role of the opposition party, the right to criticise institutions of the State, and the protection of the individual from encroachments by the State. According to the experts, these goals are also achieved satisfactorily in the school.

The gap between goal and realization is much larger for fundamental knowledge of the main institutions involved in the democratic constitution of society. While almost all the respondents believe that the goals and tasks of the German legal system and Basic Law are very important elements of civic education (goals and fundamental features of Germany's civil code, independence of the courts, tasks of the legal system), they thought that these goals are achieved to only a limited extent at the Secondary Level I. This gap is especially large for knowledge of the Basic Law. For example, 69 per cent thought that such knowledge is one of the 'most important learning goals' but only 10 per cent saw this goal as 'achieved fully'.

The experts believed that detailed knowledge of the legal system is less important. Only about a third considered, for example, that young people should know the 'separation of court rulings into civil, criminal and administrative law'. In contrast, in the frameworks, the goals go beyond basic information to include topics such as legal avenues and court proceedings (including discussions of students' legal standing).

By contrast, the experts attached high priority in their pedagogical recommendation to ways of motivating students to become politically involved. Among those recommendations, 83 per cent supported 'introduction to the critical press' and 67 per cent opted for 'information about how the political system functions'. To encourage students to participate politically, two-thirds of the experts suggested 'field trips to institutions such as parliaments, courts, or important memorials' (65 per cent). Fewer experts supported 'comparing political party platforms' (40 per cent), 'field trips to political events' (37 per cent) or 'participating in demonstrations' (20 per cent).

Rights of citizenship

In the frameworks, rights of citizenship are handled from the perspective of encouraging students to commit and act politically. Students are to learn the tasks, structure and financing of political parties, the right to vote and the voting system, the representation of interests through associations, trade unions, citizen initiatives, and the like, as the prerequisites to a functioning democracy. Another topic is the role of mass media in the creation of information and opinions.

The majority of experts supported as central goals providing students with information about the democratic rights involved in the right to vote freely, in freedom of opinion, and in the right to organize in political parties, interest groups and associations. Almost all the respondents saw as important goals 'the right to vote freely' and 'the right to express one's convictions publicly'. In the experts' opinion, these goals are achieved in the school.

Studies about young people conducted after German unification show that young people wish to have more material rights: the right to work, education, medical care, housing, public child-care and a guaranteed minimum income. Especially young people from the new federal states and East Berlin wish that these rights, part of GDR citizenship, still existed, even though they are highly critical of other aspects of the GDR, such as the centralized regulation, political control, and the limits placed on the freedom of opinion and voting (Oesterreich, 1993). The current political development of the FRG, however, tends to place restrictions on such rights. Unemployment is at the highest level of the post-war period, poverty is climbing and medical care is becoming more expensive. In addition, social welfare measures such as unemployment assistance and welfare payments are decreasing, while expenditures for public education are stagnating or declining. Young people are directly affected by such measures.

Students are responding to these developments through political action and demonstrations, for example, the large demonstration against cutbacks held in Berlin on 21 October 1996. They also try to expand their field of action in projects related to their immediate political communities. An example from our study of school projects in civic education is the ecologically sensitive transformation of space in the school, of school grounds and of neighboring open areas. In another example, young people investigated the free-time interests of their peers and the situation of playgrounds and youth homes. They documented their research efforts, published their findings in exhibitions and represented their interests to those responsible in the community government. A large majority of the experts also thought it is important that students be encouraged to make 'individual contributions to solve local problems'. They hoped that such involvement would heighten the overall political participation of young people (Detjen, 1995).

Obligations and responsibilities of citizenship

The frameworks of almost all the federal states emphasize that civic education should promote competence not only in the cognitive and methodological aspects of democracy but also in the area of social action. Students are supposed to demonstrate their coming-of-age in citizenship through their grasp both of a canon not only of rights but of responsibilities vis-a-vis the community. In terms of these individual responsibilities, the experts in our study distinguished between conventional citizen virtues and social responsibility to the community. They did not place emphasis on traditional citizen virtues such as 'the obligation that one renounce resistance to the power of the state' (34 per cent), 'the responsibility to contribute to the national defence of Germany' (31 per cent) or even 'the obligation to respect state organs (such as the police and military)' (47 per cent). In general, such topics are not explicitly discussed in the frameworks either. One exception to this is the topic of defensive forces in the democratic state, which is generally mentioned in the

frameworks together with peace-keeping measures and international relations.

Political apathy is not an environment in which a balanced approach to citizen obligations can thrive. Instead, the experts emphasized the social responsibilities of the individual, especially in the immediate community. Almost all the experts identified 'the obligation to respect the rights of others' and 'the obligation to assume social responsibility' as important goals of civic education. At the same time, they saw a large gap between their wishes and what is actually achieved in the school. A large majority believed that these goals are reached to only a limited extent.

The issue of violence is a critical topic in the area of citizen rights and responsibilities. Almost all the experts supported a renunciation of violence. For example, freedom from violence is a worthy goal, even if it cannot be achieved fully (95 per cent); and renunciation of violence is the best way to end violence (61 per cent). At the same time, the respondents considered that these goals are achieved to only a very limited extent.

Overall, one can say that, according to the experts, knowledge of fundamental political rights appears to be achieved better than knowledge of individual political responsibilities. School projects on civic education try to compensate for these deficits and concentrate on the individual obligation to assume social responsibility. They aim at expanding the students' ability to understand social and cultural differences, to develop social responsibility in their local communities, to become involved on behalf of less privileged groups, to establish partnerships with schools and projects in the Second and Third Worlds and to become involved in environmental protection.

National identity

Because of the German crimes committed during the National Socialist period, the concept of nationalism carries negative connotations in Germany. Even concepts such as national identity, national consciousness and national pride are used with reluctance. This becomes especially clear in historical and comparative discussions and investigations (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1985; Kocka, 1988; Wilberg, 1995). It comes as no surprise that the experts in our study attached little importance to such concepts as goals of civic education. According to the majority of experts, neither nationalism as related to the German nation consisting 'of the German people', nor as related to the state of 'the Federal Republic of Germany' is an important component of civic education.

By contrast, there was greater support among the experts for goals such as producing a sense of national unity under the constitution of the Federal Republic (83 per cent) or understanding the German nation as 'the people of different cultural and national backgrounds who live together in Germany' (64 per cent). However, relatively few of the experts thought that these goals are achieved in school. The less desirable learning goals in the area of national

identity, such as a concept of nation based on the ethnic German people ('Volk') or as defined through the State, are thought to be achieved better. Despite the ambivalence of the experts regarding German nationalism, they still thought that it should not be rejected completely. Only 16 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement 'because of the burden it carries from the National Socialist period, one should renounce the concept "the German nation"'. At the same time, a majority of 64 per cent thought that a European consciousness should arise in place of a German national consciousness.

National symbols

Civic education focused on national figures, national holidays and national symbols is little developed in German schools. The national anthem and national flag do not play a role in schools; schools likewise avoid celebrations of national memorial days such as 17 June, the anniversary of the first 'Popular Uprising' in 1953 in the GDR, or 3 October, the 'Day of German Unity'. National symbols figure in history instruction primarily in the context of the bourgeois revolution of 1848 or the founding of the German Empire in 1871. The experts were also critical of national symbols. Nearly 90 per cent rejected the statement 'the national flag and national anthem produce a sense of national belonging'.

Learning 'names and functions of important German politicians' is not an important goal (73 per cent of the experts). After the experiences with the National Socialist dictatorship and its 'leadership cult', there are reservations in Germany about a personification of politics. Likewise, many thought that it is not appropriate to ask which political figures should serve as models in civic education. When asked to name models, the respondents listed the Nobel Prize recipient Willy Brandt and other political figures who stand for peaceful resistance, such as Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Social reform movements

Knowledge of protest movements and social reform movements, however, was seen by the experts as an important goal of civic education. Students should be informed of the following movements and events: the Reformation (72 per cent); the goals and development of socialism (75 per cent); the trade union movement (71 per cent); social movements (the women's movement, the peace movement, environmental protection and the like) (86 per cent); the causes and results of the student protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s (66 per cent); and the 17 June 1953 'Popular Uprising' in the GDR and the construction of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961 (71 per cent). About two-thirds of the experts believed that such knowledge is achieved to only a limited extent or not at all at the Secondary Level I.

When one looks at the experts' assessments in this area and compares it with their assessments in the area of national symbols, a problem emerges.

The experts rejected civic instruction about things that usually produce a sense of national belonging, yet they considered students to be well acquainted with them. By contrast, in the area of social movements, which was highly valued by the experts, students were thought not to have the awareness.

Coming to terms with the past: the Holocaust

For most of the federal states, attention to National Socialism and German responsibility for crimes associated with it is the task of instruction in history. In civic education, National Socialism tends to be discussed in the context of comparisons among political systems with attention to such things as the role of the media under dictatorships and in democratic states. Far more important to the experts than the transfer of national pride is the discussion of problems and responsibility in German history. A very large majority of around 90 per cent saw the following learning goals as important in civic education: 'the causes and events of World War I', 'the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi seizure of power', 'the racist politics of the National Socialists and the Holocaust', and 'the causes and events of World War II'.

A similar percentage of the experts agreed that 'young people should receive a more in-depth presentation of the Holocaust than of other historical events', and that they 'should realize that the crimes of National Socialism are historically unique in their racist justification and in their bureaucratic execution'. Many experts said they would also like to see young people confront the consequences of the Holocaust: 'young people should realize that Germany has a special relationship to Israel because of the expulsion of the Jews and the Holocaust' and 'young people should understand why many people in the world continue to be mistrustful of Germans'.

On the other hand, the experts did not think that a goal of civic instruction should be to encourage feelings of guilt among students. Of the respondents, 83 per cent did not consider a goal of civic education to be that of 'young people should also feel personally responsible for the Holocaust'. On a more nuanced issue, the experts were divided about whether an important topic in civic education should be a 'sense of liability among young people as Germans for the Holocaust and its consequences'. Just about half of the experts thought this is an important goal. Overall, the experts thought that the goals of coming to terms with the Holocaust are achieved relatively well in the school, at least better than the goals in other areas.

The Holocaust is also a major topic in many school projects. Especially in 1995, the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, there were many student projects exploring this period. Projects about the National Socialist period and its consequences (especially among work-groups in the gymnasium) concentrated on uncovering the fate of Jewish students and teachers in the school and neighborhood. These groups examined the forced-labor camps and concentration camps, conducted research on them, interviewed people who had lived through the National Socialist period, worked out designs for

monuments and memorial plaques, published documentations and organized exhibitions and memorial events.

The relationship between East and West in Germany

The reasons, circumstances and results related to German unification are targeted as learning goals in frameworks, especially in the new federal states. Here, both the structural change—from a planned economy to the social market economy—as well as the change in values are presented. The frameworks of the old federal states also discuss problems of the separation of the two German states and the differences in the educational and economic systems. The experts agreed that student exposure to the recent history of the two German states is an important goal of civic education. Almost all of the respondents saw an important goal in 'the "Cold War" and the historical circumstances for the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR' and in 'the causes and circumstances of German Unification'. These learning goals were considered to be best located in the context of history instruction, while civic education at the Secondary Level I should supposedly place greater emphasis on the comparison of political and economic systems.

A particular problem for civic education is the difference between people in the old and the new federal states. While people in eastern Germany question the demand that they conform to western norms and the sweeping devaluation of their traditions, West Germans reproach them for their ungratefulness and the costs of unification (Schäfers, 1996). Fostering partnerships between schools in the old and new federal states aims at diminishing the perceived distance between young people and at promoting mutual understanding (Lay & Potting, 1995).

International relations

International relations is an important topic in the frameworks. While the primary aim of instruction in history is to represent the historical developments behind the rise of international alliances, geography instruction places the economic and social aspects of international cooperation at the forefront. Instruction about politics tends to highlight the legal, political and social aspects of international relations. Special emphasis is placed on international security with the discussion of military service, NATO and the Helsinki Conference, the position and role of Germany in the European Union, the conflict between North and South, and the Federal Republic's economic aid policies for Third World countries.

Almost 90 per cent of the experts believed that knowledge of international organizations is an important goal of civic education. Students should be informed about the 'history and tasks of the United Nations' and the 'history and tasks of the European Union' and the special role of Germany in these organizations. Almost all the respondents thought that 'Germany as an integral part of the European Community' is a central topic of civic education.

'Germany's responsibility for developing countries' was seen by the large majority as an important topic of civic instruction, as was the goal 'Germany as economic partner for the countries in eastern Europe'. The experts tended to see these tasks as achieved most satisfactorily in terms of the European Union, with only about half as many agreeing that this is true about developing countries and the countries in eastern Europe.

Educating students regarding relationships to sub-national groupings and loyalties based on religious or ethnic ties comes into play only in the federal states, where such minorities exist. According to the frameworks, students should discuss primarily ways in which ethnic groups can come to self-realization, ways to resolve conflict and how to regulate a peaceful coexistence with those who do not belong to one's own ethnic group.

A number of the student projects support those goals. Civic education projects foster international relationships through partnerships between schools in eastern and western Europe, or with countries in the Second and Third Worlds. Many schools organize activities to collect money for partner schools and partner projects and include information about the living situation where the other school is located. Reciprocal trips and meetings, joint artistic events and research projects are included sometimes or teachers instruct as guests in the other school. In addition to such formal exchange programs, there is also a great deal of independent initiative among young people and educators.

Less privileged groups

Equality as a common value

The frameworks for civic instruction repeatedly emphasize the equal rights of men and women, and in various contexts. Issues include gender-specific differences in how girls and boys are raised, in their scholastic careers and job selection, the gendered role division in the workplace and in the family, and how gender is considered in the economic and social system. The particularly difficult situation of young foreign women in Germany is sometimes discussed. Almost all the experts identify important goals of civic education as 'the equality of all people,' 'tolerance of foreign cultures and religions', and 'protection of minorities'. They also underscore the learning goals that 'everyone in our society must have the same opportunities' and 'men and women should have the same rights and responsibilities'. But less than half of the experts saw these goals as being achieved satisfactorily at the Secondary Level I. They also noted that few projects focus on these topics.

In the 1970s, the remaining same-gender schools for boys and girls in the FRG were replaced by coeducational schools. This change resulted in a reduction of women teachers in top decision-making positions. Empirical studies show that girls lose much of their self-confidence during puberty, despite good grades in school (Horstkemper, 1987). There is a broad discussion about findings that suggest that, in certain subject areas, girls are better served in

gender-homogenous groups (Kreienbaum, 1992). Other studies have found that the orientations and interests of boys and girls also differ in civic education. In our survey, for example, women tend to favor peaceful conflict resolution and non-violent resistance (see also von Borries, 1995). The special interests of women teachers and high-school girls in personal development and relationships (Kulke, 1992) are also taken up in civic instruction (Hoppe, 1996; Reinhardt, 1996).

Foreigners in Germany

Against the background of right-wing extremist violence in the FRG, especially in the years following German unification, a central topic in civic education has become the discussion and prevention of such violent actions (Otto & Merten, 1993). The topic of foreigners receives explicit mention in the frameworks of only some federal states, however. To the extent that the frameworks deal with foreigners, the topic is to be found under the 'realization of human rights' and refers primarily to the social and legal situation of foreigners in Germany. In geography instruction, however, the topic is conceived in broader terms, giving attention to the economic and social situation of foreigners in their home countries, their religion and culture and the reasons behind migration. In contrast, the everyday life of foreigners in the FRG occupies a marginal position in classroom instruction.

The large majority of experts in our survey regarded the 'equal treatment of all people (including foreigners) who live in Germany in society, in the job market and before the law' as an important learning goal. Just under a third, however, believed that this goal is achieved fully or satisfactorily. A considerable discrepancy between goal and realization also exists in terms of 'an understanding that foreigners who live in Germany on a long-term basis also want to preserve the special features of their culture'. Almost 90 per cent of the experts believed that this should be one of the most important or an important goal of civic instruction. At the same time, three-quarters of the experts thought that this goal is achieved to only a limited extent or not at all. The same held for the learning goal 'getting to know the living conditions and culture of foreigners both in Germany and in their countries of origin'.

Knowledge of the sources of ethnic conflicts and massive refugee movements, the right to political asylum in the FRG, and the regulations covering the citizenship application process were all seen as important goals of civic education by the large majority. These goals areas include information about the sources of ethnic conflict, origins of the right to asylum and the problems faced by foreigners in becoming German citizens. However, less than 20 per cent of the experts thought that any of these goals is reached fully or satisfactorily in school.

Again, in this area where the experts identified a large gap between the goals of civic education and their realization in the school, there are numerous projects attempting to reduce this discrepancy (Lang, 1996). Some projects

are concerned with the living situation of foreigners in the neighborhood and organize assistance and improvements. Many projects, though, focus on fostering intercultural understanding in the school, starting with social conflict among heterogeneous groups in the school. Through music-making, theater performances and projects about the cultural background of the various groups, young people attempt to see cultural differences as opportunities and to support cooperation.

Economy and ecology

Market economy and globalization

Discussion of the economic order and economic policies is among the central topics of civic education in the frameworks of all the federal states. Both the basic features of economic behavior and the functioning of the labor market are explained. Other issues include the tasks of the social market economy compared with other economic systems. In addition, environmental protection issues are discussed. Almost all the experts believed that discussion of the 'principles and limits of the market economy related to social welfare obligations' is an important goal of civic education. At the same time, more than half of them saw this goal as achieved to only a limited extent or not at all. While general knowledge of the economy was regarded as very important, only about half of the respondents supported such learning goals as 'knowledge of the right to ownership' or the 'basic principles of how banks or enterprises function and operate'. This finding suggests that detailed knowledge is minimized.

According to the frameworks, development and aid policies relating to Third World countries and the conflict between North and South should be dealt with in instruction in civic education and geography. Likewise, the structure, tasks and goals of the European Union are taught in both subjects. Instruction in civic education highlights the legal and political conditions of the EU, while geography instruction places more emphasis on economic factors. Problems arising from the economic unification of Europe are often discussed through the concrete example of the agricultural market. Over 80 per cent of the experts believed that 'problems of the European market' and 'problems of market globalization' are important goals of civic education. At the same time, only about 20 per cent of the experts saw these goals as achieved satisfactorily. A somewhat smaller gap appears to exist between the significance that the experts accorded to 'economic problems of the Third World' (88 per cent) in civic instruction and the realization of this goal in the school (46 per cent).

Environmental protection

Awareness about ecological problems and responsibility for environmental protection are, according to the experts, central goals of civic education at the Secondary Level I. Almost all the respondents saw the 'protection of the en-

vironment' as an important and relatively well achieved goal of civic education, and 65 per cent saw this goal as realized. Similar results were obtained for 'problems of environmental destruction through industrialization' (91 per cent), information about 'risks of the nuclear industry' (77 per cent), and 'goals and function of environmental protection organizations like Greenpeace' (73 per cent) with an estimated realization in school ranging from 45 to 70 per cent. In the area of environmental issues, the gap between desirable goals and their realization was smaller than for other topics. Perhaps this success can be traced to stronger cooperation among teachers of different subjects, including geography, religion, ethics, biology and German. Another reason is that young people are particularly interested in environmental issues.

Among the projects surveyed within civic education, many efforts take an ecological emphasis. Young people work on the ecological redesign of buildings, school-grounds and neighboring areas. They design and implement 're-greening' measures, dig ponds, return rivers and lakes to their natural courses and banks, set up fields with scattered fruit trees, create educational 'nature paths' and care for natural protected areas. Young people are also involved in environmental protection by saving forests from lumbering and controlling the construction of buildings and roads in protected areas (Bachmann, 1990).

Balancing skills and knowledge with actions and practices

The view of civic education in the FRG is quite broad. It includes political socialization along with narrower understandings related to knowledge and competencies for action in the political domain (Massing & Weißenö, 1995; Sander, 1997; Grammes, 1998). Consequently, we do not find a uniform concept of 'civic education', but rather objectives of civic education taught under different names and in different subject areas. Civic education is not narrowly confined to instruction about government and politics, but finds expression in the political dimensions of a range of subjects taught in the school. Civic education is also a central objective in interdisciplinary and practice-oriented projects, particularly in project days, project weeks and after-school events in the school. Finally, it is expected that civic education will also take place right in the fabric of school life; in students' dealings with their peers, teachers, student councils and school administrators.

Political socialization also takes place outside the school: at home, in peer groups and, to a large degree, through the media. In general, the reliance of young people on traditional authorities such as the parental home and school has diminished in favor of a shared youth culture and the media's new significance as a source of information. Through the media, young people receive diverse information about politicians, political conflicts, the situation in other parts of the world, legal rights and history. Often, however, young people are not able to fully understand such information. Moreover, the wide diversity of information contrasts with the limited possibilities available to young

people to participate and act directly.

In the selective school system as found in the Federal Republic, young people are generally separated into different school forms after age 10. This selection is influenced by the students' social status. Among young people in any particular age group, social learning (and thus social integration) is conditioned by the kind of school the student attends. Depending on the students' backgrounds and their career and life perspectives, different school cultures take hold in each school form.

In the gymnasium, the high school which prepares for the examination for university study (Abitur), civic education takes place largely in the context of established subjects. There are also activities that take the students beyond subject area instruction into additional free work-groups, project days, project weeks and school events. Examples include sponsorship of schools in other countries, confrontations with the National Socialist history, regional surveys about political issues and local ecological projects. The results of these projects are often made public to the entire school and parents through exhibitions, school events and documentaries. It is characteristic of such activities, however, that only a small group of students participate in them.

Less privileged schools with multi-cultural student populations face a range of tasks in social integration, mutual understanding and consensus-building. Many schools report vandalism and violence (Klockhaus & Habermann, 1986; Dettenborn & Lautsch, 1993; Meier, Melzer, Schubarth & Tillmann, 1995; Melzer et al., 1995; Fuchs et al., 1996). This calls for extensive work on social understanding in the school. Other tasks include the discussion and understanding of the various cultures and backgrounds of the students, often in the form of projects that replace subject instruction. Other opportunities for fostering understanding among students are found in school events, especially theater and music performances.

The lower secondary schools (*hauptschule*), attended by students from less privileged backgrounds and with limited career and life perspectives, face additional tasks of civic education that go beyond subject instruction (Uhl, 1990). These schools are especially concerned with helping to make concrete improvements in the school environment as well as in the life opportunities of young people. These schools often adopt practice-oriented learning. These projects also offer cooperation with businesses, manufacturing enterprises and marketing outlets. Basic knowledge of the economy and politics can be learned hands-on in projects, case studies and role-plays.

The cultures of the different school types can be understood against the backdrop of the division of labor between the family and school. The gymnasium is predicated on the fact that its students have already acquired a great deal of cultural capital and get much support from their families. In contrast, schools with less privileged students must assume additional tasks of hands-on and practical learning, where students can effectively acquire motivation and

skills in economic, political and civic matters.

Besides these differences in the various forms in the schools, it should be noted that in our survey of experts from the field of civic education, we found a clear discrepancy between the goals of civic education and their realization in the schools. This gap is particularly large in the area of social competencies and social responsibility, but is smaller in the area of knowledge, traditional values and conventional virtues. When asked about this gap, 15 per cent of the experts stated that 'the school as institution is very much overtaxed with expectations to realize desirable, ambitious civic education goals'. Another 38 per cent thought that the school is partially overtaxed. As the main sources for this gap, however, the experts identified conditions in the school that could be changed. These included the 'limited time allocated to civic education' (80 per cent) and the 'confinement to morning instruction and the priority placed on subject instruction' (60 per cent). At the same time, the experts also pointed to the problem that 'young people at the secondary level have limited interest in civic education and refuse to realize many ambitious goals' (57 per cent).

The large majority of experts expected that civic education could be improved by 'encouraging cooperation with other subjects', by 'enlisting partners from politics, research, and social movements for work-groups and projects', through 'annual project weeks on civic education', by 'increasing the number of hours given to the subject of civic education', through 'work-groups with colleagues in civic education for young people after-hours in the school', in 'workshops to exchange experiences in civic education among various schools and types of schools' and by 'easing the amount of classroom instruction in favor of curriculum development and preparing materials together with colleagues' (listed in order starting with the most frequently endorsed).

In terms of how the experts ranked these recommendations, it is obvious that they preferred measures that are achievable in the given framework of schools. Project work and opening the schools took priority over both increasing the number of hours in the subject of civic education and easing the amount of classroom instruction in favor of additional activities. These recommendations seem quite appropriate. In the areas where the gap between goals and realization is narrow (as with environmental protection and National Socialism), for example, it seems likely that the experts' recommendations of cooperation and project work have been successfully implemented on the whole.

Our main survey also provides indications as to why the most ambitious goals of civic education have not been achieved in the school. In our discussion of the learning goals in the area of democracy, we stated that a particularly large gap exists between the goal of democratic social interactions in the school and its realization. The experts emphasized that schools have a hidden curriculum that, in some respects, is more successful than the official curricu-

lum. For example, 91 per cent of the respondents thought that 'instrumental studying for tests' is stressed to a large degree in the hidden curriculum of schools. 'Conforming to authority' was seen by 82 per cent as a learning from that curriculum at the Secondary Level I; 'bowing to circumstantial constraints' by 74 per cent; 'to cut a profile at the expense of others' by 64 per cent; and 'to manipulate others to one's own advantage' by 59 per cent.

The school also emphasizes positive attributes and attitudes in the hidden curriculum. According to 73 per cent of the experts, students learn 'how to get along with different people', 'the development of peer culture' (82 per cent), 'to loosen ties to parents through interaction with other adults' (62 per cent), 'to experience the advantages of what groups can accomplish' (58 per cent) and 'consideration for those who are weaker' (50 per cent).

One of the most central goals of civic instruction is to arouse and strengthen student interest in civic tasks and to encourage them to become politically involved. To do justice to this, the experts thought it is of primary importance that democratic social interaction be practiced in the school and that students make individual contributions to solve local problems. Other key measures are to introduce students to the critical press and to carry out joint projects with young people of foreign backgrounds.

The scholarly discussion of civic education continues to heed the maxim of a respected textbook *Sehen—Beurteilen—Handeln* (*Seeing—Judging—Acting*) (see also Hilligen, 1985). According to many of the experts, cognitive and practical learning are equally important. From a didactic perspective, either of these learning approaches can be selected as an introduction to civic education. For young people at the Secondary Level I age-group, it seems likely that experience and practice are highly important if they are to become politically active, especially for less privileged young people who attend less privileged school types. One cannot presume that this group has acquired sufficient cultural capital in the area of civic education at home. Schools need to offer these young people specialized and hands-on experience and opportunities to articulate political interests.

Conclusions: the challenge for civic education

A special challenge for civic education is to be found in the widespread refusal by young people to participate in social and political matters and their limited interest in politics. Studies of young people as well as electoral analyses clearly point out their political apathy. By contrast, young people do tend to show more willingness to become involved in the immediate community, in ecological problems and minority issues.

Both common values and views, as well as knowledge and competencies for social and political action, are goals of civic education. According to the

experts in our survey, there is a gap between the ambitious goals of civic education and their realization at the secondary level. This discrepancy is particularly large in reference to the goal that students acquire a political or civic awareness. While the majority of experts thought that students attain a grasp of fundamental principles and of formal democratic rights in school, students fail to achieve in the area of social responsibility and social engagement, goals the experts regarded as highly important.

About half of the experts in our survey believed that the school as an institution is overtaxed with the realization of important civic education goals. However, even more of the experts identified problems inside the school as the reasons for the gap between goal and realization. Above all, the experts cited the limited time allocated to civic instruction, the restriction to morning instruction and the limited interest of young people themselves in politics and related issues. Recommendations from the experts included encouraging cooperation with different subject areas; enlisting partners from politics, research and social movements for work groups and projects; and undertaking projects in civic education.

The extent to which teachers pay attention to practice and action in civic education depends on the opportunities they have for civic instruction. In the half-day German school, with its emphasis on subject instruction, the time for such instruction is limited. Full-day schools and schools with a heterogeneous student body offer greater opportunities. However, they face additional challenges in social and civic learning, especially schools attended by students with little cultural capital and lower career and life perspectives. These schools in particular face the task of incorporating social action and fostering mutual understanding among various interests as prerequisites to civic education.

Something that has generated a great deal of discussion and was recently formulated as an educational concept is the broadening of school tasks, the school's development from a 'place of learning' ('Lernort') to a 'place of living' ('Lebensort') (Bildungskommission NRW, 1995). What prompts the idea of broadening school life is the changed living situation of young people, especially the inadequate socialization provided by families. According to some, the division of labor between family and school should be shifted in order to ease the burdens placed on the family.

Some also believe that an important condition for such broadening would be school autonomy and schools having a larger latitude for action. In fact, the current political strategy in Germany aims at reducing public expenditures; those expenditures in the educational system. State cutbacks have already increased the number of hours teachers are required to instruct, raised class sizes and resulted in outmoded schoolbooks and poorer instructional materials. Financial considerations dictate that much that is regarded as necessary is left undone in the schools, and the predictable resulting problems are simply accepted.

It is still hard to predict how the upcoming generational shift will affect the school and teacher education. In the FRG, teacher hirings have taken place in a cyclical pattern. Most people in the current generation of educators were socialized during the student movement of the 1960s and 1970s and started their professional careers in the educational system during the 1970s. The decline in the birth rate also meant that few younger teachers were hired during the 1980s and 1990s. After the year 2000, the current generation of teachers will enter retirement age, and a new generation of teachers will replace them. It is difficult to assess what the personal and professional views of these teachers will be.

In the course of their own education, the upcoming generation of teachers has been socialized to achieve; high value is placed on knowledge of their discipline. However, this generation has been largely disappointed in the expectation, basically valid up to now, that an university education would open the doors to privileged careers. Many of these teachers have had diverse experiences in other jobs and areas outside the formal educational system. The teacher education and training system in the FRG pays little attention to professional practice. In light of these trends, we can expect that much of the coming pedagogical and political culture in schools will be created through the professional socialization and interaction of the teachers who work there.

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THE DISCOURSE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN GREECE: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY

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Introduction

This chapter examines the discourse of citizenship education in Greece, relating it to the wider social, political, cultural and educational context, with a focus on national identity and social diversity. We maintain that citizenship education discourse as presented in contemporary textbooks is incongruent with the newly emerging social and political reality of Greece and Europe.

Part I highlights the predominant social, political, economic and ideological factors that characterize Greek society in the post-war era and trace the main axes of contemporary political culture. The structure of Greek primary and secondary education is also presented, along with the status, structure and content of citizenship education. Part II focuses on the analysis of school textbooks, with specific reference to issues of national identity and social diversity.

Recent political history

Since World War II, Greece has been marked by transformations at the political, socio-economic and cultural levels. A bitter civil war between government forces and communist-led resistance forces characterized the immediate post-war period. Conservative governments led a shattered Greece during the 1950s and early 1960s, a period marked by political oppression, an ongoing ban on the Communist Party and imprisonment of opponents. Constitutional guarantees were annulled in the name of social order and internal security. Power was exercised by centers of authority remote from institutions of representation. The close interrelation between the State and the conservative party in power tended to transform the State into the political tool of the dominant social class (Haralambis, 1988, pp.55-60). However, the early and mid 1960s also saw the rise of center liberal forces; the reconstitution of a parliamentary left. In this context, the demands for constitutional legitimacy and observance of civic democratic processes were articulated.

Social and political tensions created government instability and the conditions for a successful military coup in 1967 by a junta of middle-level army officials. Concern for territorial integrity and protection from the so-called 'interior enemy' (communism) were used as justifications to outlaw all political parties, hold in abeyance articles of the constitution related to individual rights, and establish censorship. Opposition to the regime caused imprisonment, torture and even exile. At the same time, by its reference to the Hellenic-Christian civilization, the military regime aimed 'to reconcile the essentially contradictory values of Ancient Greece and Christian Byzantium which had long been the ideological catchword of the far right' (Clogg, 1980, p.180). As a result of its inability to achieve legitimation and of strong opposition

from within, particularly from a growing student movement, and after losing support from powers in the West, the military junta was dissolved in 1974. This year marked the birth of the State of Law in Greece and the establishment of the country as a contemporary political regime. Greece in the post-dictatorship era is a parliamentary democracy (monarchy was abolished by a referendum held in 1974) with a president whose powers, however, are restricted. In 1981, the socialist party PASOK came into power and, with the exception of the period 1989 to 1993, has remained in power until today. Progressive and innovative reforms were initiated, political reconciliation was achieved and democratic institutions and processes in many spheres of public life were established (Featherstone, 1990, p.186).

Furthermore, Greece's accession to the European Union (EU) is contingent upon the 'Europeanization' of institutional structures, the stabilization of the parliamentary system and the democratization of domestic politics, as well as a commitment to Western European norms (Diamandouros, 1993, pp.6-7).

As for international politics, Greece has been facing in the 1990s a set of problems with countries in its geographic vicinity. Dispute over the occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkey since 1974 and tensions concerning control of the Aegean sea and the Muslim minority in north-eastern Greece are dominant issues in relations with Turkey (Heraklides, 1995). Furthermore, in the context of the intense political and national rearrangements in the wider Balkan area, Greece has had to face several tensions in its relations with neighboring countries. In recent years, tension has been created over the proposed name for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and its coincidence with that of Greece's northern region of Macedonia. The dramatic deterioration of the Albanian economy and state, the condition of the Greek minority in Southern Albania and the flow of economic refugees into Greece are issues that have occupied an important place in public discourse.

The increased number of economic refugees, not only from Albania but also from other former communist countries as well as from Asia, puts into serious question the supposed homogeneity of Greek society. Diversity is gradually being acknowledged and discrimination against minorities in terms of religion, ethnicity or language is becoming an issue. Furthermore, this relatively new reality, on the one hand, created xenophobic and racist attitudes and, on the other, turned public attention to the human rights discourse and, more particularly, to organizations working for the defence of social and political rights and for solidarity with immigrants.

Some economic features of Greece

In the social and economic spheres, significant changes have occurred in the post-war era. From 1950 onwards, despite the repressive state, Greece experienced economic growth, attained a remarkable degree of price stability, achieved a considerable increase in average per capita income and had a rising living standard coupled with a consumer boom in the 1960s and 1970s. Revenues from tourism as well as financial contributions from Greeks working outside Greece to their families helped to correct an imbalance of payments, a chronic characteristic of the Greek economy (Clogg, 1980, p.177; Kyrtsis, 1988, p.25). In addition, a growing shrinkage of the rural sector has been coupled with notable growth in the service sector but only a weak growth in the industrial sector. The country's economy is largely based on interior and exterior lending. In general, it can be maintained that Greece occupies a rather marginal position in the world's economy.

These economic trends were accompanied during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s by two population movements motivated by the quest for a better life and for employment: external migration (mainly to Germany, North America and Australia) and internal migration from rural areas to urban centers, especially the greater Athens area. The sizeable migration abroad has resulted in a change of the age composition of the population and has had a long-term impact on the nature of the social policies implemented and on the weakening of the potentially active working force (Kyrtsis, 1988, pp.24-25). In comparison with other EU countries, Greece is the country 'with the smallest percentage of its labor force employed in wage-earning activities; the largest sector of self-employed artisans and petty commodity producers; the most inflated state sector and largest percentage of the labor force employed in the agricultural sector' (Diamandouros, 1993, p.17).

The Greek economy is dependent on borrowing in the international markets and on direct transfers from the EU. The need to follow EU prescriptions and generally to create flexibility in the labor market has led to protests among employees in the wider public sector, to mobilization among farmers and factory workers and to economic uncertainty for small private businesses (Diamandouros, 1993, p.19).

State-citizen relations: critical issues of civic culture

In this section, we schematically present the main axes of state-citizen relations. Reference is made to two civic cultures penetrating Greek society, usually referred to as traditional and modernizing. However, tradition and modernity are not regarded as two de facto poles but as involved in a continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation, leading to the formation of new

cultural elements. Symbiosis and diffusion of these diverse, often contradictory, cultural elements produce 'a structured indeterminacy' in Greek polity and society (Diamandouros, 1993, p.19). This structured indeterminacy is both formed and defined by several factors.

The Greek State has been a very important employer since the 19th Century. This, together with the role played by political parties, resulted in an extended state bureaucracy and the establishment of clientelism as the dominant type of relation between State and citizens (Haralambis, 1988, p.68; Featherstone, 1990, p.185; Mouzelis, 1995, p.25). Clientelism defines particularistic practices by which the state apparatus is used for helping family, friends, political companions and co-villagers. Clientelism implies a personalistic political culture where party politics are defined and expressed through one leading personality (usually the charismatic party leader) and strategies are based on interpersonal promises and duties. Although the clientelist character of the State-civil society relations still remains, it should be noted that under PASOK (1981 onwards) there has been an effort to decentralize power and to establish intermediate channels between the State and the polity, and particularly with social groups previously marginalized. This has tended to replace the importance of the political person with the mechanisms and organization of the political party (Kyrtis, 1988, p.30; Featherstone, 1990, p.188). However, overall, Greek society is characterized by a weakness of social structures emerging or operating independent of the State, a factor that undermined, on the one hand, the effective operation of democratic processes in civil society and, on the other hand, the development of strong pluralistic forces (Featherstone, 1990, pp.194-95; Mouzelis, 1995, p.19).

In the context of the Greek centralized state, two contradictory tendencies co-exist: citizens expect the State to intervene and resolve problems that do not necessarily fall under the State's jurisdiction, while at the same time they develop elaborate ways to cheat the State and twist the rules to their benefit (Mouzelis, 1995, pp.22-23).

According to several analysts, class differences are not a pronounced characteristic of Greek society (Featherstone, 1990, p.179; Diamandouros, 1993, p.3; Mouzelis, 1995). Tensions and conflicts revolve around differences in vested interests among different occupational groups with different positions on the social ladder rather than around claims articulated strictly on the basis of social class. Social class does not appear as the prevailing factor for the formulation of social needs and for the exercise of social pressure vis-a-vis welfare allowances. On a general basis, the welfare state in Greece is small and still under development (Maloutas & Economou, 1988, pp.32-46). The prevailing importance of the family, the financial contributions of emigrant workers to their families (mainly in the 1950s and 1960s), clientistic relations between state and citizens and a high percentage of self-employed are some of the reasons for the limited development of the welfare state, the lack of systematic

definition of claims and the feeble social pressure upon the State. In this context, welfare allowances and services were not conceived as citizens' rights but rather as the State's benevolent practice.

However, in the 1990s, the rising cost of living and increasing rates of inflation and unemployment brought out social needs beyond the capacity of informal, traditional networks to meet, such as health needs and social security/old age needs. Under the pressure of claims from many diverse sectors of the population, the State balked, giving rise to private sector solutions through an emerging insurance industry.

Religion is an important ingredient of the political culture of Greece, given that Orthodoxy fuses Hellenism and Christianity. Orthodoxy is officially recognized as the most prevalent religion, and the church is an institution that either overtly or covertly exercises an impact on most social, political and educational issues. The legalization of abortion and the institutionalization of civil marriage (Stavrou, 1995, pp.35-56) are two examples of cases where the church adopted a polemic stance on civil issues. In general, the church is identified with traditional attitudes and sometimes marked by a strong anti-western stance.

From 1974 onwards, Greek culture became highly politicized (Spourdalakis, 1988, p.108; Tsoukalas, 1997, pp.137-38). This is paradoxically accompanied by a populist discourse, political apathy and low participation in democratic institutions. Political apathy in relation to the complexity of social problems has resulted in the development of a democratic discourse and the promotion of technocratic choices (Tsoukalas, 1997, p.116).

There has been a gradual relocation of power from the central national state to transnational institutions and associations such as the EU, the Council of Europe and the International Labor Organization (ILO). Additionally, the globalization of human rights discourse has called for the harmonization of state laws with international conventions and the acknowledgment of rights to individuals independent of membership in a particular nation-state. Following the conventions, citizenship is defined at a transnational level, and the rights and privileges associated with it tend to go beyond national boundaries (Verney, 1990, pp.206-08). Finally, according to the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, among the nations of the EU, every citizen of a member state is also a citizen of the EU. All these newly emerging factors place Greece in a transnational context regarding issues of nationality, citizenship and migration (see Guild, 1996, pp.30-31).

Furthermore, Greece's accession to the EU has meant a process of modernization and westernization for the country. Both processes are followed by practices aiming to lessen inequalities between Greece and its northern partners and seem to be rather imposed than developed and promoted by indigenous social and political forces (Mouzelis, 1995, pp.25-26). Additionally, issues on the preservation of cultural identity and autonomy within the

EU gain importance in the social and political agenda.

Greek society is permeated by widespread assumptions conceiving the country as (a) the cradle of civilization, (b) the 'mother' of democracy' and (c) a model 'mono-cultural' nation-state. Consistent with these assumptions, social diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, language or religion tends to be hidden. These assumptions do not acknowledge that diverse social groups are part of the Greek population. The fact is, according to Stavros, that a number of minority groups can be identified in Greece, 'among which would be a) the Muslims, b) the bilingual people of certain parts of Macedonia, c) the Jewish community, d) the Catholics, e) the Protestants and f) several other religious groups, for example the Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as g) the Gypsies' (Stavros, 1995, p.9). Vlachs and Albanian-speaking Greeks also constitute ethnic groups historically settled in the country and widely integrated into the society, although not without tensions (Pettifer, 1993, pp.186-90).

The gradual acknowledgment of social diversity together with the migration flow Greece has been experiencing in recent years have tended to create a situation where xenophobia is a reaction to the social homogeneity, integrity and security are considered under threat, and there is a weak narrative on human rights and minority rights. In other words, the belief that democracy and democratic ideals constitute an integral part of Greek culture and civilization transmitted naturally from generation to generation, from antiquity to modern times, leads to the conception that issues related to democracy (rights or social justice) are dealt with as a matter of course and do not have to be institutionally binding.

These factors are likely to promote changes in the way individuals and groups understand themselves and their relation to the differentiated state as well as to the meaning of democracy and political participation in a new context of growing universalism and a wider particularism.

The structure of primary and secondary education

Education in modern Greece is predominantly a state responsibility. Since the creation of the modern state, the church has never secured an independent educational role, although Christian Orthodox dogma and practice have always been a part of Greek education. Private schools constitute a small part of the total number of schools and function mainly in the Athens area for the benefit of children of middle and upper socio-economic groups.

General education is structured on two levels: primary (Grades 1 to 6) and secondary (Grades 7 to 12). Compulsory education embraces Grades 1 to 9. Primary school is called *demotiko* and lower compulsory, secondary school is called *gymnasio*. *Lykeion* is the name of the upper secondary school, which is divided into three types: general, technical-vocational and polyvalent. While

there has been a gradual decentralization in educational administration, curricula, syllabi, the content of textbooks and pedagogical guidelines are uniquely the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs and its consulting agency, the Pedagogic Institute. In Greek schools, only one textbook is used per subject taught, and textbooks are published by the State.

Teacher training is a responsibility of specialized university departments for secondary school teachers and of university departments of education for primary education teachers. However, the vast majority of the latter graduated from post-secondary, low-status teacher training institutions offering two-year programs. These schools were abolished in the late 1980s.

The position and status of civic education

One of the three major aims of education, as described in the current central curriculum for primary and secondary education (besides 'personal development' and 'knowledge acquisition'), is 'social and political education' (Law 1566/1985). Historically, the central discourse about education from the 1820s onwards conceives the whole of the educational process as designed to prepare future citizens. In a broad sense, both educational contents and processes are viewed as elements of citizenship education.

In the Greek school, citizenship education is of a rather diffused and disperse nature. At the same time, however, it also appears in the curriculum as a set of specific and well-defined school subjects: 'social and political education' in Grades 5 and 6 of primary school and 'elements of the democratic government' in Grade 3 of lower secondary school (Grade 9). However, history, religion, Modern Greek language, literature, Ancient Greek language and geography are among the school subjects whose contents are interwoven with political messages and national ideals and have an important role as means of political socialization, given that they refer, either directly or indirectly, to the construction of the historical past, historical continuity of the Greek civilization from ancient to modern times, the preservation of Greek language, national symbols and holidays, the country's territory and religion as a dominant element of national identity.

Civic education is a school subject that is vulnerable to political and social conditions. Changes of perspectives and ideals in the dominant political discourse have consequences for the title of the school subject, its contents (selection, omissions and emphases) and the pedagogical discourse used to justify its importance. This close interrelation is manifested by textbook replacement, abrupt elimination or annulment of the course as such and the use of the civic education textbook as the means to exercise political propaganda.

The first attempts to introduce citizenship education into the secondary school curriculum date back to 1931. However, during the period 1932 to 1936 the course was taught randomly. 1955 marked the first attempt to

introduce civic education in primary school under the title 'National Education'. By 1957, its presence in the curriculum was institutionalized, initially as 'Knowing Fatherland' and later as 'Education of the Citizen' (Rousopoulou, 1985; Papathanasiou, 1988).

The period 1957 to 1964 was characterized by a strong anti-communist political discourse and by a succession of right wing governments. The general orientation of educational discourse and practice reflected these ideological orientations. There was an over-emphasis on the strengthening of national morale and national identity, at the core of which lay a combination of ethnocentric and Christian-orthodox discourse. The concept of democracy was defined in direct opposition to oligarchic (communist) regimes. The course took on the character of political indoctrination, an orientation reinforced by the character of pedagogic practices adopted. The course was textbook and teacher oriented while the students were expected to adopt a passive role as learners. Military-like behavior and attire were imposed both in the school and the community.

Under the 1964 educational reform, marked by a more progressive and democratic pedagogic discourse, the teaching of 'Education of the Citizen' was abolished in the primary school. Under the 1967 dictatorship, 'Elements of Democratic Regime', taught in the third year of the secondary school (Grade 9), suffered the same fate. Both subject matters were re-introduced into the curricula in 1974 with the fall of the dictatorship.

During the first period of the government led by the socialist party, PASOK, which came to power in 1981, citizenship education acquired its present form. New textbooks were introduced—*Social and Political Education* for the primary school and *Elements of Democratic Regime* for the lower secondary school. The courses' aims were the following: to acquaint the students with the organization and the values of Greek society; to help them understand the role of social and political institutions; to encourage students' critical thinking; to expand their knowledge of current social and political issues; and to promote their social awareness, a prerequisite for a responsible and creative social life.

The new textbooks, together with the redefined goals, were accompanied by the publication of a teacher's guide (for the primary school course) and a movement to create student self-government bodies ('student communities') at the level of classroom and school, particularly for the secondary school.

Teachers' guides were intended to provide instructions not only on teaching but also on teaching methodology and the main principles of a so-called child-centered pedagogy. In these guides, teachers are encouraged to support student participation and contribution and to relate the lesson to issues taken from the students' everyday experience and from everyday political and social life. In addition, teachers are encouraged to introduce alternatives to conventional teaching methods. However, the guides lean heavily on the content of the textbooks to such an extent that they tend rather to impose the conven-

tional teaching practices than to liberate teachers and students.

The revived concern for student self-government in the classroom and on the school level came from a conviction that this would further reinforce students' political socialization and give students the opportunity to exercise their political skills and to define the problems they face in school and to try to solve them collectively, following democratic processes. Through active participation, elections, representation and general meetings, students were meant to become familiar with a democratically run community. Ideally, 'student communities' aim to establish in the school environment a field of political and democratic practice and acquaint students with the idealized characteristics of the future citizen.

While there is great potential in these student organizations, their status, rights, responsibilities and fields of action are, in fact, pre-determined by the Ministry of Education. The restrictive character of the existing regulations has sparked a critical discussion focusing on the nature of the regulations, the limitations placed on student participation and the restrictions on student spheres of involvement (see *Synchrony Ekpedefsi*, special issue on student communities, 1989).

Structure and contents of citizenship education courses

The specific citizenship education course ('social and political education') taught in Grades 5 and 6 of primary school is a continuation of the course 'study of the environment' (taught from Grades 1 to 4). Teaching periods range from three to four hours per week, and the contents include elements from economic, cultural, historical and national life. According to the official curricula for the primary school (1985), the 'study of the environment' is divided into eight themes, four of which contain issues related to social and political knowledge—man and his fellowmen; how men communicate; how men satisfy their needs; men and time—while the other four units refer mostly to knowledge stemming from the physical sciences. (The word translated here as man is not to be taken as connoting only the male gender.) Social and political education textbooks cover the following themes:

For the fifth grade: co-existence of human beings; social life; citizen rights and obligations; labor; the State and society.

For the sixth grade: organization of social life; polity and democracy; Greek democracy; social welfare; we and the world.

The social emphasis in the fifth grade sets the stage for the introduction of political issues in the sixth grade (Koustourakis, 1994).

A look at the amount of time devoted to different subjects is an indication of the status of 'social and political education': in a total of 25 teaching hours, on a weekly basis, only one hour per week is devoted to this subject. On the

basis of time given to instruction, it is equal with geography and music and arts, but it is given less time than is given to history and religion (two hours), physics (three hours), mathematics (four hours) and language (eight hours). Using time dedicated to instruction as a criterion, it has rather low status in the curriculum (Solomòn et al., 1977).

In the lower secondary school (Grade 9), the specific citizenship education course ('elements of democratic regime') also occupies one teaching hour in the weekly program. The first and smaller part of the textbook (30 out of 130 pages) covers an historical and analytical account of society, while the second and larger part of the textbook (82 pages) refers to the structure of the Greek State and the government and to other legal and constitutional matters. Only a small third part of the textbook (nine pages) refers to international organizations such as the UN and the European Community. The appendix contains the Declaration of Human Rights and The Greek Constitution. In fact, the content of the textbook is divided in two main parts: Part I 'The Individual and Society' and Part II 'The Individual and Polity'.

The overarching theory influencing official citizenship education in Greece today could be described as a 'democratic, nation-state based view of society and citizenship'. In more analytic terms, the most central elements in the textbooks of the early 1980s are: (a) democracy and its institutions, independence and freedom; (b) human rights (national and international) and fundamental citizenship obligations; (c) state welfare; and (d) national homogeneity.

Even though differing perspectives on citizenship education are not widely discussed, they are not unimportant. One finds different or opposing views in different 'arenas' (e.g. the media and the political, educational and cultural arenas) on issues such as:

- The idealized types of society, social organization and political regimes.
- The emphasis on a *national* approach in contrast to an international and mainly European one.
- The homogeneous character of Greek society and citizenship, in contrast to accommodating ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities in the population.
- The weight given to specific human rights, in the context of an emerging racism and nationalism in Greece, the Balkans and Europe.
- The centralized approach of the State to teaching citizenship in schools, in contrast to a context-specific and social group-specific approach.
- The pedagogy as well as sequencing of issues throughout primary and lower secondary education.

Citizenship education as a field of study

In this section we provide a schematic account of citizenship education studies in Greece in order to position our own contribution in terms of theory, method and specific focus of analysis. Thus, we concentrate only on studies exploring the way the educational system, either overtly or covertly, prepares the future citizen to join adult, democratic society, leaving aside studies on the political socialization of the younger generation.

Issues of citizenship education and of national education and identity have recently become an object of study. Despite the existence of some critical accounts on the nature of the specific citizenship education courses (Papathanasiou, 1988; Helmis, 1994; Koustourakis, 1994; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1995; Solomon et al., 1996) citizenship education is still a relatively unexplored field. Systematic study of the actual knowledge content of civic education, the methods and modes of its transmission and acquisition, its effects on young people's consciousness or knowledge structures, and its differential acquisition according to gender, class or ethnicity define broad areas of research yet to be developed.

The existing body of research on citizenship education is dominated by curriculum studies, relying on content analysis and reflecting the growing interest of sociology of education in the hidden messages promoted by textbooks. The key concepts underlying curriculum studies stem from a critique of the assumption that knowledge is socially neutral. The content of language/literature, history, geography, religion and citizenship education textbooks have attracted researchers' interest as subjects organised around ideologically loaded concepts.

The traditionally conservative orientation of educational and civic education discourse and practice has provoked from the mid 1970s onwards (in line with European critical thought) a series of studies which aimed at analysing ideology. Those studies concentrated mainly on the 19th and early 20th Centuries and their focus has been on analyses of texts on educational goals and particularly on curriculum and textbook contents (see, for example, Frangoudaki, 1978; Noutsos, 1979; Makrinioti, 1984; Koulouri, 1988).

In the 1980s, a series of critical studies appeared focusing on various aspects of what has been called the 'hidden curriculum' and their effects on students' civic attitudes. Specifically, a wide range of themes has been studied and analyzed: the organization of school space and time (Noutsos, 1982; Mavrogiorgos, 1983a, 1983b, 1987; Solomon, 1992); the forms, structures and processes of student self-government (Stavriti-Anastopoulou, 1982); teacher-student relationships, and the school rules, forms of discipline and punishments (Gotovos, 1983; Mavrogiorgos, 1983b); and the system of evaluation and examinations (Iliotakis, 1993) and their effects on political socialization, social control or ideological constitution of the subjects and,

directly or indirectly, on civic attitudes and forms of political behavior.

Curriculum studies concentrating on the existing body of school textbooks reveal that Greek education has an ethnocentric character. Emphasis is placed on the nation's uninterrupted presence in history (from Ancient to Modern times) through language, territory and the Christian-Orthodox religion. The concept of national identity is built mainly with reference to the national identity of the 'other', defined as foreigner, enemy, barbarian or non-Christian. Furthermore, Greek textbooks are Eurocentric. Europe, as the epitome of western civilization, is presented as superior compared to other regions in terms of culture, technology and democratic tradition. Historical events, mainly wars and victories, are not presented in relation to social, political and economic conditions but rather as the achievements of specific individuals—the heroes (Papathanasiou, 1988; Sotiropoulos & Felonis, 1988; Palla, 1988; Kokkinos, 1994; Koustourakis, 1994; Dragona & Frangoudaki, 1997).

Dragona and Frangoudaki's (1997) work is worth separate mention. It critically explores a wide range of school textbooks (history, geography, language and literature, Grades 1 to 9) in terms of ethnocentrism and aims to establish links between ethnocentrism and particular school curricula. Content analysis of these textbooks reveals that ethnocentrism is present although not in the extreme version that existed in the past. According to this research, the textbook themes include: a definition of the national 'self' as everlasting, unchanged and undifferentiated; an over-positive evaluation of the national 'self' based on uninterrupted cultural continuity and homogeneity of common culture; a negative description of the 'others'; an ethnocentric conception of culture, in which Greek civilization is perceived as the cradle of high European culture; and a polysemic use of the idea of Greek people as both the national entity and social category of the powerless (Askouni, 1997; Avdela, 1997; Frangoudaki, 1997; Ventoura, 1997).

Further accounts of the contents of primary school social and political courses are given by a few small scale studies, some of which focus on similar issues (Papathanasiou, 1988; Koustourakis, 1992; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1995; Solomon et al., 1996) as well on the mismatch between the goals of the courses and the overall structure of the course content (Helmis, 1994).

Some general remarks about contemporary curricula

Today's curricula and textbooks are the products of the educational reform following the ascendancy to power of the Socialist Party in 1981. They are characterized by an effort to reduce social and gender inequalities in school as well as to promote a sense of social equity. However, the sensitivity towards gender and social class issues is not concretely represented in the specific

goals or contents of courses such as history, religion, geography, language and civic education. The issue of ethnic, religious, linguistic or other minorities is absent. Emphasis is placed on the homogeneous image (one language, one religion, one common past) of the Greek nation.

Compared with older textbooks, current ones have moved away from class and gender discriminations. However, stereotypes continue to survive and students are not offered the appropriate tools that will allow critical understanding of the mechanisms that underlie social cohesion, social relations and evolution (Freiderikou, 1995).

In the rest of this chapter we focus on the content of the textbooks used for the specific citizenship education courses in Grades 5 and 6 of the primary school and in the lower secondary school, Grade 9. Using qualitative content analysis, we will critically analyze the specific discourse strategy adopted by the textbook authors to construct a system of opposing and interdependent notions: the notion of identity, and in particular national identity, and the notion of diversity, mainly in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion.¹

Our analysis rests on the assumption that any independent modern state, in order to consolidate its political and symbolic autonomy, needs to embed its unique and particular substance in a formalized, integrated and homogeneous *national* identity (Tsoukalas, 1997, pp.259-60). Elements of this identity may pre-exist in the historical past. The modern state, however, needs to construct and formalize its singular *tradition*, its own selection, transformation and relocation of meanings and contents organized in a constructed linear, evolutionary time and in a continuum which links a particular collective past with a particular collective future or destiny.

Historically, in authoritarian states this centralized process of selection, formalization and homogenization of a state's 'own' tradition has entailed almost without fail the marginalization, reduction or exclusion of a variety of diverse, particularistic, group-specific traditions and even their distortion or dissolution. This 'institutional' and 'symbolic violence' is, according to Tsoukalas (1997, pp.260-61) constitutive of the creation of the most independent states.

We maintain that the school in all modern states is a crucial means for the production of and the dissemination to the whole of the State's population of the fundamental specific, imaginary national discourse in such a way that it appears natural (Balibar & Vallerstein, 1991; Bernstein, 1996). This often becomes an arena of struggle. Such a discourse needs to emphasize communality among groups and among individuals as well as their interdependence and to reduce or contain power differences, hierarchies and conflict, whether based on class, ethnicity, gender, religion, locality or language.

¹ This section draws on research conducted by the members of the Greek Expert Panel, IEA Civic Education Project, Phase I, Athens 1996.

It aims to create horizontal solidarities 'whose object is to contain and ameliorate vertical (hierarchical) cleavages between social groups and to generate fundamental and culturally specific identities' (Bernstein, 1996, pp.9-10).

The school, in all modern states, develops a certain dominating strategy for creating such fundamental discourse and identities. Such strategies entail the creation of specific national school discourses, including at least language, literature and history. In addition, they all involve a specific range of school practices, rituals, celebrations and emblems, devised to work in this direction (Bernstein, 1996). However, these strategies also present important differences between them in the types and modalities of discourses and practices used. The specific form and content such discourses and practices take are a function of the different social and political configurations and struggles and of the specific development of different institutions (Balibar & Vallerstein, 1991).

The importance of the study of different dominating school strategies developed by modern states lies in the fact that they have distinct political and cultural consequences as they act on the construction of notions of citizenship, on the modes of social integration, inclusion and exclusion, as well as on the establishment of specific modalities of national institutional and political order.

Since the 1870s, the construction and development of a uniform national identity with strong elements of national pride and patriotism has been one of the major objects of the educational system particularly through history and geography courses (Koulouri, 1988) as well as, later, through specialized courses of civic education (Papathanasiou, 1988). Today, the formation of national identity and the transmission of knowledge about the national historical past constitute fundamental elements of political socialization and preparation for citizenship. Students by the end of compulsory schooling (15-year-olds) are expected to develop a sense of loyalty and belonging to the nation; to recognize and show respect for national symbols; to acquire a wide knowledge of historical events, national heroes and liberators; to learn about the role Greece has played globally; to distinguish 'national enemies' and 'national allies'; and to conceive the past and the present as an uninterrupted continuum. Homogeneity and civilization are extensively used as condensation symbols (Neal, 1995, p.6) around which the notions of nation and national identity are built.

In these textbooks, Greece is described as a small country, although big in terms of its historical past and civilization. In fact, Greek civilization is considered 'superior to any civilization that ever existed'. As such it influenced the whole world and became the basis for modern European civilization. It is characterized by historical continuity from Ancient Greece to Byzantium and the Modern Era, while national homogeneity is illustrated in terms of language, religion and territory. The Greek past is presented as a constituent part

of the national self, bringing with it long-lasting traits such as ability for great achievements (in terms of civilization and also in terms of wars), resistance and 'natural' superiority, loyalty to country and willingness to sacrifice for the sake of its freedom. In addition, the national self is presented as vulnerable and under continuous threat.

Representations of the Greek nation that appear in the textbooks (history, geography, language) emphasize its uniform and homogeneous character through time, neglecting to mention internal differentiations, such as the existence of minorities. Moreover, negative representations of 'national others' aim at fostering national homogeneity (cf. Dragona & Frangoudaki, 1997). In general, an idealized scheme of social consensus adopted by the textbooks denies social evolution as a product of conflict and conflicting forces. In the citizenship education textbooks (*Social and Political Education* and *Elements of Democratic Regime*) any references to social difference, diversity, antagonisms and conflicts are neutralized through obscure statements and a moral interpretation of social reality.

National identity is founded on Greek antiquity and the established value of its civilization and thus remains homogeneous and undifferentiated through time. This leads to an undervalued contemporary national self and implies an ambiguous position or even fear towards progress and change. While western technological progress may be positive, modern urban reality is presented negatively in contrast to an idyllic rural traditional life. Similarly, ambivalence characterizes the position towards the supranational European identity and other Europeans.

National homogeneity is treated by the education system as a value. In such a context difference is negatively valued. The diversity that actually characterizes Greek society as any other society, including differences by social class, gender, ethnicity, religion and language and the discriminations that are often related to them, are, to a great extent, absent from the official curricula. To locate the transmission strategy one needs, in parallel to the overt content, to consider this absence and the indirect but, nevertheless, very effective messages that are transmitted by it.

National identity and social diversity in a textbook for Grade 9

In the textbook used for the Grade 3 of the gymnasium (ages 14 to 15) titled *Elements of Democratic Regime*, there is a series of statements and 'silences' that deserve special attention. The first chapter of the book introduces notions of society and human relations, as well as of the family, race and nation. Society is defined in terms of common needs, cooperation and 'collective effort' of individuals, as well as in terms of 'rules of behavior' that gradually, as

the complexity grows, take the form of charts regarding rights and obligations. People work, cooperate, develop relations and follow rules or laws in order to fulfil needs (pp.7-8). According to the textbook, collective/social life was developed in four stages. It is during the fourth stage, the 'agricultural', that new forms of economic activity 'gave birth gradually to the notion of ownership and to man's sentimental bond with his place of birth' (p. 8). Therefore, it is at this stage that the first element of a personal bond to the place of birth (a cornerstone of national identity) is located. The remainder of time is when 'civilization is created'. Thus, one may infer that 'the sentimental bond with the place of birth' comes before civilization.

The conception of social life is in terms of stages. An evolutionary, linear and uninterrupted conception of social development is adopted. According to the text, the movement from one stage to the next marks a smooth, natural and untroubled passage, characterized by social improvement and met with consensus (for other contexts, cf. Giroux, 1983, pp.178-80; Englund, 1986, p.166). Social change is always for the better while conflict, opposing interests, and struggles between different social groups have little place in this interpretation.

In this first section of Chapter 1, a humanitarian and universalistic statement is advanced when reference is made to a metaphysical set of 'relations between humans of all Earth' who 'feel sympathy for any Human, who in some other corner of Earth fights for his life, for freedom, for justice, for humanity. These relations are *beyond racial, national, religious, political differences or prejudices*' (our emphasis, p.10). In this passage, one can point to the selection and use of the word 'sympathy'. This use of a term describing a feeling is preferred to the vocabulary of rights (the rights of humans to freedom, to life, to justice) and their violations. 'Right', as a legally backed social, politically sanctioned prerogative that, when violated, calls for rectifying action, is not used. Rather, the noble and safer 'feeling of sympathy', which does not call for action, is employed. Furthermore, the use of value-laden phrases that try to create implied social consensus and mutual agreement should be noted: we all feel sympathy for our suffering co-habitants of the Earth (for a relative remark, see Neal, 1995, pp.1-19).

The next section bears the title 'Social Formations' and has three parts: (i) The Family, (ii) Race/The Races, (iii) The Nation. In Part 2, the notion of race is defined in two contradictory ways. The first definition is based on physical anthropological characteristics such as skin color; bonds such as religion; and on consciousness of common descent. Races, in these terms, are defined at the micro level, as groups situated in specific locations because of their favorable conditions (soil, water, climate, and the like).

However, in the following paragraph, there is a *general* distinction between four 'races' defined only in terms of color: black, yellow, red and white. In the rest of this part on races, there is an all too hesitant effort to doubt the

predominance of the white race and to declare each race's contribution to civilization. 'The white race is considered or projected as the creator of today's civilization, but all the races have contributed to its creation.'

Introducing the concept of race could well become the platform for a discussion on issues dealing with difference, diversity, hegemony, hierarchy, conflicts and rights. However, in this textbook, race is conceived of as something closed, binding together people who share characteristics that are unaffected by the wider social and political context. Racial discrimination is not condemned, but is 'out of date'. 'The concept of superior and inferior races is out of date. Racial discriminations are not anymore recognized by humanity. They are maintained however in some countries because [they] serve illegitimate interests' (p.14).

The complex nature, history and contemporary forms of discrimination are absent from both this excerpt on race and from the textbook as a whole, with one exception. Reference is made to specific racial minorities in the treatment of the fascist regime in Germany: 'In Germany, moreover, where extreme racist beliefs had dominated, millions of people from other races (Jews, Slavs, Gypsies) were exterminated in the most inhuman way' (p.44). The most massive and organized genocide in the history of mankind occupies two lines and is presented as something that happened in Germany to 'other races'.

The definition of the nation in this section of the textbook also follows a complex path. The nation is defined 'mainly as a cultural community'—following a factual culturalist approach to nation rather than a valuative approach (Gellner, 1983)—consisting in 'common descent, common historical past, civilization in general, consciousness of a common mission and of common goals, common fate' (p.14). In the following paragraph, however, what appears to determine a national community today is '*the consciousness* of common descent' (not the *fact*) of common descent and mission. What makes a 'national community' is *belief* in a common biology along with the fact of a particular shared culture and history. Thus, belonging to a 'national community' depends on factual knowledge as well as on a particular state of mind and inner feeling (cf. Jones & Jones, 1992).

Greece is presented as 'one of the most nationally homogeneous states in Europe' as a result of the 'compulsory movements of populations'. But if a nation, according to the textbook, is a cultural community, one wonders if reference to a bi-lateral agreement for the exchange of nationally defined populations (namely, between Turkey and Greece in the 1920s) is any more than a statement of legitimation for claiming Greek national homogeneity without having to refer to any other 'national' minority in Greece or to other practices of 'homogenization' through either integration or exclusion.

What follows in the text is a rule ('usually modern states are national') and a *principle* ('every nation constitutes a state') on which this rule rests. However, no reference is made to what it takes and at what cost to minorities

within a nation-state to make this rule and this principle work.

In the last paragraph of this section on nation, the authors give their ideological seal to the subject of nation with a highly romanticized, progressive, patriotic verbalism tied to the notion of universal civilization and placed within the discourse of human rights and obligations:

As for the Greeks living in this land and in all parts of the world, with the eye of the mind and the heart open to civilization of humanity, they struggle for the future and for the preservation of their national identity. The preservation of cultural and national identity is recognized today as a right and as an obligation of all humans, without this meaning that they stay closed to messages of the rest of the world. (pp.14-15, the emphasis is in original text)

This internationalist/ nationalist discourse is characteristic of the tensions that dominate recent and current statements on cultural/national identity within an international context. Greeks appear as an undivided whole with a unique national and cultural identity, with the right and duty to preserve that identity by struggling for it, the implication being that it is under threat (cf. Dragona & Frangoudaki, 1997). They relate only to an abstracted 'humanity' through civilization but not specifically to Europe, nor the West, nor to Greece's specific neighboring countries in the Balkans or the Mediterranean. Being open to 'humanity' and the 'rest of the world' is seen only in terms of sentiment or spirit. Other ways, such as political, institutional or economic, are not envisaged here.

Another part of the textbook, which bears direct relation to the strategy to construct national identity, is the chapter on civilization and a section meaningfully titled 'National Civilization: Particularities and Contribution to the Civilization of Humanity'. In the first paragraph, civilization is equated with some of human creations, and 'These creations usually come from a specific people but in time they become acquisitions of humanity. So we talk of national civilization as what each nation has created and of universal civilization as what the whole of humanity has accepted' (p. 21).

This reasoning, which at first sight may seem just a simplistic generalization, actually prepares the ground for a 'big truth', stated on the next page of the text: 'Greek civilization transcended Greek space/ territory and became the acquisition of all humanity. It affected European civilization with its science...its art...its literature...its philosophy and language' (p. 22). This extract illustrates how the concept of civilization can be used in order to promote and legitimize value judgements on and ranking of nations (see Pring, 1992, pp.19-30; Coulby, 1996).

In the next paragraph of this text, there is a second, apparently equalizing, generalization: 'All peoples take from humanity and give to humanity...it is natural for each nation to have its own civilization.' Apparently, this generalized argument aims at an objective, value-free representation of the history of

civilizations, conceived as an harmonious, linear give and take (cf, Englund, 1988, p.207). However, this is based on the implicit statement of the coincidence of one people, one nation and one civilization. Moreover, this argument again lays the groundwork for a second 'big truth', which is stated overtly on the next page: 'Our national civilization is the creation of a people that lived during many millennia at this crossroad of civilizations and received multiple influences, subordinated the foreign elements to its own measures and sealed them with its character and soul' (p.22).

There are several points here. First, the use of the pronoun 'our' for Greek national civilization is an aspect of common communication strategy for including/excluding the reader in the reference group. By adopting 'we', the agreement of the reader is anticipated. The scientific stance and distance adopted in the previous chapter of the textbook (the use of 'they' or 'the Greek people') is here replaced by 'we', 'us', 'our'. Second, there is reference to the long duration, across millennia, of the existence of the same people *in one place*; a special place since it is a crossroad for civilizations (but not for other peoples). Third, the influences of 'foreign elements' were subordinated by this people, and not vice versa. Therefore, this people is stronger than other people and bends foreign influences to its own needs, because it has its own 'character' and 'soul'. Through subordination of 'foreign elements', the homogeneity of Greek civilization is safeguarded and its superiority reinforced. This illustrates well how a country can use an overstatement of its importance in world history to serve the interests of nationalism (as noted by Coulby, n.d.).

The source of this special position for Greece is antiquity. Out of the six elements that appear to 'compose the particularity of Greek civilization and create the consciousness of *our* cultural identity', science, democracy, language and art directly derive from Ancient Greece. This mythological construction of 'our national civilization' and creative conceptualizing about the historical process are coupled in the next paragraph with exhortations about universal civilization, communication and cooperation above and beyond national boundaries. This ethnocentrist-universalist discursive amalgam however does not include, let alone recognize, the existence and worthy status of individuals or groups who do not share the commonalities and particular features of Greek civilization.

In Part II of the textbook, 'The Individual and Polity', it is interesting to see the contrasting ways in which concepts of identity and difference are approached. Here the principles of the State of Law and democratic constitutional legality dominate the whole text. Citizens of a country are the people belonging to the polity and having certain rights and obligations, 'irrespective of their religion or language, or *even* their ethnicity' (p.40). This expression, 'or even', underlined in the original text, probably shows a certain reluctance on the part of the authors to define citizenship, irrespective of ethnicity;

especially after having stated a few pages earlier how important ethnicity as well as religion and language are for the definition of nation and after having referred to Greece as being one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries of Europe. On the one hand, the authors promote a model stressing belonging on the basis of participation through rights and obligations (civic citizenship model) and on the other use a model that denotes community-based notions of belonging through particularistic identities (ethnic citizenship model) (Soysal, 1995, p.17).

In this context, it is remarkable that on the first page of this chapter there is, set in a box, but left without any comment, the first article 'On Democracy' proposed for the Constitution by Rigas Feraios, one of the most important intellectuals of the Greek revolution for independence (1821): 'Greek democracy is unique (all embracing), despite the fact that it includes in its embraces different descents and religions...'

National identity and social diversity in a textbook for Grade 6

We now focus on extracts from the Grade 6 textbook, *Social and Political Education*, concerning national identity and difference or diversity.

A chapter on 'State' (pp.13-15) presents the distinction between nation and state. Briefly, in this chapter, it is interesting to note the insistence on 'people' related to a discrete 'space' or 'area' or 'domain', or 'country' with specific boundaries where they live and work permanently. While descent and fate link past and future of this entity in a bounded area, the Teacher's Guide for this lesson (pp.18-19) explicates descent in terms of 'bonds of blood, history, common struggles'. This biologically and historically defined people is expected to 'remain permanently united, obeying the superior will of the state' (p.15). A particular feature of the people of the Greek State is they have lived in the country 'since very ancient times'.

In the next chapter entitled 'State and Nation', the 'we', 'us', 'ours' communication strategy for inclusion/exclusion is used (cf. Solomon et al., 1996). Simplified generalizations (in terms of group belonging, language, religion, culture, descent and history) about what 'we' are, think and feel permeate the text:

- 'We all speak the Greek language. So we can communicate among ourselves.'
- 'We believe, almost all of us, in the Christian orthodox faith.'
- 'What do we feel when we see the Greek flag?'
- 'We all feel that we constitute a unity...We feel our common descent. Our common history.'

This set of statements, some presenting facts and some presenting shared beliefs and feelings, culminates in an all-embracing concluding statement about the nation: 'This idea, this sensation that we all have, that we belong to the same unity and we have the same descent, language, religion and culture propels us to want to live in an organized way in the same free polity, constitutes the nation' (p.17).

Note the spiritual ('idea') *and* sentimental ('sensation') accent given to the concept of the nation described as a commonality/ unity/ uniformity of biology (descent) and culture (language, religion, culture) leading to the volitional aspect of the definition ('propels us to want to live').

Another important feature of the presentation in this textbook is the element of struggles: 'All the struggles by Greeks were always aimed at fending off the attacks of other peoples that wanted to conquer them' (op cit.). Thus, always 'Greeks' (by implication, good) defend themselves from 'other peoples' (evil) who are malevolent (they attack), which implies that 'we-Greeks' were never malevolent against 'other peoples'. This view, which is obviously false and stands in contradiction to historical facts, draws from a concept legitimating Greek inter-state relations: a small good nation under attack from evil strong forces.

Finally, but very importantly, the whole presentation of the notion of nation (and state) is almost, without fail, Hellenocentric and identified with Greeks. In fact, this entire textbook as well as the one for Grade 5 is marked by an intense Hellenism; mainly related to Ancient Greece. This is particularly true in the examples given and in most illustrations (cf. Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1995).

The following extract from another chapter ('The Peoples of Earth and the Problems of Their Relations') is cited mainly because it recapitulates and enriches the concept of the nation adopted in the textbook. The normative, rule-based character of this extract should be noted.

Every people constitutes a nation which has its own history through the centuries. The humans that belong to it are linked among themselves by the same morals and customs, the same traditions and above all by the faith in a common descent. Usually they speak the same language and have the same religion. Every people has its own national symbols such as the flag, the national anthem and others. The people loves the land it inhabits and calls it fatherland. In order to protect it from foreign threats they fight with passion and make big sacrifices sometimes. This war is necessary and inevitable for a people, because it has a moral duty and interest to defend the land that belongs to it. There is, however, another kind of war, the unjust and unfair war that some powerful peoples wage in order to enslave or exploit other smaller and less strong [peoples]. (p.102)

This kind of discourse, linking traditional nationalist elements and progressive, national-emancipatory elements, openly legitimating 'good' wars and at the same time denouncing unjust wars and strong peoples, is typical of the political discourse of the 1980s and early 1990s.

Lastly, in this textbook, no reference whatsoever is made to any group diverging in any way (ethnic, language, religious, cultural) from the elements and rules constituting the Greek national entity as presented above. Minorities in the country are absent.

Conclusions

The discourse on citizenship and particularly the discourse on national identity and social diversity in Greek education differs significantly from the discourse of previous periods where political oppression and anti-communism were coupled with extreme nationalism and political indoctrination. Its general orientation echoes the declarations of PASOK (the Socialist Party) about doing away with dependency on large foreign powers. It is founded on a declared need to regain national pride—after the humiliating period of the military dictatorship and the subsequent occupation of Northern Cyprus by Turkey—and on the need to create a strong belief that Greece lives under threat of attack from malevolent neighbors. Furthermore, the discourse on civic education resonates with the declared social orientation of PASOK to promote the interests of the 'people', a wide range of middle and lower level social groups that includes the socially and culturally underprivileged.

As for the international dimension, this discourse promotes the view that it is good for our national interests to be members of 'good' international entities such as the EEC and the UN (NATO is nowhere mentioned), but we have to be cautious and protect our particular interest and identity. We are a small nation but we have right on our side, and we are strong because we are one. In this frame of reference, the promotion of national identity in educational discourse in the 1980s has had to rest on many of the traditional elements of nationalist discourse and blend with elements of contemporary progressivist populism and cautious internationalism.

The strategy adopted for the transmission of such a national identity was discussed above. In short, it conceals contemporary reality and its tensions; it transmits ready-made meanings, without stimulating critical thinking; it silences or distorts the findings of the social sciences, from demography and social anthropology to sociology and political science; it ignores students' lived experience with social diversity and with power and conflict; it uses sentimentalism instead of rationalism; it tries to be convincing and at the same time it is hard to believe. It strives to create a functional and politically useful system of beliefs. It aims to produce a mythology—something to believe in and fight for.

Today, the context for citizenship and national identity is very different. In the mid- and late 1990s, Greece is taking steps towards the modernization of political discourse and practice both as to internal affairs and international relations. The catalyst for the change is the move to become an active participant in European integration. Although political forces both within and outside the party in power (PASOK) support the ideological imperatives of nationalism as expressed above, political realism coupled with economic and technological considerations seem to prevail in the discourse of both leading political parties.

Furthermore, in the new environment of European integration, issues of citizenship and national identity need to be rethought. The emergence of multi-level politics and recognition of a variety of cultures and identities, strengthened by a renewed attention to rights (rights of immigrant workers, rights of minorities, rights of children) provide the framework for a new set of principles for citizenship and national identity. Nationalism together with xenophobia and racism are recognized and treated in European political discourse (Cesarani & Fulbrook, 1996) as definite obstacles of European integration.

The notions and legal realities of integrated Europe and European citizenship are today *de facto* and *de jure* related to those of national integrity and national citizenship. The source of legitimacy for individual rights and privileges is no longer the nation-state, although the implementation of rights is still vested in individual states and citizenship is gradually being defined at the transnational level. Nationality no longer constitutes the sole grounds for membership and individual rights; global human rights discourse and international laws and conventions play down citizenship related to a nation-state (Soysal, 1996, pp.19-23).

Today, Greek education discourse of national identity and social diversity, and particularly the transmission strategy adopted in citizenship education textbooks, is out of step with contemporary Greek and European political and social reality. In this newly emerging reality, the discourse on citizenship education has to be reconsidered in terms of its aims, knowledge content and processes of meaning production.

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CONTROVERSIES OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN POLITICAL TRANSITION: HONG KONG

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Notes:

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Background

The socio-political context: from depoliticization to politicization

Until July 1997, when it was returned to China's sovereignty, Hong Kong had been a British colony for about one and a half centuries. Its long period of colonial history was characterized by a depoliticization strategy on the part of the government and by an apoliticized attitude on the part of its people. There are two major reasons for such a characterization of Hong Kong. First, situated on the border of China, Hong Kong was geographically more subject to Chinese influences than British influences, especially in terms of food and water supply and control of refugee and immigrant inflows. Governance of Hong Kong was viable only if there were a consensus among the British, Chinese and Hong Kong Governments. This necessitated a scenario in which politics were downplayed. Second, Hong Kong itself was a territory of immigrants, largely composed of refugees from China. Its early immigrants treated Hong Kong as a haven from the communist regime, while at the same time they were close enough to maintain connections with their relatives and friends in the Mainland. A later batch of refugees came during the period of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s, again to escape from politics. Because of the political phobia among the refugees, coupled with a Chinese tradition that the common people should keep their distance from governmental and judicial agencies, Hong Kong's inhabitants tended to avoid politics as far as possible. Instead, they focused their attention on economic activities.

However, the political scenario began to change in the last decade and a half. With the signing of a Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, it was decided that Hong Kong would be returned to China in July 1997. The signing of the Joint Declaration brought Hong Kong into a period of decolonization or, as some would prefer to call it, a period of colonial transition (Bray & Lee, 1993). A significant antecedent to the agreement between the two governments took place 13 years before the actual sovereignty handover. This provided a long preparation period to precede the transfer. Compared to the decolonization periods of other countries (e.g. three years for Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Libya), 13 years was a long period.

The years of colonial transition witnessed obvious changes in the territory's political scenario. At the beginning of this period of colonial transition, the situation was still characterized by political quiescence. To most people, 1997 was still too far away to have a tangible impact on life. Hong Kong continued to be operated as a British colony and society continued to operate in a depoliticized atmosphere, although some preparation for the change in sovereignty began to take place, such as changes in the school curriculum (see the next section).

However, Hong Kong's political climate changed notably at the turn of the 1990s. First, the change was an aftermath effect of the June 4 Incident in 1989. The incident caused concern among Hong Kong's people about their political future after the handover. It aroused political interests and raised aspirations for a democratic society (Lau & Louie, 1993, p.viii).

A second cause for the change was the increase in the number of directly elected seats in the Legislative Council from 12 to 18 in 1991, and further to 20 in 1995. The increase of seats had significant political ramifications. For the first time, elected members would become the majority of the council and this triggered unprecedented political campaigns. Previously, Hong Kong had only pressure groups that exerted political influences. The change in the proportion of elected members led to the transformation of pressure groups into political parties. Notably, a number of new political parties emerged in 1990. A third cause contributing to political change was the arrival of a new Governor, Chris Patten, in 1992. Unlike his predecessor, who adopted a rather consensual approach in his dealing with China, Patten employed a more confrontational approach. To a great extent, the confrontations and conflicts between Patten and China became a major feature of the latter part of Hong Kong's colonial transition.

In sum, the turn of the 1990s marked the change of Hong Kong's political scenario from one that was depoliticized to one that was politically sensitized. It demarcated the end of consensus politics. Also, it witnessed the end of the narrow politics that was government-sponsored or concerned only with influencing administrative functions and the beginning of mass politics in Hong Kong (Lee, 1990, pp.115-24).

Curriculum development in civic education: historical sketch

Before World War II, civics was taught in vernacular schools and was first offered as an examination subject in 1950. In 1952, geography, history and civics were amalgamated to form a new subject—social studies—in the primary school curriculum. According to government documents, this came about because of the view that civics should not be taught as a separate subject but rather that promoting civic awareness and responsibility should be an interdisciplinary matter. However, civics continued to be taught as an independent subject in secondary schools until it was replaced by economic and public affairs (EPA) in 1965. One of the stipulated aims of the subject was 'to enable pupils to be well-informed and to become civic-minded enough to act as good citizens in the larger community to which they belong'. EPA underwent a syllabus revision in the 1980s with increased emphases on 'individual and society' and enhancement of political awareness.

In 1972, social studies was introduced by the government (Education Department) at the junior secondary level. The subject covered topics on the relationships between the individual and society as well as the role of the

citizen in local and international communities. Social studies was later extended to the senior secondary level in 1984 (CDC, 1985, pp.1-4).

In the late 1980s, a new subject, government and public affairs (GPA), was introduced at the senior secondary level. In general, the content of the GPA syllabus was similar to the public affairs section of the EPA syllabus, but GPA placed greater stress on concepts central to liberal western democracies (the rule of law, representation, consultation, elections), and the study of political processes in China.

In 1991, another new subject, liberal studies, was introduced at the matriculation level. The subject contains six modules from which students have to choose two for examination. In particular, the module 'China Today' addressed the issue of Hong Kong in its colonial transition.

In 1993, the Education and Manpower Branch of the Government Secretariat published *School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims*. Aim 7 stated that 'The school is an important agency for nurturing civic responsibility and for preparing young people to adjust to rapid change in a way which promotes social stability.' Aim 12 stated that 'Schools should help students to become aware of Hong Kong as a society; to develop a sense of civic duty, responsibility to the family and service to the community; and to exercise tolerance in interacting with others.'

Shifting political emphases in the Hong Kong curriculum

The kind of civic education provided in Hong Kong was of a rather depoliticized nature. Civic-related subjects mainly addressed the structure of Hong Kong Government, without much provision for discussion about politics. This resulted partly from the political climate mentioned above, that of avoiding politics as far as possible. This was also a result of an explicit regulation prohibiting discussion of politics in the classroom:

No salutes, songs, dances, slogans, uniforms, flags, documents or symbols which, in the opinion of the Director [of Education], is any way of a political or partly political nature should be used, displayed or worn, as the case may be, upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school activity except with the permission of the Director and in accordance with such conditions as he may see fit to impose. (Education Regulation No. 98)

The regulation was originally introduced to limit the spread of Kuomintang ideology (Morris & Sweeting, 1991). It was removed from the Education Regulations in 1990, but it had a clear depoliticization impact on education.

As the process of transition to 1997 got underway, more notable adjustments in the curriculum appeared as reflections of the changing political climate. According to Morris (1988), EPA focused mainly on descriptions of the institutions and processes of government in Hong Kong. In 1976, the term 'colony' was removed (an indication that the word was already becoming unfashionable), and a topic dealing with the links between Britain and

China was introduced. Greater change came about in 1984 with increased focus on systems of government, especially those involving representation and consultation, and on the principles of law-making. These themes were elaborated in the 1987 syllabus.

As for the teaching of history, whereas previously the section of the syllabus which focused on China covered only the pre-1949 period, the 1988 syllabus brought Chinese history up to the year 1970. In this sense, as Morris commented (1988, p.514), the new syllabus provided pupils with 'a more politicized historical framework than was previously the case, and one more relevant to Hong Kong's future'. According to Tan (1993, p.146), the revised senior secondary history syllabus clearly reduced Anglocentrism by deleting British colonial and Commonwealth history from the study of European history. At the matriculation level, there were two major changes. First, Hong Kong was presented as dependent on China rather than on Britain and, second, Hong Kong history was recast to show that Hong Kong was a part of China before British colonization and to discredit the view that the modern history of Hong Kong began with the arrival of the British.

In social studies prior to 1989, pupils were taught about Hong Kong's government institutions and about the rights and responsibilities as citizens. Very little mention was made of China. The syllabus released in 1990 contained the same descriptive political orientation but specific reference was made to the 1984 Sino-British Declaration, to the Basic Law and to China as 'my country and my people'.

The newly introduced GPA in the late 1980s emphasized concepts central to liberal western democracies (such as the rule of law, representation, consultation and elections) and the study of political processes in China. This was in marked contrast to EPA, which mainly focused on the institutions and processes of government at a descriptive level. The political emphasis of GPA became more explicit in the 1996 HKAL (matriculation level) syllabus. The 1988 syllabus specified the aim of analyzing 'concepts, structures, and process involved in the study of government, political science and public affairs'. The 1994 syllabus, in turn, placed stronger emphasis on understanding China and on Hong Kong's colonial transition (Cheung, 1995).

Another newly introduced subject, liberal studies, included the understanding of China and Hong Kong's colonial transition as one of the subject's major aims. For example, 'China Today', one of its six modules, aims to help students 'to appreciate the special relationship that Hong Kong and China enjoy and the mutual advantages that flow from that relationship and to understand better the contribution that Hong Kong is making, and can make, to China's modernization' (Hong Kong Examinations Authority, 1997, p.405). The syllabus covers major issues in China studies, such as socialism versus capitalism, modernization of China, the legal system, and the roles of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army.

It is interesting to note signs of new political emphasis in the *Civic Education Bulletin*, an annual publication. The first issue of the bulletin was rather conservative, only discussing ways of implementing civic education, but each subsequent issue contained three or four articles covering such topics as political education, social awareness and independent thinking. These changes are a real breakthrough when compared to the conventional depoliticized orientation of the government.

It is obvious that depoliticization coloured Hong Kong's school curriculum and publications but, as 1997 approached, a shift in contents to reflect the forthcoming change of political status became increasingly clear.

The civic education guidelines and the implementation of civic education

The curriculum changes mentioned illustrate how civics as a distinct school subject waned but how, at the same time, the content of civics found its way into a variety of subjects established over the last three decades. The result was that topics related to civics were covered but in a disorganized and sporadic way.

For obvious reasons, the colonial transition period brought civics into sharper focus and increased its importance. In August 1985, the Curriculum Development Committee (CDC) of the Education Department of Hong Kong issued *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools*. Issuing the guidelines was in part a response to the government's 1984 *White Paper on The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong*, which suggested that there was a 'need for the public to be educated more effectively for developing the local system of government and noted the role which the Education Department would pursue in promoting civic education through the school curriculum' (CDC, 1985, p.i). However, the guidelines could also be seen as an immediate effect of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in which, for the first time, a government document explicitly mentioned the need to develop a sense of Chinese national identity, love for the Chinese nation and pride in China (CDC, 1985, p.19). Those explicit statements found only implicit expression in the guidelines and did not appear as aims and objectives. The guidelines pointed mainly to democratic values, critical consciousness, civic awareness and rights and responsibilities. The proposed approach to civic education was to be no different from the prevailing emphasis on a cross-curricular approach to civic education.

Nevertheless, the up-coming transition witnessed other types of government initiatives towards developing civic education. For example, the Education Department established two Civic Education Resource Centres to provide reference materials, teaching kits and advisory services to teachers. The Education Department also began publishing the *Civic Education Bulletin* annually and the *Civic Education Newsletter* three times a year. It also estab-

lished a 'Civic Education Action Plan' for the implementation of civic education in schools. The plan was introduced to secondary and primary schools respectively in 1993 and 1995 (Education Department, 1995a). According to three major surveys conducted by the Education Department in 1986, 1987 and 1991, many of the recommendations of the Civic Education Guidelines were adopted by the majority of schools in Hong Kong (Bray & Lee, 1993).

Government support for promoting civic education was also evident in the establishment in 1986 of the Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education. Its membership was made up of representatives from government departments and individuals from a wide cross-section of the community. Between 1987 and 1992, the committee subsidized 261 projects. It also produced teaching kits on such topics as human rights and the rule of law, and organized seminars, exhibitions and campaigns that were open to the public (CPCE, 1993).

The Education Department conducted surveys in 1986, 1987 and 1990 to evaluate the implementation of civic education in schools. The findings revealed that schools were supportive of the need to promote civic education and there was growing concern about civic education in schools. The following reasons were given:

- An increase in student behavioural problems in recent years had alarmed the public and raised a call for moral education and civic education.
- The low voter-turnout for elections for District Board, Urban Council and Regional Council, and Legislative Council seemed to reflect a political apathy.
- There was public concern about how students should be taught to cope with social and political changes as 1997 approached.
- There had been criticism from Chinese officials about the lack of nationalistic and patriotic elements in the Hong Kong curriculum.
- There was a need to strengthen citizenship education so as to equip students with knowledge of their rights and responsibilities, especially related to lowering the voting age to 18.

Closer to the date of transfer of sovereignty as Hong Kong's politics intensified, there was increased public demand for civic education. Part of the pressure came from pro-China groups. For example, the cultural subgroup of the Preliminary Working Committee for the government transfer openly took the position that:

- Following the resumption of Chinese sovereignty, civic education should be geared towards building nationalism and patriotism.
- Education in the transitional period should strengthen learning in geography and Chinese history as well as the basic law.

- The Education Department should facilitate the development of civic education as a formal subject in primary and secondary schools (*Ta Kung*, 13 September 1994).

Part of the pressure also came from other educational bodies which held that civic education was needed to enhance democracy and human rights education. As a result, a working group was set up in 1995 to review the 1985 *Guidelines on Civic Education*. The revised guideline document was published in January 1996. It proposed a 'whole-school approach' which could mean leaving schools to decide what to do.

By comparison, the 1985 guidelines had been criticized as a depoliticized document, even though it had spoken of preparation for Chinese citizenship. Lee (1987, pp. 247-48) remarked that:

- *The civic education represented by the (1985) Guidelines emphasised the administrative side of politics rather than the distribution of power and the access to resources in society;*
- *It aimed at political harmony and consensus rather than acknowledging the inevitability of conflicts of interests and ideals in politics;*
- *It adopted an institutional or macro approach to politics rather than the meso- and micro approach which emphasizes 'the politics of everyday life';*
- *Hong Kong's civic education was not change-oriented or action-oriented but was aimed at acceptance of the status quo.*

In contrast, the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education* faced the issue of political change positively. It provided a conceptual framework, a review of the strengths and weaknesses of various methods of implementation and a list of indicators for evaluating the implementation of civic education in schools. Published on the eve of transfer to the Chinese regime, the Hong Kong Government for the first time issued a document officially mentioning nationalism and patriotism. Following is a widely quoted paragraph from the guidelines:

Politically speaking, one's civic identity is defined by one's national identity. The national community therefore constitutes the ultimate domestic context for one's civic learning. National spirit such as nationalism and patriotism is essential not only for one's national identity and sense of belonging, but also for the cohesion and strength of one's own nation. (CDC, 1996, p.23)

The collection of data for Phase I of the IEA project took place in this context of change in the importance and character of civic education.

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Research methods

Data collection

Analysis of the Hong Kong case relies on data from two main sources: (i) data drawn from interviews; and (ii) data generated from content analysis of junior secondary civic-related textbooks.

Interview data: the informants

Interviewees for this study were chosen from both the non-school and school sectors. For the non-school sector, seven groups were identified as significant. The interviewees within each group were chosen on the basis of their experience and their standing within each group or organization. Six interviewees were from government departments, four from political parties, four from professional groups, three from youth organizations, three from religious groups, three from Pro-China groups and two from media organizations. A total of 25 people was interviewed.

For the school sector, six schools were chosen and asked to identify school interviewees. The six schools were recommended by the educational officers in the Education Department and later endorsed by colleagues at the University of Hong Kong and by members of the Advisory Panel. The six schools represented three levels of student academic achievement, namely 'high achieving', 'medium achieving' and 'low achieving' as well as two types of civic education offerings, one being 'active' in providing civic education and another one 'not active'. When choosing the schools, we also attempted to include various types of schools by academic/non-academic orientations, for example, grammar schools, technical and pre-vocational schools, schools with religious orientations, including Taoist, Protestant, Catholic and Buddhist, and also non-religious schools.

Within each school, interviews were conducted with both individual school practitioners (one principal and one teacher) and with students in focus groups. The teachers interviewed were mainly those assigned to responsibilities for civic education. Each focus group of students included four students randomly selected from each form (or grade), from Form 1 to Form 4, in order to cover the students within the age range of 11 to 15. As a result, our study interviewed a total of six principals and six teachers as individuals and 24 students in focus groups.

Interviewing procedures and data processing

The interviews were structured. The interview questions were drawn from the IEA core international framing questions. In addition to standard questions asked of all interviewees, additional questions were also asked of each specific group. Moreover, questions asked of students in focus groups were adjusted to their level of understanding and concerns. A typical interview, including focus group interviews, lasted approximately 45 minutes.

All the interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed into text which received further processing first by means of the cut-and-paste method and then by retrieval through a qualitative analysis program. Analyses were done by two separate groups of research assistants. The findings resulting from the two methods done by the two separate groups were triangulated with each other to ensure accuracy of data processing and appropriateness of interpretation.

Content analysis of textbooks

In addition to interviews, a content analysis was also conducted for a total of 15 economic and public affairs (EPA) and social studies (SS) textbooks at the junior secondary level (relevant to the 11- to 15-year-olds). These were the most popular textbooks in Hong Kong schools. Information on the popularity of textbooks was supplied by both teachers and subject inspectors from the Education Department. Theme analyses were mainly developed from the questions asked in each of the four domains identified in the IEA research plan. The number of times each theme occurred was counted and recorded for each of the two sets of textbook. Interpretations of the frequency of theme occurrence were supplemented by further textual analysis.

Summary of findings and discussion

Domain one: democracy, institutions, citizen rights and responsibilities

Background

Democratization is a notable trend in Hong Kong as well as in the Asian region generally. People in Hong Kong are exposed to news and debates relating to democracy and human rights everyday. Democracy and human rights education were regarded as a significant part of civic education both in the 1985 and the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools*. Despite differences in political orientations, there is no real objection to democracy and human rights education as a major component of civic education. What is controversial among the educators, however, is the priority of democracy education vis-a-vis other aspects of civic education, such as nationalistic and patriotic education. On the surface, the debate often ended up by framing the two as mutually exclusive poles. At a deeper level of analysis, despite the divergence in emphasis in civic education, both views reveal a sentiment of anti-colonialism. The nationalists predicably condemned colonial education and advocated nationalistic education, but the advocates of democracy and human rights education also condemned colonial education for its lack of education for democracy and human rights (Lee, 1996).

Teaching about government institutions is the least controversial aspect of civic education in Hong Kong and has received the major emphasis. It is part of both EPA and GPA and has been criticized as mainly descriptive and non-critical. Although the rule of law and policy-making and implementation are

taught, the legitimacy of institutions is seldom discussed, and criteria for evaluating those institutions in the light of cultural and political identity are seldom included.

Interview findings

Concepts of democracy

Our informants' opinions about democracy were diverse. They ranged from an almost idealized version of democracy to what is in effect an entirely pragmatic view. To the idealists, democracy means constitutional democracy, seeing the nature of government as 'government of, for and by the people'. To them, democracy is associated with freedom, equal opportunity, social security, political participation, elections and human rights. To the pragmatists, since Hong Kong is destined to be a dependent territory (either under Britain or China), democracy is defined by the extent to which the people of Hong Kong can participate in government affairs.

Some respondents regarded democracy as the political ideal for a society but others viewed democracy with caution. The former would wish to see a full-fledged democratization in Hong Kong, but the latter mentioned the need to guard against the 'tyranny of democracy'. While some felt that Hong Kong is still lagging behind a true democracy, others felt that the democratization pace is too fast. There were, however, very different reasons leading to the latter view, such as the Hong Kong population being not yet prepared for democracy, or most politicians being not mature enough, with their campaigns nothing more than public shows.

A teacher stated strongly that Hong Kong is not ready for democracy because people are still subservient: 'Hong Kong is still a very authoritarian place. And it is very difficult to get across the idea of democracy and human rights, at least theoretically. I can see a very difficult job ahead for those who promote democracy in Hong Kong.'

In our interviews, most of the informants focused on the institutional aspect of democracy but one of them mentioned political culture: 'Democracy is a kind of social culture, or norm... I think civic education should encompass the cultivation of democratic culture.'

The informants' views of the young people in Hong Kong

Our informants' view of the young was rather negative and many of them commented that their concept of democracy is weak: 'Their understanding of the meaning of democracy is vague. They don't even understand the meaning of democracy.' 'They are generally self-centred and selfish. They seldom care about their neighbours or even schoolmates.' 'Many of them mistakenly interpret democracy as their freedom to pursue their goals or interests.' 'Their understanding of the principle of the Rule of Law and their social consciousness are certainly not adequate.' It is apparent that many of these negative

comments point to civic awareness or civic-mindedness rather than to concepts of democracy. It is equally clear that our interviewees, both within and outside schools, tended to think that youngsters are abusing the concept of democracy to expand personal freedom, leading to selfish or self-centred conduct. That view reflects the interviewees' expectation that democracy, to be balanced, must include social responsibilities.

Teaching democracy and citizen rights and responsibilities in school

With regard to political issues, teachers generally avoid politically sensitive issues in the process of teaching civic education. Instead, they deal only with general issues of environmental protection and with social affairs. Concepts of democracy and politics are discussed rarely.

We received no documentary information on classroom activities in school. According to our informants, in schools that are active in promoting civic education, activities include formal lectures, role play and video viewing, class discussion on current events, and group projects. Both the principal and teachers of one of the schools with a more active orientation considered open discussion important for the teaching of democracy and human rights, but school practitioners from all the schools complained that students are not interested in discussion, particularly on issues related to democracy, political participation and voluntary activities. Our student respondents admitted that they do not pay much attention to civic education, giving as their reasons that the classes are examination oriented and that discussions are more focused on personal development than on civic issues. Most of the students actually did not respond to our questions about classroom activities. Given that teachers already have a tendency to avoid politically sensitive questions, our interview responses to this question confirmed that there are not many civic-related classroom activities in school.

According to the school practitioners, examples of common extra-curricular activities relevant to democracy, institution, citizenship rights and responsibilities include:

- election to the student union (most frequently mentioned)
- class club and school association
- mock election to the Legislative Council with seminars delivered by legislative councillors on current issues
- erecting a Wall of Democracy, which provides opportunities for students to express opinions and viewpoints
- attending the public gallery of Legislative Council and District Board meetings
- inter-school quiz on current affairs
- exhibitions on the topics covered by the courts and information about candidates in the Legislative Council election.

Among the various extracurricular activities found in the schools, election of the Student Union Executive Committee is the most common activity affording students experience of democratic election. Four of the schools conduct direct elections for the Student Union Cabinet. In the other two schools, the chairperson of the student union is elected by students, but committee members of the student union are appointed by teachers. In either form of election, students have experience with a form of direct election.

Textbook analysis

All of the 15 textbooks we analyzed contain topics or chapters addressing the domains of democracy, institutions and citizen rights and responsibilities. Out of the 57 times these themes occur, the frequency is the highest at Form 2 or Grade 8 (28 times or 49.12 per cent of occurrence), followed by Form 1 or Grade 7 (11 times or 19.30 per cent) and Form 3 or Grade 9 (9 times or 31.58 per cent). However, only 46.7 per cent of these EPA and social studies textbooks present elaborations on the concept of democracy, 40 per cent on the concept of representative government, and about 66.7 per cent on citizenship rights and responsibilities, despite the fact that these topics are covered in the respective syllabi. The only topic mentioned by most (73.3 per cent) of the textbooks is government institutions.

It would seem to be a valid inference that more than half of these textbooks avoid topics that do not have definitive answers. Even a topic such as government institutions, which is rather 'factual', is not included in one-quarter of the textbooks. Those textbooks which do treat concepts of democracy approach the subject in a reserved manner. They focus on classical Greco-Roman definitions of democracy, without discussion of more modern concepts. Whether most Hong Kong students are exposed to the discussion of concepts of democracy and citizenship rights and responsibilities will depend on the use of particular textbooks that contain these topics.

Domain two: national identity

Background

As a British colony (before 1997) bordering China and with some linkage to Taiwan, the people of Hong Kong considered national identity a topic best left unmentioned. Since the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on reintegration with China, however, the need to prepare for citizenship in the forthcoming Chinese regime has become explicit and, as a corollary, the issue of national identity has been raised. In regard to the curriculum, national identity was first addressed in the 1985 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* issued by the Curriculum Development Committee of the Education Department, specifically in the sections entitled 'the individual and society (Hong

Kong)' and 'the individual and the nation (China)', covering such topics as (CDC, 1985):

- sense of belonging to Hong Kong (p.28)
- appreciation for the cultural heritage of Hong Kong (p.28)
- sense of national identity and belonging (p.30)
- love for the nation and pride in being Chinese (p.30)
- respect for Chinese culture and tradition (p.30).

National identity was also addressed in the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (CDC, 1996). It became a vibrant issue as the handover approached. Major questions focused on these concerns:

- The second generation in Hong Kong has developed a Hong Kong identity, but the call for a Chinese identity emerges because of reintegration with China. In Hong Kong, there are people who long for such an identity, but there are also people who have a stronger identification as a Hong Kongnese.
- The issue is more complicated, given that a large number of Hong Kong people have obtained overseas passports, mostly from Australia, Canada, the USA and the UK. This dual citizenship adds to the complications of national identity.
- An issue that arose during the consultation period preceding the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education* was that of defining citizenship. Some contended that Hong Kong needs to move from urban (regional) citizenship to national citizenship. Others insisted that Hong Kong people also need a global citizenship perspective.

Interview findings

The national identity of the informants

In regard to the national identity of the informants, in the non-school category, 11 of the 25 (44 per cent) identified themselves as Chinese. The proportion was similar in the school category, 50 per cent. Chinese identity appeared to be quite prominent among the adult interviewees. About one-third of the adult informants either felt that they are Hong Kongnese or Hong Kong Chinese. Of the political party leaders and the policy-makers, six did not respond to the question. Moreover, among the young people, more of them identified themselves as either Hong Kongnese or Hong Kong Chinese, rather than Chinese alone. The Hong Kong identity therefore appears stronger among Hong Kong's younger population.

It should also be noted that among the adult informants who identified themselves as Chinese, some qualified their declarations: 'I would identify myself as a Chinese but not a foreigner. However, I increasingly feel that I am a Hong Kongnese. On some occasions, like the Olympic Games and the World

Cup, I would identify myself as a Chinese, but when the China team is competing with the Hong Kong team, I would side with Hong Kong...In Hong Kong, the choice between the two is becoming more difficult.'

Two respondents, when identifying themselves as Chinese, tried to distinguish between loving the nation and loving the government: 'I agree with the view that I love my motherland, but this does not mean that I love the government of my motherland.' 'Certainly, I will identify myself with my nation. However, such an identification does not necessarily imply that I will have a strong sense of belonging to the regime of our nation.'

The students were, however, rather straightforward in expressing their national identity: 'I am a Chinese. Hong Kong is only a colony of the British Government and will finally be ruled by the Chinese Government. Therefore, I am a Chinese.' 'I belong to China. I have yellow skin and dark eyes.' 'I am a Hong Kongnese, as I was born in Hong Kong and live in Hong Kong.' 'I belong to Britain.'

However, their responses also indicated substantial diversity in national identity. In addition to questions about their national identity, we also asked what kind of passports they preferred to hold. Their response suggests that national identity and preference for passports are not necessarily correlated to each other. Among the nine students who claimed themselves Chinese, only four of them preferred a Chinese or HKSAR passport.

Informants' view of the young people's national identity and international perspectives

Most of our informants held the view that students in Hong Kong are weak in both their national identity and international perspectives. A number of reasons were suggested for such a phenomenon:

- 'As a colony, both the government and the teachers have avoided mentioning the issue of national identity. The lack of ceremonies with symbolic reminders for nationalism, such as national day and national anthem, have contributed to a lack of national mindedness.'
- 'The education system is overly examination-oriented and therefore the teaching of national identity has been ignored.'
- 'The teaching of contemporary Chinese history is absent in the schools, resulting in a lack of knowledge of the motherland.'
- 'The mass media have not played a role in strengthening people's national identity or international perspectives.'
- 'Hong Kong is too commercially and materially oriented.'

Teaching national identity in school

Schools try to avoid touching upon sensitive political issues in class. Where national identity is treated, it is covered from the perspective of cultural identity rather than political identity. Moreover, schools with lower achieving

students are more enthusiastic in addressing national identity in class, describing a variety of activities, including special projects and patriotic education. It seems that focusing on studying and examinations are the main concern in schools where students are higher achievers.

Teachers generally agreed that teaching about national heroes is an important means of enhancing students' national identity, and they reported that heroes and role models are taught in Chinese history classes. The teaching methodology used is not indoctrinating in nature because the teachers are careful to introduce ways of assessing both the merits and demerits of national heroes. However, answers from the students reflect the absence of national heroes in their minds. To our surprise, only one hero or role model was mentioned by them, Dr Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the new China. The students did not demonstrate any affectivity towards this hero except for one student who added that 'I feel proud of what he has done.'

Textbook analysis

All the 15 textbooks we analyzed have topics or chapters addressing the domain of national identity. Out of the 68 times the theme occurs, 18 instances occur in Form 1 textbooks, 26 in Form 2 and 24 in Form 3. If questions about democracy and citizens are approached by textbooks as controversial, this is even more the case for national identity. The formal curriculum and textbooks mention Hong Kong's international identity rather than national identity. Even when touching on the history of Hong Kong, the focus is on how Hong Kong has developed into an international financial and commercial center. When they do treat the subject of national identity, textbooks touch upon the issue of identity in a purely descriptive manner only, as is done in describing Hong Kong government institutions. To illustrate, two textbooks mention national identity in terms of birth certificate, passport and identity card. Another textbook defines identity as 'who we are and what we are', an apolitical statement. As they do for the concept of democracy, these textbooks go back to Chinese history as Hong Kong's footing for national identity, mentioning Chinese traditions, Chinese festivals and Chinese customs.

In general, national identity in the 15 textbooks is treated mainly in terms of its legal features. It is also often ambiguous, as sometimes the textbooks refer to Hong Kong identity, and sometimes to Chinese identity. However, there is a common emphasis on Hong Kong's international identity as an international trading centre. The textbook analysis presents a picture that mirrors the feelings and perspectives expressed by our informants.

Domain three: social cohesion and social diversity

Background

With a population that is rather homogeneous ethnically, Hong Kong's minority issues are unique. Unlike the common situation for minorities who are

often underprivileged, some of the Hong Kong minorities are privileged groups, for example, expatriates and many of the Indians. On the other hand, there are some minority groups that are under-privileged, such as Vietnamese refugees, Filipinos and immigrants from mainland China. The Vietnamese are secluded in refugee camps and the Filipinos work mainly as domestics residing in the employer's home rather than forming their own community. Some of the immigrants from mainland China are professionals, but many others work as labourers. Children of the latter group attend local public schools. They may face difficulties in terms of admission or discrimination in school life, but this situation does not seem to arouse public attention because the numbers involved are small. More attention is expected as a consequence of the handover, because according to the Basic Law all children who have a Hong Kong parent are entitled to Hong Kong citizenship.

There is no national religion, and many religions and faiths are present; religious discrimination does not exist in Hong Kong. In fact, half of the Hong Kong schools in the public sector are administered by religious bodies. The only controversies are actually internal debates within the religious bodies as to whether they should concentrate their efforts and resources on evangelism or social services, including education. In education, the major debate is whether the major purpose of running schools is for religious or secular educational purposes (Lee & Ng, 1992).

The gender issue has attracted more attention, especially following the passage of a bill on gender discrimination in the Legislative Council. There are reports showing that females are disadvantaged in the world of work and politics. In education, the ratio of female to male students declines with higher levels of schooling. Women are also under-represented at the levels of managers, administrators and professionals. In school, while women comprise half of the teaching force, only one-third of the school principals and senior assistant masters/mistresses and fewer than 40 per cent of the senior graduate masters/mistresses are women (Kingman, 1993).

Interview findings

Perception of social cohesion and diversity

Non-school informants

Most of our interviewees perceived social cohesion in terms of unity, stability and harmony, and perceived social diversity in terms of differences in views and opinions. Some of our informants took a cultural perspective, looking especially at Chinese culture as a cohesive factor for Hong Kong society. When asked about the major feature of Hong Kong, whether it is socially cohesive or diverse, there was a clear split of views. Of the 15 non-school informants who responded to this question, seven felt that Hong Kong is mainly socially cohesive; eight felt it is primarily diverse. Those who felt Hong Kong is cohe-

sive argued in terms of common language (Cantonese) and culture (Chinese): 'In my opinion, Hong Kong is not a diversified society because Hong Kong is mainly a Chinese community, although we have some western social values and minority ethnic groups like Jews and Pakistanis.' Some respondents pointed to the absence of minority groups in the society. One suggested the common goal of making money as a factor for cohesiveness in Hong Kong society.

While the arguments for cohesiveness were brief, those for Hong Kong's diversity were more elaborate and sophisticated. One informant argued that the mixture of Chinese and western cultures in one society necessarily creates diversity in Hong Kong. Even though this is a Chinese society, some informants argued that this does not necessarily imply social cohesiveness because Hong Kong's people come from different parts of China and have very diverse traditions. This is manifested by the existence of a vast number of kinship associations in Hong Kong. The most obvious evidence for diversity is found in Hong Kong people's political orientations. As was mentioned at the beginning of this report, when direct election of legislative councillors was initiated, a number of political parties representing diverse political interests and positions were established within a very short period of time.

This political diversity of Hong Kong was deplored by one informant: 'They [the political parties] can hardly move towards unity. They are only concerned about their own victory in certain governmental matters and fail to appropriate the art of a "win-win" situation. This is a sad thing.'

Many of our informants felt that social cohesion and diversity are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and they distinguished between social diversity and social conflict: '... social cohesion and social diversity are inter-dependent in the sense that diversity will bring about cohesion in a society. The existence of diversity implies that...we need to listen to the views of each other. In this way, we can resolve social conflict...If there is no [awareness of] social diversity, then people will tend to be antagonistic towards each other, leading to social conflicts.'

School informants

Our school informants expressed similar viewpoints with respect to their concepts of social cohesiveness and diversity and the nature of the Hong Kong society. What is specific to them is that they associated diversity with discrimination, a perception not expressed by any of our non-school informants. School informants cited discrimination against the following groups: the handicapped; females, especially in the New Territories (rural area of Hong Kong); labourers from the mainland; people from lower social classes; and the elderly. Many of the same points were made not only by principals and teachers but also by students; not only by schools with high-achieving students but also those with lower achievers; and not only by schools actively promoting civic education but also the non-active schools.

Student informants

Although the students did not give as clear definitions of social diversity as did the adult informants, they expressed a high level of acceptance of, and even positive attitudes towards, group differences in Hong Kong society. The students asserted that they are obliged to understand, respect and tolerate people from different groups as long as their behaviours do not interfere with the wellbeing of others. One student mentioned respect for the choice of religion and political orientation.

Textbook analysis

Seven of the 15 textbooks we examined covered topics of social cohesion and social diversity. Of the 18 times the theme appears, 72.2 per cent occur in Form 1 (Grade 7) and 27.8 per cent occur in Form 2. Form 3 does not touch on the topic at all. Our content analysis of textbooks found very few topics related to this domain. Moreover, when they are mentioned, they are not related to the political context. For example, the question of diversity is mentioned in the form of economic diversity rather than social diversity, and the political implications of such diversity are not considered.

The question of equality is not discussed in terms of social equality, that is, equal opportunity for social mobility and political representation among different social and political groups. The topic 'racial discrimination' appears in only two of the 15 textbooks (13.3 per cent) and 'class discrimination' and 'gender discrimination' in three (20 per cent), without much elaboration. 'Gender discrimination' does get more detailed treatment than the others. There are also more detailed discussions on the citizenship qualities of tolerance and acceptance. It is also to be noted that all these types of discrimination are presented with very little reference to the Hong Kong context.

The textbooks also touched on other diversities in society, such as in religion and public festivities. Languages and dialects spoken in Hong Kong fall under the heading of diversity. There is particular mention of the attitudes required for living in a diverse society, like 'be tolerant', 'treat people equally', and 'respect each other's lifestyle, beliefs and customs'. In many instances, the term diversity is related to the economic aspect of society. Phrases such as 'the economic diversity of Hong Kong', 'market diversification of Hong Kong' and 'product diversification' appear in Form 3 textbooks.

*Domain four: mass media***Background**

The mass media are an important factor in civic education in Hong Kong. From 1980 onwards, the mass media were flourishing along with economic development. In the early 1990s, in terms of both quality and quantity, the mass media in Hong Kong underwent tremendous change. Not only are there now new newspapers and magazines, but also new kinds of media have

made their debut, such as Cable TV and the Internet. The media now has a more dynamic relationship with politics than before, for example, a 24-hour coverage of the 1995 election by Cable TV, tabloid coverage of political figures in *Next Magazine* and the *East Weekly*, and popular programs on current affairs on radio. During the 1990s, popular attention to political features presented by the media also has increased significantly. Whether young people trust the mass media without question or treat them critically clearly has implications for the shaping of their political attitudes. An important reason for giving close attention to this topic comes from the increase of youth magazines in the 1990s. It is thought that these magazines divert young people's attention from reading newspapers and current affairs magazines and that they contribute to identification with their subculture, which often belittles educational goals and activities.

In regard to the question whether the mass media are *a source of information* about politics and government, it is worth noting that the government does not have an official broadcasting channel, in contrast to many other countries. The mass media in Hong Kong are privatized and the government has to pay for public announcements, most of which are apolitical. It is the mass media which have taken the initiative in providing information about politics and government from their own perspectives, resulting in a rather varied presentation of the news.

There are growing concerns about the increase in pornography in the entertainment column of the newspapers and in porn magazines sold publicly. Freedom of the press is raised as an issue when sanctions are introduced. With the government handover, the issue of freedom of the press and speech has become acutely sensitive.

Interview findings

Views on the mass media of Hong Kong

The views of the informants from both the school and non-school sectors were much alike. In general, the informants felt the mass media play a significant role in Hong Kong society as a watchdog for society, a safeguard for public interests and a means for conveying proper social and moral values to the public. They also felt that the mass media should be politically neutral and objective in news reporting out of respect for the citizens' rights to information. Moreover, nearly all the informants saw the mass media as important for civic education. For example: 'It is not enough to promote civic education only in school. The mass media have direct impact not only on adults but also on youngsters. Therefore, it is a very important means of promoting civic education.'

The informants also had a negative impression of the mass media of Hong Kong. They commented as follows: 'low quality'; 'sensational with an over-emphasis on gossiping news'; 'of poor taste'; 'biased'; 'failed to fulfil their

social responsibilities'; and 'over-commercially oriented'. Moreover, they remarked that language standards are low in newspapers.

Most of the informants criticized the mass media for not promoting civic education. For example, the mass media have not paid sufficient attention to civic or political issues and they are not educationally oriented. One informant quoted a media representative: 'Our primary aim is not education. Our job is to report news. We cannot present news in an educational way, because we need to make it colloquial for readers to appreciate our news...We have to earn a living. Therefore, we have to suit the taste of our audience.'

One informant was particularly angry towards the failure of the mass media in civic education: 'The media owners only care about money and want to attract an audience. They give lengthy reports on rapes and pornographic materials. This is not good for society, but this is not their concern. Some segments of the press focus specifically on reports of people's private life. This is anti-civic education.'

The students' responses seem to confirm the critiques made by the adults. Some said that they did not pay attention to civic education programs in the media because they were boring. When asked what they thought the function of the mass media should be, some students said that it should be both for entertainment and providing information.

Despite the general discontent towards the mass media, there were teachers who were sympathetic or even positive towards them. Those expressing sympathy argued that living in a business-based society, there are few choices for the media. Those speaking for the media strongly pointed out some of its good sides: 'There are also many positive programs produced by the mass media...We would use them as our teaching materials for social studies...I think the media is able to create an atmosphere in promoting civic education. Their presentation style is more interesting and lively than that of the school.' 'In the last 10 years, the mass media has been doing better and better. It has very high standards in reporting facts. It touches upon matters of public concern, such as reporting and analyzing international affairs and changes in political systems.'

Some argued that teachers have a responsibility to make good use of the media for civic education, such as discussing news with students and finding good media programs for use in classroom. A couple of newspapers and broadcasting companies received positive comments from the informants. Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) was cited as the only broadcasting company that has played a significant role in civic and moral education in Hong Kong.

Even though there was discontent about the mass media, no informant suggested censorship. Suggested solutions were limited to self-discipline or self-censorship. Informants also remarked that censorship should not be imposed from outside. To one respondent, self-censorship is a kind of self-

discipline, but it should not be overdone: 'In fact, self-censorship is self-discipline. I think self-discipline is a good thing. The problem is that some media sources will practice self-censorship to an extent that they give up their own convictions.'

Textbook analysis

In the formal curriculum, the topic 'mass media' is mentioned in many of the syllabi. Despite that fact, the topic is not covered by all the textbooks we chose for content analysis. Only 53.3 per cent of the 15 textbooks touch upon the topic. Of the 15 times the theme appears, six occur in Form 1, four in Form 2 and five in Form 3.

The role of the mass media is addressed by 40 per cent of the textbooks while the limitations of the media are treated by 33.3 per cent of them. The question of media reliability and legitimacy is mentioned by only 26.7 per cent of the textbooks. Although the coverage is brief, it seems that all the major issues in relation to the mass media are covered by the EPA and SS textbooks but by only a few others. This means that in the schools not adopting those textbooks, the student will not be exposed to media education.

Difficulties in the implementation of civic education

In a depoliticized social context, where civics was found in scattered fragments within a variety of school subjects and accompanied by a weak recommendation of a 'whole-school' approach to its implementation (in 1985), it is not surprising that there was at best a half-hearted implementation of civic education in schools and sometimes none at all. According to the 1990 survey and the reports of school visits from school inspectors, a number of problems and difficulties were identified by schools in the implementation of civic education. In the formal curriculum, the two major difficulties were problems in designing a systematic civic education program across the formal curriculum, and the apathy among some teachers.

In the informal curriculum, the major difficulties included: lack of financial support, competition with examination-oriented subjects and other extra-curricular activities, lack of guidelines for teachers, lack of interest among students and absence of activities that are both 'educational' and 'entertaining'. Whether in the formal or informal curriculum, the lack of relevant teacher training has been mentioned as a major obstacle to the implementation of civic education in schools (Education Department, 1995b).

Summary

Democracy, institutions, citizenship rights and responsibilities

Hong Kong does not have a specific school subject called civic education. However, this does not mean that there is no provision for civic education in the formal curriculum. Topics related to democracy, institutions and rights and responsibilities are found in economic and public affairs, government and public affairs and social studies. There are some schools that offer moral education and religious education in which topics in this domain are covered during formal school hours, although the Education Department gives no pertinent guidelines or syllabi at the junior secondary level. However, these various subjects do not form part of the core curriculum in Hong Kong schools. This means that schools are free to offer these subjects or not. Of these three subjects, social studies has suffered most from the movement to basics in the schools. This subject has been viewed as a hybrid of history, economics (EPA), geography, plus a bit of sociological studies, and is thought to be detrimental to students' mastery of the individual subject areas that make up social studies. The majority of the schools, however, offer something related to civic education.

Referring to the classroom situation, our informants from the school sector, including principals and teachers, generally mentioned the need for open discussions and the development of critical and analytical thinking among students. At the same time, they complained that students are inactive in class and not interested in civic education topics. That said, our student respondents observed that their classes were examination-oriented and there was no time in the school day for discussion. Moreover, they said that their examinations were focused on reproducing textbook contents, with little or no emphasis on discussion of controversial issues. This may be due to the lack of teacher training in civic education. Besides, with pressure coming from the public for schools to teach economics, history and geography rather than social studies, it is understandable that neither teachers nor students will give civic education much attention.

However, we found concrete examples of extracurricular activities that may provide democratic experiences and opportunities for students to experience and discuss citizen rights and responsibilities. All six schools allowed for some form of election to the cabinet of the student union and four of them had direct elections. Each of the schools also provided opportunities and activities that promote discussion of current social affairs like attendance at the debates of legislative councillors, or the expression of their personal views on the Wall of Democracy. Schools were even more interested in organizing public service activities outside school hours aimed at having students feel the plight of the needy and raising awareness of social concerns.

As for the situation outside school, there was a general view that the mass media are commercially oriented and therefore more focused on providing entertainment than civic literacy, except for the semi-governmental broadcast corporation, RTHK, whose productions are focused on educational topics. Our informants from political parties were most critical of the government not playing an active role in requiring the mass media to facilitate civic learning among the young. Moreover, while our teacher informants and the Curriculum Development Officer favored a cross-curricular approach to teaching civic education across subjects, the informants from political parties all urged teaching civic education as an independent subject.

National identity

Our informants across categories criticized the lack of nationalistic education in Hong Kong with particular criticism that contemporary Chinese history is not included in the junior secondary curriculum. Moreover, there is no provision for the discussion of the question of national identity as an individual topic in the formal curriculum. However, it is to be noted that 53 per cent of the 15 textbooks cover some aspects of modern Chinese history, such as the Chinese Civil War, the Japanese Occupation, the Cultural Revolution, the Second World War and the Vietnam War so that contemporary Chinese history is not entirely absent from the formal curriculum.

Our informants also complained that Hong Kong youngsters are weak in national identity and felt that Hong Kong youngsters are weak in their 'international identity' as well. Little was said about the international perspective, but there were many reasons cited for students' weak national identity, such as:

- The lack of national symbols, for example, national day, national anthem, national flag, etc.
- The lack of attention to national identity in the formal curriculum (as mentioned above).
- The lack of attention to national identity in the mass media.
- The materialistic orientation of Hong Kong society.

Moreover, they pointed out that Hong Kong young people would rather identify themselves as Hong Kongnese than Chinese. Our student respondents seemed to support such a view. When asked what kind of passport they would like to hold, 48 per cent of the students preferred to hold British/BNO passports and 13 per cent preferred overseas passports. About 30 per cent and 9 per cent of them preferred Chinese passports and Special Administrative Region passports.

The school practitioners in general responded that they had provided class activities addressing the issue of national identity, with only two schools admitting that they had no related activities. A closer look at the activities of

ferred in the other schools reveals that they are related to the teaching of Chinese history and focused on ancient history rather than contemporary history. Thus, classroom discussion tends to be related to cultural identity rather than political identity. Referring to role models or national heroes, our teacher informants considered these to be important for national identity, but we found no evidence that teachers were suggesting that their students identify themselves with the national heroes. Rather, the teachers mentioned that they encourage a critical approach to the heroes and role models. Our student participants mentioned only one hero, Dr Sun Yat-sen, the founder of new China. It seems that only one figure who has a following from the Mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan has impressed Hong Kong young people, although they have certainly studied a variety of other public figures.

As for the teaching of democracy, there seem to be more activities touching upon citizenship in relation to national identity outside school hours. Our schools cited concrete examples of extracurricular activities that can help students understand more about China and reflect upon their relationship to China.

The informants from political parties tended to be silent on the topic. While they criticized the lack of democratic and citizenship education in Hong Kong and cited their contributions in that direction, they did not respond to the issue of national identity at all, except that members of pro-China groups criticized the adverse effects of colonization. This seems to be another evidence that the question of national identity is a very sensitive issue in Hong Kong and is avoided in the curriculum, textbooks and by people involved in politics.

Social cohesion and diversity

As in the case of the domains discussed above, in this domain the subject is not strongly addressed in Hong Kong's formal curriculum, although there is some scattered coverage. Our informants across categories could hardly cite a single example of curriculum topics touching upon this domain, although there was a general impression that liberal studies (taught in Form 6) and social studies are two subjects touching upon this domain.

As for what happens in school, unlike the situation in the previous two domains, our school informants could cite very few concrete examples of activities addressing the issue of social cohesion and diversity. However, they made casual mention of some classroom discussion about these topics. Also, unlike the previous two domains, for which quite concrete examples of extracurricular activities were mentioned, we found that school practitioners said very little about extracurricular activities in this domain. The informants from political parties did not respond much to this domain either. However, the teachers were aware of discrimination problems and noted that they get some coverage in the textbooks.

The domain of social cohesion and diversity did not seem to attract much attention from our informants. What seems to be quite clear is that issues of equality, discrimination and diversity, even if they were mentioned, are not viewed in terms of their political implications.

The mass media

Our informants' major concerns about the mass media included: the commercialization of the mass media; the accuracy of news reporting; intrusion upon individual privacy; and the lack of and the need for media education. In general, they viewed the mass media quite negatively and worried about its bad influences. There was particular concern regarding the increase in sex and violence on the screen. There were also worries about inaccurate and sensational news reporting. It was also the general view that our youngsters are not mature enough to be discriminating consumers of mass media information and that they are therefore in a very vulnerable position, open to strong influences from the media. Again, the only positive comments were directed to RTHK, which produces educational programs.

The school practitioners in particular emphasized the need for media education. While they were able to propose what content to teach and how to teach, they could cite only very few examples of programs being offered in their schools (neither class activities nor extracurricular activities). We found a few voluntary organizations that actively provide media education for the young.

Although the mass media were generally viewed negatively, there were some teachers who defended them and felt that they could make use of the mass media for civic education. It was thought that any control of the media should not be governmental.

Conclusions: challenges of civic education

This study confirms a general impression that civic education is weak in Hong Kong. Our interviews as well as our content analysis of textbooks showed a strong, pervasive tendency to avoid politically sensitive issues. Among the four domains studied, the one entitled democracy, institutions and citizen rights and responsibilities has received much more attention from educators and the public than the others. Even here, however, controversial topics are avoided, and most textbooks address only descriptive topics like government institutions.

We found the issue of national identity to be of high political sensitivity and therefore not touched upon by most of the textbooks nor addressed by most of our informants. The issue of social cohesion and diversity is also ignored but for a different reason: it is not viewed as a significant issue in

Hong Kong, although in itself the topic is seen as important.

There is a general discontent about the mass media agents in Hong Kong for being overly commercialized and not performing their social responsibilities. Despite the fact that the mass media are severely criticized, there is an aversion to sanctions coming from a concern for freedom of expression.

Contrary to what may have been expected in pre-1997 Hong Kong with its general avoidance of politically sensitive issues, it is a major finding of this study that there is a rich diversity of views on all four domains. The views that were expressed are not only diverse but in many cases polarized. The net effect demonstrates another feature of Hong Kong society, namely, its pluralism.

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IN TRANSIT: CIVIC EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

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Notes:

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Environment of political change

From the mid 1960s to the late 1980s, Hungary was considered to be the 'happiest barrack' in the Eastern Block. In a political sense this meant soft dictatorship where the one-party power did not directly restrict the sovereignty of private life but took over every aspect of political life. Thus only a few violated the unwritten rule of 'mutual non-intervention' and openly undertook political opposition. The majority of Hungarians did not expect a change of regime. Career paths and economic growth had developed and were accessible to most, and while some freedoms were restricted, people could live a modest life under foreseeable social, political and economic conditions.

As in the other Central and Eastern European countries, the dramatic decrease of the cementing force of the ex-Soviet Union created the possibility of a change of regime. As Gorbachevian politics resulted in the gradual easing of the external pressure, the internal monolithic political power began to soften. At the same time, there was an increase in self-initiated opposition groups that turned against the governing power or kept up a constant dialogue with it. The two most significant oppositional groups, the liberal democrats (called the hard democratic opposition) and the nationalist group (emphasizing national values) had a secret meeting in the mid-1980s to learn each other's views. The party bureaucracy behind the one-party power was losing its homogeneity but most agreed that the number one person of the system, János Kádár, had to go.

Events followed one another rapidly. In 1987 one of the party's reforming leaders, Imre Pozsgay, came to terms with the nationalist group in an effort to isolate the hard democratic opposition. In 1988, Károly Grósz took over power and tried once more to consolidate the one-party system. Meanwhile, the different opposition groups turned into parties and created the so called Opposition Roundtable. Negotiations between those in power and the opposition started in March 1989. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which had been in power for 40 years split in October, and its reform wing founded the Hungarian Socialist Party. At the same time the government, led by Miklós Németh, turned into a so-called expert government and reached an agreement with the opposition concerning the constitutional elements of political transformation. As a result, in the spring of 1990, the Hungarian Republic was proclaimed, and the first democratic parliamentary election was called.

The first democratic parliamentary election had two rounds in which more than 40 parties participated. Six parties obtained seats in the Parliament. The three largest parties were the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats (evolving from the hard democratic opposition) and the Independent Party of Smallholders. In the first round of the elections, 65 per

cent of the entitled population voted; in the second round, 45 per cent voted. The new, multi-party Parliament held its first session in 1990.

The constitutional framework of the new democratic system had developed before the elections, while the expert government was in power. This led to the abolition of the party state and the peaceful development of parliamentarianism based on a multi-party system with the introduction of an important counterbalance of power in the Constitutional Court. Negotiations about the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which had started under the expert government, were concluded. By the summer of 1991, Hungary had won back its sovereignty.

However, the work of the new government met with disappointment. The new political elite, calling itself a Christian-national government, favored an image of society strongly resembling the pre-war 'gentry' Hungary. People tended to believe that one elite devoid of social sensitivity had replaced another. At the local government elections, held a few months after the parliamentary elections, the parties of the coalition were crushingly defeated. Many independent candidates who were close to the socialists won. The government, amid major political storms, completed its four-year term. In the 1994 parliamentary elections the Christian-national coalition was replaced by a social-liberal coalition, elected by a 72 per cent majority. The new government initiated a modernization program for the economy with the hope of joining the European Union and began dismantling the 'premature' welfare state which was begun under socialism and which provided basic economic security for most people. In 1998, a new right-wing coalition committed to replacing the social-liberal coalition came into power.

None of the three major political forces which emerged after the change of regime has been able to gain the trust of Hungarian society. Neither the Christian-national vision of the inter-war 'gentry' Hungary nor the social-liberal politics of creating capitalist conditions with the hope of joining the European Union has provided an attractive prospect. Regained independence and the creation of political frameworks for democracy has not compensated the Hungarians for the loss of their social security in return for modernization. Problems such as widespread organized crime, corruption and an immense increase in the socio-economic gap remain unsolved. The mood of the Hungarian voters has been marked by the feeling that while the new political elite engage in skirmishes, the general population has had to leave its 'happiest barrack' only to find itself in a 'gloomy' democracy.

Civic education in the system of public education

Before 1978, civic education was a general educational aim that was supposed to pervade the whole educational system mostly through the humanities. With the reform of 1978, civic education in Hungary became a special field of education with its own subject frameworks. In addition to history, contemporary topics also had a place in education. However, civics remained a normative subject that helped maintain the ideological underpinnings of social science education.

During the transitional period, the central curricula did not meet the needs of an increasingly diverse society and was not suitable in the process of decentralization. The traditional 8+4 school structure broke up and new school types appeared at the secondary level, besides private schools maintained by churches and foundations at both primary and secondary levels. The number of school-based curricula increased. Privatization reached the textbook publishers, and successful state and private publishers became determining factors as to the content of subject areas.

Educational aims, like those for civic education, that were tinged with some ideological load were out of the question, especially because the ideological fight shifted to a struggle between the Christian-national and the socialist and liberal forces. In the first four years following the change of regime, Christian-national values received strong state support from the coalition. Politics continued to have a strong ideological bias. While every party in the Parliament supported decentralization and privatization, they all feared that the end of central curriculum control would lead to a decrease in the quality of teaching. Thus they accepted the proposal of educators to introduce a national core curriculum that would define topics and requirements corresponding to 10 educational fields but would not specify either the specific subjects or the number of classes devoted to teaching them. Schools could decide about these matters and would also be free to choose the textbooks from those on the market.

Although the Education Act of 1993, which included the national core curriculum, was passed easily, lack of agreement among political forces delayed the approval of details of the national core curriculum until the social-liberal coalition came to power. During its first year in power, the coalition vigorously started the work again and tried to free the document from ideological bias. The legitimization process for the document was broadly supported through a poll among teachers, who also suggested some changes, and it was passed.

Out of the 10 core educational fields, 'Human Being and Society' contains the subject framework and content elements for civic education. For Grades 1 to 6 it is social studies, for Grades 7 to 8 it is social studies and civics, while for Grades 9 to 10 it is civics and economics that set the topics and objectives (*National Core Curriculum*, 1996). Education after the compulsory period

will be regulated by national final examination standards. If social studies, civics and economics become examination subjects, the status of civic education in the Hungary could grow.

In the transitional period preceding the implementation of the national core curriculum, schools could teach whatever they wanted. In the absence of national data about the structure and content of education, we can draw some conclusions based on textbook orders about the general state of civic education. Besides history, literature, philosophy and ethics classes, civics and social studies comprise the more or less internationally accepted topics of civic education. Both subjects are concerned with the present. Civics is dominated by legal-political elements, while in social studies the emphasis is on the economic-social factors. According to textbook orders data, 60 per cent of general schools use the Grade 8 civics textbook of a private publisher (Balla & Szebenyi, 1993, revised 1996), while close to 80 per cent of secondary schools teach from the social studies textbook of the state publisher (Péli, Bozóki & Jakab, 1991, revised: 1996). Other schools teach philosophy or ethics, or use social studies and civics textbooks within alternative programs.

Five alternative programs deal with socio-economic issues of civic education. The Fifty-Fifty Program (Mátrai & Szebenyi, 1993) is based on the balance between central and local curriculum planning (this is where its name comes from), and thus the local social environment is strongly emphasized in its social studies. The main thrust of the Zsolnai Program is value transmission and ability development, and its textbook (Hölgye, 1992) contains both social studies and civics topics. The KOMP Program is aimed at the establishment of a 12-grade comprehensive school, and its social studies component concentrates on the local society and economics (Kovács & Peto, 1996; Bakay, 1996). The AKG Program is associated with an academic secondary school program of economics. Social studies is an important part of the program (Jakab, 1993; Bujdosó, 1994), mainly focusing on sociology and the history of social ideas. The World Bank Project's concept of social studies represents a problem-oriented approach presenting the most conflicting social issues in the form of case studies (Arató, 1992).

There are three alternative programs in civics. The most comprehensive one is Civitas, which started as a project of the Joint Eastern European Center for Democratic Education and Governance and is now a part of a private foundation with American support. Its curriculum comprises all 12 grades of public education (Balla & Szebenyi, 1995). The Amnesty-Soros booklet is a study of 'Bill of Rights' (*Emberi Jogok*, 1996) for children in the general schools. The SZEG textbook (Fehér, 1994) is associated with one school. A member of the Social Studies Teachers' Club developed it and offered it to other schools.

The present situation with the general practice and the alternative programs, along with the future plans as defined in the national core curriculum, are summarized in Table 1.

Although there are a significant number of alternative teaching programs, their materials are not widely used in schools. In general, students learn about the current issues of civic education in a separate subject after a chronological study of history, in the last grade of general school and also in the last grade of academic and vocational secondary schools. It is the intention of the national core curriculum to alter this situation by teaching current issues in Grades 1 to 10 and arranging the topics into three units (social studies, civics and economics).

Table 1 A comparison of the present situation and plans for the future regarding civics

Grades	General Practice		Alternative Programs		National Core Curriculum		
	Social Studies	Civics	Social Studies	Civics	Social Studies	Civics	Economy
1 to 4			Fifty Zsolnai KOMP	Civitas	+		
5 to 6			KOMP	Civitas	+		
7 to 8				Civitas Am-Soros SZEG	+	+	
8		Balla & Szebenyi					
9 to 10			AKG World Bank	Civitas		+	+
11 to 12			AKG World Bank	Civitas			
12	Péli, Bozóki & Jakab						

Research methods

The materials collected for the Hungarian case study followed the requirements established for all participating countries. The first step was to review the Hungarian political socialization and pedagogical literature on the topic with special attention to youth studies, teaching materials and educational policy documents (Mátrai, 1995a). The second step was to provide answers to 18 framing questions pointing out to what extent detailed issues about the Hungarian civic education can be treated given the available sources (Imre,

1995). This was followed with the preparation of a national project proposal (Mátrai, 1995b). Finally, four major and three compulsory question and one optional core question were answered in detail (Imre & Mátay, 1996).

The sources used in the research come under three main categories. The first group consists of secondary sources: published books, journal studies and manuscripts presenting the results of empirical or theoretical research. We mainly used these for the description of the situation concerning the four domains and the opinion of the public. Primary sources, such as educational policy documents, curricula, textbooks and other teaching materials, belong to the second group. These were analyzed in order to introduce the general practice, alternative programs and future plans. The third group consists of interviews conducted with educational policy-makers, researchers, curriculum developers, textbook writers, alternative program leaders, association and foundation representatives, a non-profit expert, student government leaders and teachers supporting the student movements (Imre, Mátay & Mátrai, 1996). These are used mainly in discussing problem points of civic education.

An expert panel, acting as working group, helped prepare the case study. The panel represented the expertise required for the national case study and not the political attitudes of its members. Ildikó Szabó (sociologist) collected the literature on political socialization and public opinion polls; Melinda Mátay (sociologist) described democracy and economics; Anna Imre (sociologist) analyzed national identity and social cohesion/diversity; and Péter Szebenyi and Imre Knausz (educators) characterized the state of civic education.

Research findings with regard to the four domains

The results of the research on the four domains specified for cross-national comparison in the IEA Project on Civic Education are given below. The first three domains are democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity. These are common to every country's case study. The fourth, dealing with economics, was an optional domain chosen for the Hungarian case study.

The presentation of the individual domains follows an identical structural framework. A description of the most characteristic changes within the domain comes first and focuses on the period after the political changes. This is followed by a summary of public opinion about these changes based on political socialization studies and public opinion polls with separate mention of the results of youth studies. We then describe how the domain is represented in the content of civic education through an analysis of the most frequently used textbooks and the new national core curriculum. Finally, we present the major problems in the teaching of the domain. This framework helps compare the consequences of the political changes as experienced by adults versus youth. It also connects the social-psychological state of the general population and what is happening in civic education.

*Domain I: democracy***Institutions**

The 1990 modification of the constitution created representative democracy in Hungary. There is only one major instrument for direct democracy—national and local referenda. The parliamentary system resembles the German chancellor-democracy characterized by the dominance of the prime minister. There is one place where citizens' voices play a determining part—elections to parliament. The parties to be sent into Parliament are elected every four years by citizens over 18 and by those who start a family before that age. Elections are general, equal, direct and secret. Voters can support the representative of their own electoral district with one of their two votes and the listed candidates of a party with the other. The unicameral Parliament has the jurisdiction to legislate, to control the budget and international contracts, and to oversee the army, among other things. The opposition can influence those laws, through two-thirds majority support.

The head of the State, the president of the republic, is elected by the Parliament for five years. The president of the republic has the right of one-time veto of laws, sets the date of elections, and can initiate laws and referenda. The prime minister also is elected by parliament and has the dominant role as to executive power. The government led by him or her prepares and proposes laws, sets parliamentary agendas and even shapes many presidential decisions. The Office of the Prime Minister keeps a number of important administrative areas under direct control. The members of the Constitutional Court are also elected by the Parliament for nine years. The court has the right to review the constitutionality of a law or a statutory rule upon the request of any citizen. The court has already exercised its controlling role in several cases (for more detail, see Pokol, 1994).

Local governments are elected after the parliamentary elections by general, equal, direct and secret ballot. Members of the capital and the county governments can only be elected by the list. Not only political parties but also civil organizations can set up a list. The major task of local governments is to provide public service and exercise executive power in local public affairs. Local governments have independent administration but receive the money necessary for the basic service (e.g. for primary education) from the state budget.

Civic organizations have two ways to influence local social-political processes. First, they have the right to set up a list at the local government elections. Second, most local governments rely on them, especially in the sphere of cultural and social services (e.g. Red Cross, Málta Charity Service and the Soros Foundation). They try to influence national politics through demonstrations (e.g. actions of the Democratic Charta). The effect of civic organizations as independent factors is hard to judge as yet (Szabó, 1995; Mátay, 1996).

The effectiveness of the trade unions' efforts is both strengthened and

weakened by the fact that the leaders of the biggest lobbying group, the National Association of the Hungarian Trade Unions, are at the same time representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Because of this dual function, their actions are linked to the economic policy of their party and not necessarily to the expressed interests of the members of the National Association. (Tóth, 1995; Máty, 1996).

As stated in the constitution, the church operates separately from the state with both rights and obligations. Hungarian laws emphasize the role of churches in public life, especially as regards cultural, social, health care and youth issues. In addition to the biggest traditional religious institutions (Catholic, Protestant, Evangelist and Jewish), other religions like Jehovah's Witnesses and eastern religions that are new in Hungary have also been spreading. During the period after the political changes, the public activities of the traditional Christian churches focused on retrieving their properties confiscated during the communist era and making religious education compulsory in schools. However, in 1993, the Constitutional Court decided that in state and local government schools religious neutrality has to be maintained.

Following the political changes, a new development in the mass media allowed commercial television and radio channels to operate. However, the electronic press remained under governmental control until 1995 due to disputes among the political parties. Today, the two public television and radio channels are under the supervision of a board of trustees, where the parties are strongly represented. The whole of the print press enjoys a certain independence from government politics. The best-selling daily papers, however, are identified with one of the three political groupings (Máty, 1996).

Rights and responsibilities

As regards civic rights, Hungarian citizens are defined as those who were born Hungarian, or were nationalized. Only adult Hungarian citizens have the right to vote, but every resident has the right to petition. The constitution declares that every citizen has the right to free choice as to occupation, the right to strike, to rest, to education and to social insurance. The unemployed are entitled to aid. The constitution ensures equal rights for everybody in Hungary regardless of gender, race, color, language, religion, national or social origin, political view or wealth. Citizens have the following freedoms: right of assembly, right of public meeting, right of free speech, freedom of the press, rights of privacy, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and personal freedoms. The individual and collective rights of minorities are declared in a law that acknowledges 13 national minorities in Hungary and gives them the right to establish their own organizations and self-governments, to use their own language in the public arena and to teach their mother tongue and history in schools. The main obligations of citizens are to contribute to national defence, to obey the laws, to pay taxes, and to provide for the education of under-age children (Gero & Gulyás, 1994).

People's attitudes towards democracy and politics

The advent of the political conditions favorable to democracy had a positive effect on the civic and political attitude of people. This is supported by data from surveys conducted in 1990 and 1991 with a representative sample. Respondents were asked for their opinions about the changes. An overwhelming majority of the population (90 per cent) accepted the institutions and rules of democracy. In 1991, 88 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement that a parliament is necessary, 90 per cent said that free elections are the best system for electing the government and the leaders and 91 per cent said that democracy requires several parties (Bruszt & Simon, 1992). People's trust in the institutions of democracy had considerably lessened by the end of 1995. According to the data from a public opinion poll, political parties, the government, Parliament and the trade unions were toward the bottom on a 100 point scale of confidence (22 to 32 points). Only the President and the Constitution Court were given a high degree of confidence. The local governments ended up in the middle (Marián, 1996). The low confidence in the parties, in the government and in Parliament did not mean a questioning of their existence only dissatisfaction with their performance.

But what did people actually expect from democracy? Bruszt and Simon (1992) tried to shed light on the interpretations of democracy existing among the people. Factor analysis revealed three interpretations of democracy: political democracy, social democracy and individual rights. Although most people identified democracy with political democracy (multi-party system, equality before the law, and the like), this did not mean a homogenous understanding of political democracy. Half of the voters considered economic elements, moderate income differences, safe jobs and an improving economy as part of democracy. The confidence attitude of 18- to 35-year-olds showed an especially negative picture. According to a 1994/95 survey on a representative sample (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1996), 72 per cent of the respondents were dissatisfied with the work of the institutions of democracy. The two major factors of dissatisfaction were with underdeveloped democracy (36.9 per cent) and with unfavorable life conditions (17.3 per cent).

There was a significant difference between the adult population and younger age groups in their interest in politics. While 46 per cent of adults were interested (Hann, 1996), this figure was 25 per cent among 25- to 35-year-olds and 15 per cent among 18- to 24-year-olds. Fourteen to 18-year-olds were even more uninterested in politics. Only 2 per cent of 18- to 35-year-olds had participated in political activities (e.g. participation at political programs or in the local public life), and only 1.8 per cent of them took part in the work of some political youth organization in 1994 and 1995. Their political views were only slightly influenced by their teachers and mostly by the television, their families and friends (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1996).

To sum up, the findings revealed that although an overwhelming majority

of the population supported the political changes, confidence in the functioning of economic and political institutions of democracy was rather low. Compared to the adult population, the political attitudes of young people were negative. Most of them did not show any interest in political issues, and only a small proportion of them were active participants in political life. The difference between adults and young people showed in their party selection. The party selection of the youth was very diverse and did not reflect the choice of the adult population.

Topics concerning democracy in civic education

This section first examines how certain topics under the headings of institutions of democracy and of civic rights and responsibilities are represented in the two textbooks most frequently used (Balla & Szebenyi, 1996; Péli, Bozóki & Jakab, 1996) and in the emerging national core curriculum (*National Core Curriculum*, 1996). Next we outline a basic problem that most generally applies to the teaching of democracy in Hungary.

In the civics textbook for 14- to 15-year-olds, consisting of 170 pages, we looked at topics concerning political democracy and compared how much state and local government political institutions and civic organizations were discussed. Institutions of the state (nation) are mentioned on 43 pages, local governments on nine pages and civic organizations on five pages. As for civic rights and responsibilities, social and human rights in general receive the most emphasis (eight or nine pages), then civil and political rights (three or four pages), then civic responsibilities (three pages). The institutions of mass media are not mentioned in the textbook at all. Only 27 pages deal with civil rights and responsibilities; 84 relate to the institutions of democracy and especially to state institutions.

In the final grade of secondary schools, the 234-page social studies textbook written for 18-year-olds focuses on sociological issues. The topic of democracy appears only in the form of international comparisons and in an historical context (e.g. the types of dictatorship with international examples from the past) without discussing the institutions of democracy in today's Hungary. In total, 24 pages are devoted to democracy. There are sections about socio-cultural disadvantages, social diversification, social politics and socio-political principles of distribution. Thus, in practice, 18-year-old secondary school students receive much less instruction about democracy than do 14- to 15-year-old general school students. However, a history textbook (*Magyar Lajos Alapítvány*, 1994) used for the final grades of secondary schools devotes a whole chapter to the main institutions of present-day Hungarian democracy.

In the 'Human Being and Society' section of the national core curriculum that is planned, topics relating to the institutions of democracy and civil rights and responsibilities are to be found in Grades 7 to 8 social studies and in Grades 7 to 8 and 9 to 10 civics. The distribution of social studies and civics

topics and the distribution of civics topics between Grades 7-8 and 9-10 is shown in Table 2.

In the future, students will have the opportunity to learn about democracy in social studies and civics for a longer time, depending, of course, on the local curricula chosen by schools. Also, student self-government and the parties are presented separately and emphasized. However, mass media institutions are still missing from the list of topics.

The main problem of teaching democracy: lack of opportunity for practice

The main problem in Hungary is that the school and the community do not provide opportunities for students to practice their democratic rights. Although the two textbooks analyzed and the national core curriculum include the study of the community, when account is taken of the institutions of democracy, they do so only as areas for empirical data collection in research tasks and field work. School self-government as a topic is presented in the national core curriculum only as an illustrative implementation of a democratic institution. Students are not urged to play an active role in the political life of the school. The situation in the alternative programs is only slightly better. The school and the community as fields for the exercise of democratic principles do not appear as basic in any of the programs, although one can find more exercises leading to participation in some of them (especially in *Civitas*) than in the present practice or in the national core curriculum.

The explanation given for this situation is mainly that student organizations and movements which started after the political changes are still rather divided, that their financial and organizational circumstances are changing and that they have heavy exposure to influence from political parties. The same applies to civic organizations (Mátay, 1996). Thus, society cannot be expected to exert pressure to make student participation in the political life of the school and the community an institutional part of teaching democracy.

Table 2 The distribution of topics of democracy in the national core curriculum

Grades	Social Studies	Civics
7 to 8	student self-government churches associations parties trade-unions parliamentary democracy	constitution system of election civic rights, responsibilities president of the republic Constitution Court Parliament prime minister jurisdiction local government
9 to 10		citizenship human rights

*Domain II: national identity***Historical antecedents of the present situation**

In Hungary, national identity is basically determined by two factors: the historical ups and downs in the country's sovereignty and its place in the world economy. Hungary had been independent and belonged to the main stream of the world's economy until the 16th Century. For the next 150 years it was partly under Turkish and Austrian, then entirely Austrian, rule and got relegated to the economic periphery (compared to the Atlantic-center in Europe). Dependency on the Austrians ended with the establishment of a dual monarchy in 1867 when, in a multinational empire, Hungary gained a leading position alongside Austria and could start catching up economically with the western part of Europe. Total independence came again after World War I. As a result of the Trianon Peace Treaty, Hungary, as a defeated country, lost more than two thirds of its territory, most of its national minorities and about three million Hungarian-speaking citizens. The economy could not duplicate the dynamic development of the previous era, and the ruling elite explained it by pointing to lost territories. The peace following World War II left the status quo of the country again a loser. The Soviet invasion followed soon after and, except for the few days of independence during the 1956 revolution, lasted for 40 years. Hungary lost its political and its economic sovereignty and was absorbed into the territory of Eastern Europe, cut off from the West.

Although in the late 1960s, the Soviet-type dictatorship started to soften, issues of national sovereignty and of Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries remained taboo in politics. The latest political changes have seen Hungary win back its sovereignty, but during the Christian-national coalition period, nationalist issues took a direction similar to the past. Emphasizing national cohesion, some politicians believed that revising the borders of the country might be raised again in order to support development of the economy. Most of them, however, thought that it would be enough if the mother country expanded its protection over the Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries.

The social-liberal government gave up trying to connect economic and political progress with cross-borders national cohesion but did not give up supporting (by means of international organizations and bilateral agreements) the political and cultural rights of Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries. Its aim became to have Hungary included in the European Union and thereby create the possibility of catching up politically and economically with the developed western world. Political socialization research and public opinion polls reveal the reaction of society in general and of youth in particular to these national issues.

Public opinion about national issues

According to a 1987 representative survey (Lázár, 1996), public opinion con-

sidered social problems (crime, housing, health care, alcoholism) and human rights issues as more important than nationalist issues (strengthening Hungarian consciousness, increased enforcement of national interests, support of Hungarians living in the neighboring countries). The same conclusion resulted from a 1993 public opinion poll, where 80 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement that politicians talk about national issues in order to distract attention from social problems (Vásárhelyi, 1995).

Political socialization studies showed that among politicians as well as among the general population the emphasis on nationalist issues was connected to the protection of Christian-national values (Lázár, 1996). The moderate strength of these latter values is supported by the fact that in the early 1990s only a little more than 20 per cent regarded themselves as having strong national feelings (Angelusz & Tardos, 1992). In 1994/95, among 18- to 35-year-olds, about 30 per cent wanted to increase the political and economic power of people through strong nationalist feelings (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1996). However, for the adult population and for the majority of the youth the protection of national values did not mean identification with militant nationalism (Vásárhelyi, 1995; Gábor, 1993).

In terms of the strength of national identity, belonging to the nation is of less importance for Hungarians than is belonging to other affiliations. In 1987, belonging to micro-communities (family, relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbors) and being part of the whole of humankind were rated as more important than belonging to the nation (Lázár, 1996). And, in 1992, in a regionally oriented survey of both adults and young people, belonging to the country, the local community, the world and Europe were all more important for the respondents than belonging to the nation or the ethnic group (Kelemen, 1993). That finding is slightly contradicted by a previously quoted study stating that 81 per cent of the population is proud to be Hungarian, an attitude which rests on the popular understanding, 'given what a small nation we are'. In rank order, the factors contributing to defining a Hungarian are self-definition, mother tongue and citizenship (Vásárhelyi, 1995). A study in 1994 among young people (college students) had similar results. An overwhelming majority of them considered not origin but self-definition and the mother tongue as the distinctive factors in being Hungarian (Szabó & Horváth, 1996). In a 1995 survey of 14- and 15-year-olds, however, citizenship and mother tongue were ranked as more important than self-definition or origin (Szabó & Örkény, 1996).

As regards Hungary's foreign policy orientations, from the viewpoint of economics and national security, in 1995 46 per cent of the people would have voted for joining the European Union and 32 per cent for joining NATO. Strong negatives constituted only 12 per cent in the case of the former but 22 per cent in the case of the latter (Lengyel, Molnár & Tóth, 1996). The attitude of 18- to 35-year-olds was positive in that 57.8 per cent supported west-

ern orientation without reservation and 34.8 per cent of them with some reservations (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1996).

We can conclude that the majority public opinion reveals the existence of a national consciousness, which, however, rejects extreme nationalism. This applies to the times before and after the political changes and both to adults and young people. Western orientation receives support from the population especially from the youth, although with some reservations.

The issue of national identity in civic education

In Hungary, forming of the national identity is traditionally the task of history teaching, spread over eight years of education, and teaching of literature over 12 years of education. This is reflected in a 1996 opinion poll among teachers where 65 per cent of the respondents insisted that history and literature should remain compulsory final examination subjects because of the central importance of these two subjects in forming national identity (Vámos, 1996). In the chronologically structured history teaching there is great emphasis on national historic events like movements of independence, wars and peace treaties, changes of the country's borders resulting from the peace treaties, and local history. Those historical personalities and political groups that stood for the idea of national independence in the history of Hungary receive special attention. In addition to its aesthetic value, literature is important as an historical carrier of the idea of national cohesion. The so-called national writers and poets whose patriotic works kept the national idea alive receive special attention. While there is the intention of forming national identity through both these subject areas, that intention does not include using images of enemies of the nation. At the same time there is typically little time devoted to the history and literature of neighboring countries with the exception of Austria.

Without entering into an analysis of history and literature textbooks and curricula, we will note the attention that the most commonly used civics (Balla & Szebenyi, 1996) and social studies (Peli, Bozoki & Jakab, 1996) textbooks and the national core curriculum (*National Core Curriculum*, 1996) give to issues of national identity. The civics textbook, written for 14- to 15-year-olds, has two pages on the topic of the democratic state where it treats sovereignty, territorial boundaries, national symbols (coat of arms, flag), the national anthem and national holidays. Hungarians living outside the borders, including Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring countries, are dealt with on a half page in the textbook. The main thought in it is that the rights of Hungarian minorities (e.g. mother tongue education) are supported mainly through bilateral agreements and with the help of international organizations without violating the sovereignty of the neighboring countries. In the textbook, the largest coverage, 10 pages, is devoted to the relationship of Hungary to international organizations. Among them are the Council of Europe, the European Union, NATO, the OSCE and the UN. Three pages are de-

voted to the security of Hungary as part of the security of Europe. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are presented as new sources of conflict. In the 170-page civics textbook, only 15 pages are devoted to nation-bound contemporary topics, putting the emphasis on organizations connecting Hungary to Europe.

In the 234-page social studies textbook for secondary schools, only 17 pages deal with the issues of nationality and national identity from a multicultural point of view, including historical elements. Under the heading of cultural diversity and the interweaving of cultures, 18-year-olds learn about the characteristics of German, English and French culture as examples of European countries. The conflicts resulting from mixing cultures and their influence on everyday life is presented in connection with Brazil. Interpretation of the nation's political context is completely missing from the textbook.

In the 'Human Being and Society' section of the national core curriculum, treatment of the nation and national identity are to be found in Grades 1 to 4 and 5 to 6 social studies and Grades 7 to 8 and 9 to 10 civics. The distribution of topics between social studies and civics is shown in Table 3. As can be seen, the structure of the national core curriculum is rather similar to the Grade 8 civics textbook with one important difference. The national core curriculum plans the teaching of nation-related topics not only in one grade but also throughout the whole length of compulsory education (Grades 1 to 10) and devotes much more teaching time to it.

The main problem in education in national identity: lack of a multiperspective approach

In Hungary, the nation is primarily not a cultural but a political and historical notion in the public thinking. As regards the political and historical understanding of the concept of nationality, there are several differences of opinion, especially among those who represent Christian-national or social-liberal values. Still, these differences of opinion and the reasons behind them are not reflected in the teaching materials. The teaching of nation-related topics and education in national identity are carried out in a kind of descriptive-homogeneous approach. The alternative programs do not provide alternatives either. In the absence of a multi-perspective approach, students do not learn how to handle differing opinions and to form or change their own opinions. The explanation for this situation might be that teachers prefer those programs that are value-free and thus do not require them to reveal their views about politically sensitive issues (Csala, 1996).

Domain III: social cohesion and diversity

The effect of the political changes on Hungarian society

The social cohesion during the soft dictatorship period can best be characterized by the Orwellian saying, 'Some are equal and some are more equal', based, of course, on economic and not on political equality. Because full em-

Table 3 The distribution of nation-related topics in the national core curriculum

Grades	Social Studies	Civics
1 to 4	Hungary and Europe neighboring countries Hungarians outside borders mother tongue Hungarian cultural values anthem national holidays relics and memorials	
5 to 6	Hungarians and the mother country cultural differences	
7 to 8		the sovereignty of the State the territory of the state insignia international organisations neighboring countries Hungarians living outside Hungary
9 to 10		Council of Europe, European Union, Nato Hungary and the security of Europe OSCE, UN

ployment was assured, an overwhelming majority of the population lived neither in extreme poverty nor extreme wealth. The 'wild capitalism' that developed after the political changes created wide differences in lifestyle. The homeless and the beggar appeared and the middle class eroded. Social cohesion has weakened in the face of a new phenomenon in which society tends to be split along economic lines. Social cohesion was further weakened by conflicts within the young generation and between generations, mainly from change in career possibilities under capitalist conditions. Under the soft dictatorship, youth had little possibility for advancement and were expected to wait until their predecessors retired. Today, youth are sharply divided by the differences in their parents' financial situations and even more by the possibilities which some are able to grasp for rapid advancement in the world of business.

Interestingly, discrepancies between the sexes did not become strained following the changes, although with the new situation for families the position of women became more difficult. In state socialism, the policy of total employment applied to women, too, and their social emancipation in work began. The State provided child support allowances. The organic process of general emancipation of women stopped after the political changeover because the limitations in the number of jobs re-established the traditional labor

division where the man works and the woman raises the children. Still, the increasing number of family enterprises and the important roles women play in political parties and civil organizations are contributory factors in the emancipation of women.

A divisive factor in the life of the society arose when, with the opening of the borders, many immigrants appeared, mainly from neighboring Romania (Hungarians and Romanians), and as refugees of the Yugoslavian war. As a result, the Hungarian population felt increasingly threatened because their life conditions got more unstable due to the black market absorbing mainly foreigners. Opening of the borders offered situations never before experienced in Hungary, including inroads by international organized crime.

As was true during the soft dictatorship, the presence of national minority groups with Hungarian citizenship does not form a significant diversifying element in the life of the society. The proportions they represent in the population are rather small, due to territorial disannexations after World War I and resettlements following World War II. These proportions are: German, 1.6 per cent; Slovak, 1.1 per cent; Romanian, 0.2 per cent; and other, 0.5 per cent (*Földrajzi Világatlasz*, 1992). The preservation of their national and cultural identity is ensured by the educational law for national minorities. The real conflict is caused by the Gypsy and Hungarian populations living next to each other. These two groups are ethnically and culturally immensely different. With the end of full employment, several hundred thousand Gypsies have been socially and economically marginalized.

Religious division was latently present in Hungarian society during the soft dictatorship. The State persecuted the exercise of religion but later tolerated it without supporting it. Following the political changes, the number of people considering themselves religious increased. According to a survey by Stumpf (1994), almost 65 per cent of the adult population and about 80 per cent of the 11- to 18-year-olds regarded themselves as religious in some way. About 72.2 per cent of Hungarians are Catholic, 20.3 per cent are Protestant, 3.5 per cent are Evangelist and 0.2 per cent are Israelite (Tomka, 1994), but there is little religious conflict among the Christian groups. There is more conflict relating to the attitude of the Hungarian population towards the Jews. Discrimination against Hungarian Jews became significant at the end of the last century and reached its peak during World War II when 600 thousand Jews died in concentration camps, in labor service, in Russian captivity and as a result of the German occupation. Jews were not exposed to persecution during the socialist era. This is why the Jews were shocked when, after the political changes, during the Christian-national regime, the biggest governing party tolerated for a long time its extreme right wing propagating anti-semitism. Under the social-liberal government, anti-semitic manifestations largely disappeared from political life, and a large number of Jewish intellectuals became electors of these parties.

Social cohesion and diversity as reflected in public opinion

According to a survey on a nationally representative sample (Bruszt & Simon, 1994), the degree of intensity with which certain factors are believed to disrupt social cohesion is reflected in public opinion. In 1990, 36 per cent of the people and in 1993, 56 per cent of them regarded the conflicts between the poor and the rich as the most serious ones. Next came conflicts between law-abiding people and criminals, with a sharp increase from 1990 to 1993, that is, from 29 per cent to 56 per cent. There many lesser conflicts between young and old people, between religious and non-religious people, and between Hungarians and other ethnic groups. About 70 per cent of the respondents thought that the changes in Hungary serve the interests of only a few; the worsening financial situation of families played the major role. In 1993, 60 per cent of the people felt that the financial situation of their families had got worse and only 8 per cent said that it had definitely improved (Bruszt & Simon, 1994). A high percentage, 85 per cent in 1995, considered the reduction of income differences between the rich and the poor as a basic responsibility of the government (Róbert, 1996). The distribution by age groups reflects some generational differences. In 1993, about 32 per cent of the 18- to 24-year-olds thought that things were going in the right direction, while only 18 per cent among 35- to 64-year-olds thought so (Lengyel, Molnár & Tóth, 1994).

An example of the attitude of the Hungarian public towards refugees and immigrants is of interest. While, in 1989, a majority of the Hungarian society (87 per cent) agreed with the government's 1988 decision about admitting refugees, economic conflicts considerably lowered sympathy toward them at a later date. In 1993, arguments from economics against admitting them were shared by 69 per cent of the respondents (Szabó, 1994). Ethnic prejudices against foreigners have increased. This is shown by the data of a 1994 study on a representative sample of the population (Lendvay & Szabó, 1994). These data were collected on the so-called Bogardus scale (welcome foreigners as colleagues, neighbors, friends, family members, citizens). Among foreigners, Transylvanian Hungarians, ex-Yugoslavs, Chinese, blacks and Arabs were listed. The study showed that the respondents would rather have them as colleagues, neighbors, friends or family members (in this order) than as citizens. The respondents were most inclined to give citizenship to Transylvanian Hungarians (52 per cent of them). Only 30 per cent of the respondents said that they would give citizenship to ex-Yugoslavians, 13 per cent to Chinese, 11 per cent to blacks and 8 per cent to Arabs.

Students of 14 to 15 years of age are uncertain in their attitude towards admitting foreigners. According to Szabó & Örkény's (1996) study, views about admittance or rejection were mixed when it came to specific questions. Nearly 40 per cent of the age group tended to rejection, mainly for economic reasons, and only 13 per cent held the firm opinion that refugees definitely

had to be supported. This age group, like the adults, favored the Transylvanian Hungarians but they were more open towards blacks, Chinese and Arabs than was the population as a whole.

There is a stable and basically conflict-free relation of Hungarian society with national minorities in the country. In 1987, 77 per cent of the respondents regarded national minority groups as nation-forming factors while 12 per cent of them said that they were in some way concerned about the existence of national minorities (Lázár, 1996). A study among 14- to 15-year-olds (Szabó & Örkény, 1996) shows the relative weakness of the nationality dimension and the strength of assimilation. One hundred and twenty schools, including 30 where the language of instruction was that of a nationality group, were involved in the study. Only 8 per cent of the respondents mentioned any other self-ranking besides Hungarian and 80 per cent of them did not care about the national status of their friends.

The attitude of the Hungarian public towards the only significant ethnic group in Hungary, the Gypsies, shows a different picture. According to a 1992 survey on a representative sample of the population, 36 per cent of the respondents had a Gypsy friend, colleague, neighbor or family member and were thus in direct contact with Gypsies. Twenty-two per cent of them had some conflict with Gypsies, and 94 per cent of the respondents did not want to have a Gypsy colleague, friend, neighbor or family member. The data also revealed that the majority of the population refused to have contacts with Gypsies on the basis of differing lifestyles (Lázár, 1996). This attitude towards the Gypsies is reflected in the age group of 14- to 15-year-olds, too. In the 1995 survey in the list of ethnic minorities the Gypsies were mentioned the most often and, although to a lesser extent than adults, the majority of this age group (58 per cent) did not want to have any closer relationship with them (Szabó & Örkény, 1996). From another angle, the above data are confirmed by the attitude of the youth towards the explicitly racist and anti-Gypsy Hungarian skinhead movement. In a 1993 survey on a representative sample 24.5 per cent of 14- to 18-year-olds agreed partly or completely with the aims of this movement (Garami & Tóth, 1994).

Studies show fewer discriminatory attitudes towards Jews. If we separate political anti-Semitism from discriminatory anti-Semitism, more people admitted political anti-Semitism. The degree of social diversity between religious and non-religious people in Hungary can be illustrated around two possible points of conflict. One is the mixing of politics and religion; the other is compulsory religious education in the schools. As to the first, according to a 1991 survey, two thirds of the people rejected the influence of churches in politics, both in reference to elections and governmental decisions (Róbert, 1994). Another survey in 1992 studied the attitude of teachers towards the introduction of compulsory religious education (Szemerszki, 1993). More than 90 per cent of the respondents said it was necessary that the school take

part in values education but two thirds of them identified it with moral education and not with religious education. The large majority of those who supported religious education said that it should be voluntary.

In summary, these data demonstrate that diversity stems from the rich-poor division and that in about one third of the Hungarian population as a whole and among the youth as well there is some latent or manifest prejudice against foreigners. There is a very strong anti-Gypsy feeling and, to a much smaller degree, political anti-Semitism is also present in Hungary. Gender, national and religious diversity play a relatively minor role in the development of social conflicts.

Social cohesion and diversity in civic education

The two textbooks widely used at present deal rather differently with the topics of social cohesion and diversity. The civics textbook written for 14- to 15-year-olds (Balla & Szebenyi, 1996) contains only 26 pages of discussion about social issues, does not highlight the problem of social diversity and leaves certain topics such as gender and the Gypsies untouched. The family and social communities are presented as representatives of social cohesion. That said, the social studies text written for 18-year-olds (Péli, Bozóki & Jakab, 1996) presents the family and society as scenes of social diversity for a total of 84 pages. Some topics worth mentioning are missing. These include foreigners, nationalities, and religious differences. The spread of social diversity topics in the two textbooks and the number of pages devoted to the topics are summarized in Table 4.

In the national core curriculum (*National Core Curriculum*, 1996), there is a clear division of labor between civics and social studies. Only social studies deals with topics of social cohesion and diversity. Objectives for Grades 1 to 6 concern cohesion. Objectives for grades 7 to 8 concern diversity in connection with the family and social communities. The topics are listed in Table 5. Cohesion and diversity are in a kind of balance and, with the exception of anti-semitism, most of the topics of concern in Hungarian society with respect to diversity are considered.

The main problem in teaching social cohesion and diversity: absence of a problem-oriented approach

There is a difference between how these topics are treated in current textbooks and practice and how they will be presented in the future national core curriculum. Looking at the present situation, civics puts the emphasis on social cohesion while social studies emphasizes social diversity. The national core curriculum intends to create a balance between them. In the treatment of diversifying factors, however, quite a number are underemphasized considering their importance. Social differences are emphasized and problems related to Gypsies, such as those originating from cultural differences, do not get the space they deserve. The fact that the issue of anti-semitism is not present

Table 4 The topics of social diversity in the textbooks

Topics	Civics	Social Studies
Social issues	4	48
Crime	2.5	10
Generations	2	9
Gender	-	12
Foreigners	1	-
Nationalities	5	-
Gypsies	-	5
Jews	-	-
Religion	3.5	-

Table 5 The division of social cohesion and diversity topics in the national core curriculum

Social Studies 1 to 6	Social Studies 7 to 8	
Cohesion	family social communities	
Diversity		family social division nationalities Gypsies religious diversity gender generations crime xenophobia

anywhere and the fact that problems originating from admitting foreigners are hardly to be found, indicates that the problem-oriented approach does not fully succeed, either in present practice or in the future plans. Two of the alternative programs, namely Civitas and the World Bank Project, do not just use a problem-oriented approach but regard it as a program-structuring principle. These programs pay special attention to the Gypsies and to prejudices against foreigners. However, due to conflict-avoidance among teachers, it seems certain that the problem-oriented approach touching on sensitive issues will not be widely used. According to a survey of teachers (Csala, 1995), the majority of them prefer social cohesion-related topics (family, nationality, men-women) and avoid the discussion of issues (ethnic groups, rich-poor) clearly belonging to diversity.

*Domain IV: economic principles***Changes in the economy**

As a result of Hungary's political changes, the former plan-based economy ceased to exist and frameworks for a market economy developed. From the point of view of internal politics, privatization and the development of the economic infrastructure required for the free flow of capital played an important role, and from the point of view of foreign politics the need to meet the conditions for joining the western economic union (improvement of infrastructure, incitement of export) had great significance in the establishment of a market economy. In 1993, the percentage of private companies in Hungary reached 50 per cent of the GDP, foreign private ventures reached 13 per cent and state firms constituted only 37 per cent (Árvay & Vértés, 1994). In 1996, Hungary became a member of OECD and greatly increased the possibility of economic integration with the western world.

The conditions for a market economy were forged during a growing economic crisis when Hungary's foreign debts, loaded with interest, grew from year to year. The worsening status of the Hungarian economy was indicated by the fact that in the first four years, the GDP decreased by 20 per cent, industrial production by 40 per cent and agricultural production by 30 per cent. Industrial output fell below the level of 1980, and production of livestock fell below the level of 1938. Registered unemployment reached 13 per cent, inflation exceeded 20 per cent, already modest real wages moved lower by an average of 12 per cent, and educational and health care supports sank 25 to 27 per cent (Farkas, 1994). The proportion of the population living below the subsistence level was around 35 per cent (Bedekovics, Kolosi & Szivós, 1994).

In the handling of the economic crisis, both governments faced the same alternatives as to economic policy: monetary restriction or economic expansion. The first government chose to shift between the two. The second decided on monetary restriction. Up to the present, the majority of the people have experienced a worsening standard of living, very high taxes, inflationary prices, uncontrollable corruption, and an invisible economy gaining ground. The result is growing economic disparity and social uncertainty.

Public opinion about the economic changes

In 1990, people were still looking forward to changing over to the market economy, and expected that solutions to problems were more likely to come from the market economy (78 per cent) than from democracy (37 per cent) (Bruszt & Simon, 1992). By 1993, scepticism about the market economy had grown. In a public opinion poll, people were asked whether they preferred the plan-based system or the market economy. Thirty-three per cent of the respondents said they preferred the market economy, 11 per cent of them the plan-based system and 46 per cent a mixture of the two. People's ambivalence

towards a market economy was best shown by how they reacted to privatization. Those who were positive said that it encourages competition (61 per cent), results in growth (57 per cent) and provides conditions for joining Europe (56 per cent). At the same time, many foresaw negative consequences: 42 per cent foresaw corruption and higher inflation as results of privatization; 44 per cent mentioned the growing social inequality; and 46 per cent commented on unemployment (Marián, 1994). The public opinion poll conducted during the period of parliamentary elections reflected a dramatic loss of confidence in the advantages of the market economy. In 1994, only 29 per cent of the people thought that a market economy had to be established even if it required big sacrifices from society. Three-fourths of the population thought that big companies should not be privatized and that government intervention should be increased concerning distribution of incomes (Vásárhelyi, 1995).

The opinions of 18- to 35-year-olds point out why the market economy did not meet expectations. In the survey cited above (Gazsó & Stumpf, 1996), 78 per cent of the youth shared the view in 1994/95 that the development of a market economy would surely or probably overcome the economic difficulties of the country. At the same time, 79 per cent thought the economy of the country had worsened since the changes, and 91 per cent thought that the standard of living had fallen. The worsening standard of living was disproportionately low relative to the degree of economic decline, leading to the conclusion that the few rich made the poor majority pay for the burdens of economic change.

Economics in civic education

Aside from vocational economic education at the secondary level, the teaching of economics is not adequate, given its importance. Moreover, its treatment does not appropriately reflect the changes in the economy after the political changes. The civics textbook for 14- to 15-year-olds (Balla & Szebenyi, 1996) has 38 pages, and the social studies textbook for 18-year-olds (Péli, Bozóki & Jakab, 1996) has only 30 pages for topics related to the economy. The topics and the number of pages given to them are shown in Table 6.

Important topics such as the process of privatization and the creation of the banking system and the stock exchange are not presented as independent units in either of the textbooks. The transition from the plan-based system to the market economy and the differences between the two systems are not presented at all. A notable feature is that the treatment of economic problems related to the ecosystem receives relatively large amounts of space in both of them, in fact, almost all of the pages in the social studies text that are devoted to economics.

As regards the plans for the future, the national core curriculum (*National Core Curriculum*, 1996) places much more emphasis on the economy. It separately lays out economy-related topics and objectives for Grades 8 to 10, while

social studies for Grades 5-6 and civics for Grades 7-8 also deal with the current economy. The distribution of these topics is presented in Table 7.

Table 6 Topics on the economy and their distribution in textbooks

	<i>Civics</i>	<i>Social Studies</i>
family household	3	
local government economy	4	
state economy	9	
forms of ownership	7	
unemployment	2	
social insurance	5	3
limited resources and environmental pollution	8	27

Table 7 Economics in the national core curriculum

<i>Social Studies 5 to 6</i>	<i>Civics 7 to 8</i>	<i>Economy 9 to 10</i>
local economy		
basic branches of economy		
economy and natural environment		
distribution of production goods in Hungary and abroad		
	social insurance	
		family household
		enterprise
		national economy
		foreign economy
		international organizations

Social studies focuses on the economy of the local community while economics focuses on the micro-economy of the family and the macro-economic processes. Social insurance appears within social policy in civics. Although, according to the future plans, economy topics will gain much more ground, compared to the present situation there is little shift of emphasis among the topics.

The main problem in teaching economics: lack of a comparative approach

This analysis shows that the problems of today's Hungarian economy are handled with a kind of indifference. In the current mentality of the Hungarian public, these problems are thought to have emerged as consequences of the market economy. The public feels that the economic policy techniques for crisis management (e.g. monetary restriction) as applied in Hungary were developed not for an economy in transition but for societies with long-established market economies. For students, then, it is not at all clear what is attributable to the transition, what to the market economy and what to the crisis. It is not enough simply to describe the changed Hungarian economy. Rather, a comparative approach should be used; one that presents the differences between various economic situations together with reasons for them—for example, established market economies as compared with economic theories elaborated especially for crisis situations. In this regard, there is no real difference in how economics is treated in the alternative programs. The reason for this is clearly that economics within civic education is not taught by trained teachers of economics but mainly by teachers of history.

Possibilities for a change of model in civic education

Civic education in Hungary made a huge step forward during the years following the political changes in spite of the negatives pointed out in the discussion of the four domains. The big changeover is due to the disappearance of an indoctrinative civic education model. The descriptive-analytic approach now dominates in the treatment of topics. That is generally true in current practice, in the future plans, and in the alternative programs. Teaching methods such as inquiry, field work, interview and situation games are used.

The descriptive-analytical approach is, in itself, not enough to move civic education toward an observational model, however. To arouse student interest in current economic-social and legal-political issues and to let them form their value judgments on the basis of consideration, students should not only deal with what things are like and how they work but also learn about conflict points and alternatives. This would be where a multi-perspective, problem-oriented and comparative approach could play a major role, as I have suggested. In civic education, such an approach could not only be an influence on teaching methods but also a foundation principle for organizing the program. Taking this step, which is solidly supported by the best pedagogical and social science research, no longer risks obstruction from political institutions. It is more a matter of the teachers who are socialized into avoiding problems. Most teachers, even today, believe that sensitive issues should be kept out of the school. Besides, the training of social studies and civics teachers has no

tradition within the system of teacher training. Those who teach these subjects are mainly history teachers who regard social studies and civics as secondary and usually neither their theoretical knowledge nor their teaching techniques equip them to feel secure in handling a variety of current topics. Consequently, the key question affecting future developments is definitely teacher training. In recent years, some universities and colleges have begun to introduce training for social studies and civics teachers and have begun to lay the foundations for change.

In order to move towards the new observational civic education model, some starting points are already in place—in some of the alternative programs, in teacher training, in social science and pedagogical research and in the openness of political institutions. There is no reason to believe, however, that the so-called participatory civic education model will win wide acceptance in Hungary in the near future. The current practice, both general and alternative, as well as the plans for the future are basically the same in not promoting activism and civic involvement. They do not use the school and the community as fields for practice in teaching democracy. Besides, on the part of those in politics and within society in general, nothing supports the concept that the school should emphasize participatory civic education. Neither the pre-war nor the post-war traditions in which politics was the business of the elite, nor the present conditions of representative democracy, in which the self-organization of civil society has just started, has cultivated a participatory environment. What is more, youth research data reveal that the real civic attitude of youth is rather negative as regards political participation.

Thus, making the participatory model dominant in the general practice of Hungarian civic education in the near future does not seem to be a realistic possibility. It is more realistic at this time to perfect the observational model in which students can come away at least with the idea that knowledge acquired during civic education can be used in shaping their own roles in civil society.

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CITIZENSHIP IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY: THE CASE OF ISRAEL

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Notes:

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Introduction

The State of Israel is half a century old. Yet Israeli society today is more deeply divided than ever. No widely accepted consensus exists concerning issues such as the separation of state and religion, the final destination of the current peace process, territorial issues, and issues related to Israel's relationships with its neighboring Arab countries, and with the Palestinians. So deep and unbridgeable have the rifts between religious and non-observant Jews become that articles published recently in daily newspapers suggested that the only solution is to sever Israel into two states: religious and secular.

Educating the younger generation for citizenship where little consensus exists regarding what the character of society should be, and what binds citizens together, is an extremely difficult task (Byrne, 1997). Citizenship is, after all, a complex and multidimensional concept. It consists of legal, cultural, social and political elements, which provide citizens with defined rights and obligations, a sense of identity, and social bonds. Citizenship is considered one among many identities of an individual, which 'helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities' by conveying to each individual citizen a society's collective memory, cultural togetherness and nationality and the collaborative sense of purpose in fraternity (Heater, 1990, p.184). However, precisely these elements which bind people together with a common identity of citizenship are controversial within Israeli society today.

In addition, Israel continues to absorb immigrants, mainly from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. These immigrants arrive from non-democratic countries, and lack experience in democratic citizenship. Citizenship education is also problematic among the Arab citizens of Israel who find it difficult to form an affinity with a Jewish nation-state.

Discussions of the Israeli context of citizenship education must also take into account changes in the electoral system. Voters today are entitled to participate in primary elections within each party to elect the party's representatives to the Israel Parliament (Knesset), and the Prime-Minister is elected by direct personal vote. This is a change from the past when membership in Parliament was determined by a special committee within each party, and when voters could not split their ballot and vote separately for Prime Minister and for a political party. These changes may foster a stronger sense of political efficacy among citizens. In addition, the great exposure of Israeli citizens to international television channels and press may have fostered greater global awareness in spite of the preoccupation with regional affairs.

A brief historical account is needed to demonstrate how the Zeitgeist and socio-political conditions have been reflected in civic education.

Background

Zionist education in the pre-state (Yishuv) period

The institutional foundations of the State of Israel were laid by Zionist pioneers prior to the establishment of the State in 1948. Although these institutions lacked sovereignty, they provided many public services, such as education, and performed various governmental functions. 'Citizenship' is conventionally defined within an existing state. It is, therefore, interesting to note that citizenship education preceded the establishment of the State of Israel, and was entitled education for Zionist citizenship.

During the Yishuv period, national symbols were restored and developed. The main functions of the emerging national symbols were to erase two thousand years of Diaspora, erect a bridge over time and space, and amalgamate Jewish immigrants from all over the globe into one nation. The newly instituted progressive and modern Hebrew educational system played an active role in articulating and transmitting national values and symbols to the younger generation (Ichilov, 1993).

Overall in this period, great consensus existed among educators regarding the aims of Zionist education. It was expected to inculcate in the younger generation strong loyalty to the ideas of national re-building and the redemption of the land. The ideal was to produce 'pioneers', dedicated to the cause of erecting the foundations for the state to come and willing to postpone the fulfilment of their personal wishes in giving precedence to collective goals.

Zionist education permeated all school subjects, and the entire web of school-life became a passing parade of national symbols and an identification rite (Ben-Yehuda, 1949; Ichilov, 1993). The inculcation of strong national emotions was considered more important than the cognitive aspects of civic education. Educators were nonetheless aware of the dangers entailed in emotion-based education and attempts were made 'not to bring into the schools the emotionalism of propaganda, but vital national emotions. To stay away from the sensational character of propaganda, and stress instead emotional maturity through education' (Bistrizki, 1948, p.25). Students were recruited for various national projects, such as assisting agricultural settlements.

Citizenship education during the first years of statehood

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was a turning point which brought about ideological and institutional changes. These affected citizenship education as well. One of the major objectives of the leadership of the newly born state was to create a strong central government that would transcend narrow partisan interests and affiliations. The institutional framework that had operated during the pre-state period lacked sovereignty and consequently depended on the voluntary compliance of citizens. In addition, these

institutions were affiliated with the various factions within the Zionist movement. The educational system, for example, was divided into so called 'streams': the religious, the general Zionist, and the socialist labor, which persisted until 1953. The tasks of centralization and depoliticization of various organizations and institutions and the creation of an effective central government dominated the first years of statehood.

The first years of statehood were also marked by mass immigration of Jews into Israel. From Europe came survivors of the holocaust, and from Arab countries in the Middle East came many refugees. Immigrants arrived mainly from non-democratic countries, and countries in which Jews had limited citizenship rights. They, therefore, lacked the experience of participatory citizenship. This situation presented a challenge to Israel as a young democracy: there was a need to re-socialize the immigrants to function effectively within a democracy.

It became clear that pre-state citizenship education had to be adapted to the reality. Initially, however, much of the ideological fervor of the Yishuv period continued to dominate the first years of statehood, and the use of pre-state textbooks continued. In 1953, the educational system was unified and centralized administratively and was dissociated from the various political parties. However, differentiation between religious, regular and Arab state-schools was institutionalized. The depoliticization of the school system was accompanied by strict instructions that politics and ideological controversies should not enter the schools. Instead, schools should emphasize consensus and avoid partisanship. Civic education focused on the structural and legal characteristics of state institutions. The emotional emphases which were dominant during the Yishuv period became marginal and cognitive components took precedence. Citizenship education came to rely largely on concepts rooted in the social sciences.

Citizenship education after the Six Day War

The Six Day War (in 1967) created a new social and political reality. Israel emerged victorious from the war and since that time has occupied Judea, Samaria (the West Bank), and the Gaza Strip. The outcomes of the war rekindled ideologies dormant since 1948. It opened the possibilities for expanding Jewish settlement into the new territories, which many Jews regard as the heart of the ancient Land of Israel. It also provided an opportunity for trading land for peace. Israeli society became polarized concerning the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The political map shows two political blocs which consist of two large parties and their satellites: the Likud and small parties to its right, supporting Jewish sovereignty in the West Bank, and Labor and its left-wing allies, who are more willing to exchange land for peace. Since the Six Day War, Israel rules the Palestinians on the West Bank, much to their dislike, as became

extremely evident during the recent years of Palestinian uprising (Intifada). Voices within Israeli society began to be heard expressing the idea that the occupation of the Palestinians diminishes democracy because military rule over a civilian population is inherently anti-democratic.

Citizenship education and peace

The ongoing peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians, the recent peace with Jordan, and the preludes to possible peace negotiations with Syria, rekindled both old hopes and fears among Israelis. The first peace treaty with an Arab nation was signed between Israel and Egypt in 1979. Israel exchanged the Sinai desert for peace, evacuated Jewish settlements and relocated the settlers. Many settlers refused to leave voluntarily and were forcefully evacuated by Israeli soldiers. Heart-breaking scenes were shown on television. These wounds seemed to have healed over the years, as the peace with Egypt proved to be a stable peace. Nevertheless, a great many Israelis are extremely distrustful about the outcomes of a peace treaty with the Palestinians. Active protest against the Israeli Government's policy has taken on the form of signed petitions, occupation or liberation (depending on one's political views) of hill sites on the West Bank, and demonstrations. Occasional acts of terror within Israel by Palestinian extremists fuel opposition and distrust. The assassination of Prime Minister Rabin three years ago by a Jewish fanatic nationalist following a peace rally, an event which deeply shocked Israeli society, had only a temporary unifying effect. Peace education today is sporadic and much of it is carried out by various institutions outside the educational system.

Patterns of Jewish identity

State and religion

A comprehensive discussion of the immense significance of religion for the social and political divisions within Israeli society is beyond the scope of this chapter. Instead, a synopsis of some key issues and facts will be presented.

Modern Israeli society was founded by European immigrants who arrived as pioneers in the last decades of the 19th Century and in the early decades of this century. Most of them held secularist or even anti-religious beliefs. Pre-Zionist Jewish inhabitants of Palestine were mainly ultra-orthodox Jews. Over the years a variety of perceptions had evolved regarding the essence of Judaism among both orthodox and secular Israelis.

An official separation of state and religion does not exist in Israel. However, Judaism did not become a state church or a formal state religion. The religious authorities and courts of the three religions (Jewish, Christian, Muslim) are financially supported through the Ministry of Religions and are exclusively empowered to deal with matters of personal status and family law in

their respective religious communities (Sharot, 1990). Nonetheless, Orthodox Judaism may be considered the 'official' religion of the Israeli Jewish population. Innovative religious movements similar to Reform and Conservative movements in the USA are not officially recognized.

Over the years the rift between the religious and secular interpretations of what Judaism is and of the vision of Israel as a Jewish nation-state has grown deeper. While non-orthodox Jews attribute the Jewishness of Israel mainly to national and cultural characteristics, many orthodox Jews envisage Israel as a Jewish theocratic state. The ultra-orthodox are anti-Zionist and consider as heresy the rebuilding of Israel prior to the arrival of the Messiah. Attempts of religious parties to enforce Jewish religious laws and traditions in public life further alienate the secular majority.

Military service in Israel is obligatory for males and females alike. National-religious males serve in the army, and many females substitute regular military service by national service in the community. Ultra-orthodox young men who study in Yeshivot (religious secondary and higher education institutions) are exempt from military service. This sets them apart from mainstream Israeli society and serves as a source of animosity.

Israeli Judaism

Scholars maintain that Israeli Judaism is unique and differs considerably from Judaism elsewhere (Liebman & Cohen, 1990; Shalot, 1990). It evolved in response to the disparate historical conditions in the various diaspora countries during the 19th Century, and was further moulded during the pre-state and state periods (Deshen, 1995). A broad typology identifies three variants of Israeli Judaism: Ashkenazi Jews-ultra-orthodox, nationalist-orthodox and secular nationalist. Sephardic Judaism is considered another variant (Deshen, 1978, 1979, 1982).

Secular Jews

Israelis who term themselves 'secular' form the majority. They represent a vast, amorphous, and heterogeneous category. The nature of 'secularism' itself has changed over the years. During the pre-state period, most of the secular pioneers were raised in traditional or orthodox families and were intimately familiar with Jewish traditions. Most of them did not reject these traditions but took the liberty of interpreting them from a non-theocentric perspective, and to infuse in them national, historical, socialist, humanistic, aesthetic, and universal meanings (Don-Yehiya, 1992; Ichilov, 1993). During the pre-state period and first years of statehood, a sizeable share of the curriculum in the non-religious schools was dedicated to Jewish studies (such as Bible and Talmud). The interpretation, however, was secular. Successive generations from non-observant families gradually drifted away from Jewish traditions. However, studies indicate that a majority of the people of the

secular category maintain numerous traditional practices, such as observing the Passover feast (Seder), marriage ceremonies, mourning rites, and circumcision (Rubin, 1986; Deshen, 1995). It is interesting to note, however, that although the majority of Jews of Middle Eastern and North African descent have abandoned strict religious observance, they do not see themselves as 'secular' (Deshen, 1979; Ayalon, Ben-Raphael & Sharot, 1986).

A majority of secular Jews attribute their Jewishness to living in Israel, speaking Hebrew, and serving in the army, not to religion. Similarly, they consider values which are mentioned in the Bible—such as honoring parents, caring for the needy and refraining from murder and theft—to be part of their universal identity, not of their Jewish identity (Bar-Lev & Kedem, 1986; Levy, 1986). Some scholars argue that the newly emerging Israeli statehood became a 'civil religion', perceiving Israel as the successor to Jewish statehood of ancient times (Liebman & Don-Yehiya, 1983; Sharot, 1990). Israeli domination in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip following the Six Day War gave rise to a 'new civil religion' which put emphasis on the bond of Jews to Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) as part of the ancestral, biblical Land of Israel (Lilker, 1982; Weissbrod, 1983; Rubin, 1986; Sharot, 1990).

Nationalist-orthodoxy and ultra-orthodoxy

Religious Zionism attempted to combine Orthodox Judaism and Zionism. The religious kibbutz movement was considered a paragon of welding together religion and Jewish nationalism (Fishman, 1992). The aftermath of the Six Day War and the Yom Kippur War gave rise to a fusion of traditional messianism and modern nationalism among religious Zionists. This is embodied in the Gush Emunim (Block of Faithful) movement, which has served as the spearhead of Orthodox settlement in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip (Aran, 1985; Sharot, 1990). Studies have shown that, overall, the more 'orthodox' a person is, the greater the tendency to vote for either religious or right wing parties, and to support 'hawkish' political views (Peres & Shemer, 1984; Zemach & Zin, 1984; Zemach, 1987; Kedem & Bar-Lev, 1989; Bar-Lev & Kedem, 1992; Peres, 1992). Members of religious youth movements expressed more militant religious and more hawkish political views than religious youngsters who were not members of such movements (Kedem & Bar-Lev, 1989; Bar-Lev & Kedem, 1992).

Though they belong to disparate communities, Ultra-orthodox Jews are one in rejecting the secular world and Zionism. These communities continue the cultural patterns of the Eastern European Ultra-orthodox 'Shteitle'. The everyday spoken language is Yiddish.

Education and religious tolerance

The Israeli Hebrew school system consists of state schools, which are attended mainly by children from 'secular' homes, and state-religious schools serving

the Zionist-religious population. The Ultra-orthodox communities have their own school system, which is not part of the state educational system. The Ministry of Education has no control regarding curriculum or teacher certification.

Parents with more progressive and less orthodox religious outlooks initiated the TALI (Intensified Jewish Studies) schools, seeking an alternative to both non-religious and orthodox state education. TALI schools follow the regular, non-religious, state-school curriculum but dedicate additional extra hours to subjects such as Jewish history and the Bible. The approach to Jewish studies attempts to consider issues from different vantage points, using a variety of sources. The purpose of these schools is to encourage commitment to Jewish observance and to increase students' appreciation and practice of Jewish traditions, customs and laws. However, while children should learn to observe Jewish traditions, they should not accept them blindly (Zisenwein & Goldring, 1992).

In the educational system, attempts have been made to bridge the gap between religious and secular youngsters. Some programs engage students from religious and non-religious schools on an informal and infrequent basis in joint study, or in get-togethers to discuss beliefs and issues. Other programs bring youngsters together for intensive seminars. Another model is a joint campus shared by separate schools for observant and secular pupils. Perhaps the most intensive program, which at present operates in three schools, involves religious and secular students studying Jewish tradition in the same classroom, and all subjects in the same building.

Citizenship identity of Israeli-Arabs

The presence of a large Arab minority within the Jewish-Zionist state of Israel makes citizenship education a highly sensitive task, in both Arab and Jewish state schools (Al-Haj, 1993). Arabs who remained in Israel following the establishment of the State constituted a minority of about 13 per cent of the total Israeli population and at present form about 16 per cent of the entire Israeli population (Ackerman, et al. 1985, p.473). Israel is the only country in the Middle East where Arabs constitute a minority. The Arab population of Israel became citizens of a state whose creation they had forcefully opposed together with their brothers in the neighboring Arab countries, regarding it as an illegitimate infringement upon their national rights. It is therefore not surprising that Palestinian Arabs who remained in Israel were initially treated as an enemy-affiliated, untrustworthy minority. Consequently, until 1966, they were subjugated to a military administration and martial law which limited their civil liberties. Their movement was restricted and special permits were needed in order to look for jobs or education outside their home towns

(Zureik, 1979; Smootha, 1985). Israeli-Arabs proved to be loyal to the State, and did not take part in hostile and violent acts even during the recent Palestinian uprising (Intifada).

The end of the military administration did not solve the issue of Arab integration into Israeli society and their civic, cultural and national identity as citizens of a Jewish-Zionist state. The best model for Arab integration into Israeli society was considered to be cultural pluralism, which encouraged the creation of ethnic enclaves, allowing minorities to preserve their culture and allowing them partial or full participation in the affairs of the larger community. However, to establish the necessary basic conditions for cooperative coexistence in the case of Israeli Arabs is problematic (Smootha, 1985; Ichilov, 1988b). The national symbols of the State of Israel represent Jewish themes which are not an acceptable form of Israeli identity for the Arab minority. The flag shows the Star of David, and the national emblem shows the Menorah of the Temple. The national anthem describes the yearnings of the Jews during two thousand years of exile to return to their homeland. Its last verse is 'to be a free nation in our land, the land of Zion and Jerusalem'. The absence of a more general, more diffuse Israeli identity makes it difficult to create a shared ideology among Arab and Jewish Israeli citizens. Arab cultural autonomy, which was perceived as potentially capable of fostering an alien national identity, has been discouraged. Nor is there any proportional equality of resources between Jews and Arabs in Israel when most of the State's resources are allotted to national security, immigration absorption and settlement. Enduring interpersonal relations between Jews and Arabs are difficult to achieve in a situation where no common ideology exists, national identity is salient to both national groups, and there is a general atmosphere of mutual alienation and distrust. Israeli protracted occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the recent Palestinian uprising (Intifada), and the prolonged state of war between Israel and her Arab neighbors represent continuing obstacles to the emergence of an Arab-Israeli identity (Rekhes, 1989). Many Arabs in Israel have increasingly adopted militant forms of national identity (such as Islamic fundamentalism) which are opposed to integration into the Jewish state.

Institutional separateness and minimalistic demands upon the Arab citizen have characterized the relations between the central government and the Israeli-Arab minority. For example, unlike all Israeli citizens, including minorities such as the Druze, for whom military service is obligatory, Arabs do not serve in the army. This is done both for security reasons and in order to avoid a situation in which Israeli-Arabs could find themselves fighting their own kin. Arab exemption from this central civic duty limits their opportunity, because army veterans enjoy special privileges, for example, in housing and loans.

The foregoing discussion clearly demonstrates that it is impossible to engage in citizenship education in isolation from its social and political milieu.

Citizenship education mirrors the social, political and value changes within a society.

The present situation of citizenship education in Israel

At the elementary school level (Grades 1 to 6), civics is not taught as a separate school subject. However, some aspects of citizenship are taught in grades 2 to 4 through a school subject entitled 'Homeland and Society'.

For the junior high school level (Grades 7 to 9) a civics curriculum together with instructional materials have been prepared. However, the curriculum is not implemented in all schools and occupies one hour per week in the 7th or 8th grades. The decision as to whether or not civics should be taught in a specific school is left to the principal. Civics is often left out due to lack of teachers.

Civics is a compulsory school subject in the academic high school tracks. In grades 11 and 12, three hours per week are dedicated to preparing students for the civics matriculation examinations. Some students may encounter civics for the first time in their school career at the end of high school. The vocational/technological high schools teach a subject entitled 'Knowledge of the Nation and the State'.

The social sciences are taught only at a few high schools and not always for the three hours per week as required. The social sciences are not taught at all in the religious and vocational high schools. Very few high schools offer students the opportunity to study social sciences as an extended subject for the matriculation examinations.

This analysis, which describes a discouraging situation, would be incomplete without mentioning other aspects of school life. For example, there have been attempts to make the schools more democratic. During the academic year 1995/96, 94 high schools around the country were operating as 'community schools', based on greater involvement and partnership with parents and students. In many schools student councils are in operation. There are also municipal, regional and national student councils, which convene periodically. Eleventh graders are required to participate in a project entitled 'Personal Commitment'. They must dedicate time to community work, for example, with children or the elderly. The home room teacher's hour is often dedicated to the discussion of current issues. In addition, various public institutions and non-profit organizations produce instructional materials and offer a great variety of activities for students. These include, for example, Educational Television, Open University, consumer organizations, the Society for the Preservation of Nature, the Jewish-Zionist Institute, universities and research institutes. High school students also learn about the Holocaust, and many schools organize travels to the death camps in Poland. No systematic

information is available regarding how widespread the use of these materials and programs is in the schools (Ichilov, 1993).

Research methods in the IEA study

Only scarce information is available concerning the many aspects of citizenship education which have been raised in this chapter. In order to provide as comprehensive a description as possible of citizenship education in Israel, several sources and methods of data collection and analysis were employed.

First, instead of forming our own 'expert panel', we drew on the report of a steering committee, which was appointed by the Minister of Education and Culture on 15 March 1995 to 'develop a comprehensive program for the inculcation of citizenship as a common value and behavioral framework for all Israeli citizens' (Ministry of Education, 1996, p.5). They had been given the mandate to provide answers to questions which happened to be very similar to IEA's 'framing questions' of Phase I. The questions which the committee was expected to answer, based on the collection of data were:

- 1) What are the civic values and competencies which students should acquire in the course of their studies?
- 2) What are the civic values and competencies which should be acquired at each level of the educational process?
- 3) What are the major practices and means which educational institutions should employ at each level and how would the new program be made congruent with the study of civics at the high school level?
- 4) What are the organizational frameworks and tools for promoting the implementation of the new program in all educational institutions nationwide? What are the means for follow-up and evaluation of the new program?

The committee took the initiative to invite experts, while media advertisements invited those who wished to have a say to contact the committee. A great variety of experts were interviewed, including civic education teachers, officials representing various institutions and societies and citizens. The responses of the Students' National Council (representatives of all types of schools around the country) and the National Board of Parents (a nation-wide representation of school boards) were also considered by the committee. The committee also reviewed existing Israeli curricula, textbooks and various publications concerning citizenship and related areas, and compared these with the experience of other countries. The committee's report received considerable publicity, and its recommendations were adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Second, we analyzed instructional materials and special programs and con-

ducted interviews. Much of the data was already available through studies that my colleagues and I had carried out throughout the years. The major findings will be summarized and discussed.

Civic education in the schools is also carried out through extracurricular activities. The Society and Youth Division within the Ministry of Education and Culture produces teaching materials for these activities. Content analysis was done on six items of teaching materials specially produced for the teaching of a unit entitled 'Living in a Democratic Society'. We also interviewed the head of the Society and Youth Division, and an official in charge of in-service training of teachers.

The Institute for Jewish-Zionist Education (an independent non-profit organization) which operates under the auspices of the Society and Youth Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture also provides a great variety of activities and produces instructional materials. Content analysis was done on two items designed for youngsters of ages 15 to 18. One item was designed for students in religious state schools, and one for non-religious state schools. To get better insights into the work of the institute, we interviewed the managing director of the institute and the director in charge of activities in the Tel-Aviv and central regions of the country. To learn more about the implementation of the program we also observed one day of activities in Grade 11 in one of the state high schools.

Interviews were carried out with seven officials in the Arab State Education System. These included the Superintendent in charge of History and Civic Education in Arab schools around the country, three high school principals and three civic education teachers. The interviews, which were done by an Arab graduate student who teaches in an Arab high school, solicited information about the respondents' perceptions of the unique issues related to citizenship education in the Arab sector.

Interviews were carried out with seven members of the educational staff in one of the largest teacher training colleges in Israel which trains teachers for both elementary and junior high schools. The interviewees included faculty members, pedagogical instructors, head of the division for training of elementary school teachers, head of the division of social education, and head of the academic division of education which trains junior high school teachers. The interviews, which were carried out by two graduate students at Tel-Aviv University, solicited information about interviewees' perceptions and attitudes regarding the objectives and place of civic education in schools and patterns of preparing prospective teachers for the task of educating future citizens.

Summary of the report of the steering committee

The report, which was submitted to the Minister of Education in February 1996, provides an overview of the major issues and problems concerning citizenship orientations within Israeli society together with recommendations regarding educational objectives and practices (Ministry of Education, 1996). One must bear in mind, however, that the committee restricted its work to the study of regular state schools and did not investigate Jewish religious state schools nor Arab and Druz schools.

First, the committee singled out the following issues and problems within Israeli society:

- The need for a distinction between civic identity, which is universalistic, and other more particular forms of collective identities was identified. The committee described prevalent civic identity as weak, poor in content, formal and not appreciated enough (see also Ichilov, Mazawi & Bar-Tal, 1989).
- Passive civic orientations tend to prevail (see also Ichilov, 1981; Ichilov & Nave, 1981).
- Universalistic values should be more strongly supported.
- Respect for law and order is weak.
- There is need to develop a realistic approach to politics, not one that presents a utopian idealization of politics or one that condemns politics as 'dirty', which may lead to a widespread alienation.
- There is a need to develop a 'culture of discussion' based on tolerance, attentiveness to other views and willingness to negotiate (see also Ichilov, 1988a, 1991).

Second, the committee made several recommendations regarding civic education. These were as follows.

1) Goals of civic education

These are the acquisition of knowledge, understanding and ability to analyze and make judgments regarding social and political issues; and internalization of values, commitment to democracy, and the creation of active, involved and responsible citizens. In other words, citizenship education involves the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, values and motivations, as well as the necessary civic competencies. The achievement of these goals must be given high priority. The educational system should also initiate activities to promote these goals in the family and the community.

2) The contents of civic education

Israel as a Jewish and a democratic state: This involves promoting the understanding of the foundations of Israel as both a Jewish state and a democracy. This includes topics such as: Zionist ideology, the gathering of exiles, the

interrelationships between Israel and the Diaspora, non-Jewish minorities and their rights.

Civil and human rights and obligations of Israeli citizens: The purpose is to inculcate sensitivity and motivation toward the protection of human rights in general, and of the rights of disadvantaged groups and individuals. Included are: human dignity, equality, the sacredness of life, liberty and freedom of expression.

The democratic regime—principles, processes and institutions: Included are the role of mass media, the importance of public controversy and of observing the democratic rules of the game.

3) Competencies

Included are the ability to consider the overall complexity of issues, and to assess the merits and drawbacks of various solutions; also the ability to offer well-founded and constructive criticism and to carry out a dialogue with those who agree with and those who are opposed to one's own views.

4) Civic education as a school subject

Instead of being offered mainly at the high school level, civic education should be taught at all levels of the educational system. In addition to being offered as a distinct school subject, civic education should be incorporated into other school subjects and be reflected in the school's climate.

At the elementary school level, at least one hour per week will be allocated to civic education beginning at the 3rd grade. Two additional hours will be dedicated to the subject at the junior high level. High schools which have been exempt from civics will be obliged to teach it.

5) Methods

A great variety of teaching methods is recommended, such as discussion of controversial issues, simulations and role-play, special projects, and so on.

6) School climate

The school climate should enable students to experiment with civic competencies and to internalize civic values. This includes mutual respect among teachers and students, democratic decision-making processes, group experiences, active student councils, production of a school newspaper, developing the school's code of students' rights and obligations, discussion clubs, and so on.

Summary of review of instructional materials and interviews

Overview

During the 1970s and 1980s, many new textbooks were published for most school subjects, including civic education and social sciences. In a study of 183 items of instructional materials for civic education and the social sciences, content analysis was carried out using several categories (Ichilov, 1993). The categories, which were based on Ichilov's analysis of dimensions and patterns of citizenship (Ichilov, 1990), included types of citizenship behavior—active participation versus passive compliance; types of value orientations—particularistic versus universalistic; and the arenas of citizenship—local versus international, and political versus civic.

The active/passive dimension discriminates activities directed toward the manipulation of the socio-political environment and are based on activities that have results mainly for the individual. Voting, for example, was classified as active behavior, whereas the view of a citizen as one who regularly reads newspapers was classified as a passive behavior. It is true that an informed citizen may decide to become active but information seeking in itself is more like consumption.

A particularistic orientation is specific to a given society and reflects its unique history, culture, national values, symbols and institutions. A universalistic orientation represents values such as freedom and equality, which are thought to be shared by democratic societies regardless of their particular heritage. These two sets of orientations may often be inconsistent and even in conflict with one another. For example, religious values may clash with democratic values.

Citizenship may be perceived as involvement in activities and issues which pertain to one's country only, or more broadly perceived as global awareness, expressing interest in and taking a stand on issues in other countries and regions. Citizens may be expected to operate as citizens in the political domain only, as voters or candidates for political office, for example. They may also be expected to act as citizens in the various civic social domains, for example, the family, the school, and religious institutions, as well as in politics.

Overall, the instructional materials emphasized active citizenship behaviors more often than passive ones, and a balance was observed between particularist and universalist values. However, discussion of the international arena was absent, and citizenship was portrayed mainly as related to the political arena and not as a broader commitment to the community.

Examination of history and geography books and of literature and language readers revealed the following trends. Over the years the emphasis became less nationalist and heroic and more scientific and objective. Indi-

vidualistic values became more salient while collectivist values were diminished. Arabs came to be presented in a less negative manner (Firer, 1985; Bezalel, 1989; Bar-Gal, 1993).

In a recent study, Bar-Tal (1996) examined 124 textbooks that have been approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture for use in all state schools, at the elementary, junior-high and high school levels. The textbooks were designed for the teaching of a wide range of school subjects—Hebrew language and literature, history, geography, and civics—and were recent. Bar-Tal examined the extent to which societal beliefs that may foster Arab-Israeli coexistence and support for the peace process are included in textbooks. His conclusion is that, despite the fact that the Israeli-Arab conflict lost some of its intractable characteristics following the signing of peace treaties with neighboring Arab countries and the on-going peace process with the Palestinians, overall these changes are not reflected in textbooks.

In a previous study, Bar-Tal (1985) revealed that Arabs and Arab-Jewish coexistence in Israel are hardly mentioned in textbooks. When reference is made to Arabs, they are usually stereotyped as the enemy, members of gangs, murderers and incited mobs.

Studies have shown that teachers express great dissatisfaction regarding instructional materials. Only 2.3 per cent of the teachers agreed unconditionally and 28.5 per cent agreed with reservations with the statement that 'civics textbooks are very suitable for citizenship education' (Ichilov, 1988c). Teachers expressed the view that textbooks emphasize the formal, legal and structural aspects of political institutions and neglect important social issues and aspects of citizenship such as tolerance, equality in general and gender egalitarianism in particular, law and order, love for one's nation and country, absorption of immigrants, respect for national symbols, and Arab-Jewish coexistence.

Instructional materials produced by the society and youth department

We shall summarize here the major themes of six books designed for the implementation of a program entitled 'Living in a Democratic Society'. The materials were gradually produced during the 1980s and 1990s. The title of the first two items is 'Re-choosing Democracy'/Part I: 'A package deal', Part II: 'Democracy at work'. It is based on the notion that each generation should become voluntarily committed to democracy, being convinced of its merits and of its superiority over anarchy on the one hand, and dictatorship on the other. The booklets present the complexities of democracy, controversial issues in Israel and other countries, the need to cope with dilemmas, free choice, and the need sometimes to make a choice among conflicting values. The title of item three is 'Respect for the Law and the Legal System'. Item four deals with 'Leadership in School and in the Community' and is based on the belief that adolescents should be involved and should have the opportu-

nity to express civic consciousness and responsibility. Item five, 'Discourse', was published following the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in 1995. The basic premise is that in a polarized society discourse rather than verbal and physical violence should become the rule of behavior. Extremism endangers and diminishes democracy. The sixth item 'Involvement, Partnership, and Responsibility' deals systematically with students' rights and duties and the challenging obligation schools have to maintain a balance between the necessary exercise of authority on the one hand and respect for students' autonomy on the other.

The implementation aspect of these materials involves a great variety of activities such as role play, discussions, case studies and dilemmas. The instructional materials (453 pages) were content analyzed and the overall number of pages dedicated to each subject counted. Most frequently stressed were 'Principles of Democracy' (on 152 pages) and 'Leadership' (on 134 pages). 'Israeli Society and Mass Communication' were found to be emphasized on 49 and 48 pages (respectively). 'Law and the Courts' were emphasized on 32 pages, 'School Climate' on 31 pages, and the 'Structure of Government' on seven pages.

Interviews with the head of the Society and Youth Department and with the person in charge of in-service teachers training revealed that the major purpose of the unit is to provide teachers with instructional materials related to current issues that are in the news and to train teachers in various methods of involving their students, not just through purely academic tasks. It is unknown, however, to what extent and in which ways these materials have been put to use in the schools.

Programs of the Jewish-Zionist Institute

This was established in 1975 to promote Jewish and Zionist education. It was first affiliated with the Jewish Agency and later became an independent non-profit organization. The purpose of the institute is to foster Jewish identity among Jews in Israel and abroad and to help them comprehend the meaning of their Jewish identity for their personal and professional lives. The basic premise is that in order to contribute to the continuation of Jewish life abroad and to the development of an open and pluralist Jewish culture in Israel, new and insightful ways must be adopted to attract the younger generation. The pluralistic character of the institute is manifested through the assertion that 'Jewishness' can be expressed through an affiliation with a nation, culture and history, not necessarily and exclusively through an orthodox observant way of life. The purpose is to help youngsters make choices regarding their Jewish identity.

The institute operates as an outside agent which provides enrichment programs regarding issues of national identity, issues which are largely neglected in the formal school curriculum. The adoption of these activities depends on

the decision of school principals. The institute trains the personnel who implement the program in schools. In the religious state schools, all the instructors are observant Jews, while students in the non-religious state schools are exposed to both religious and non-religious instructors. Antagonism against religious instructors in non-religious schools is rare. The institute attempts to educate for cultural pluralism and tolerance. Controversial issues, however, are avoided.

Two booklets were analyzed, one for students in the regular state schools and one for students in the religious state schools. The title of the booklet for non-religious students is *Jewish Identity: A Collection of Activities, Exercises and Background Articles*. Non-orthodox students often associate 'Jewish identity' with an orthodox-religious way of life, which conflicts with their secular, western way of life. Western culture is perceived by youngsters as rational, universal, humanistic and representing openness and progress. Jewish identity is perceived as associated with theocracy, being irrational, opposed to progress and creativity and irrelevant for modern living. Youngsters, therefore, manifest great reluctance toward the theocratic aspects of Jewishness. The institute presents Jewishness as a culture, based on the entire creation of the Jewish people over the generations. There is an attempt to form a bridge between universalistic and national values and ways of life. The institute seeks to demonstrate to non-observant youngsters that the choice is not between being an orthodox Jew and totally rejecting their Jewish identity.

The title of the booklet for students in religious state-schools is *The Religious Israeli*. The purpose is to clarify issues related to the place of religious Zionism (the mainstream which does not include the ultra-orthodox non-Zionist extremists) in Israel and the ambivalence of orthodox Jews towards secular Jewish nationalism. Religious Zionism regards secular Zionism as a step in the direction of returning to an orthodox way of life sometime in the future. The institute attempts to demonstrate to religious youngsters that Judaism can absorb modern universal ideas without breaking the chain of Jewish traditions. The programs are implemented through a great variety of activities, including individual and group work, discussions, role-play and simulations.

Perceptions of citizenship education in Arab state schools

Interviews were conducted with seven members of the educational staff in one of the largest teacher training colleges in Israel which trains teachers for both Arab elementary and junior high schools. All the interviewees hold university degrees and have many years of experience. They were asked to reflect freely on their experiences regarding citizenship education of Israeli Arabs. The interviews were content analyzed.

In the interviews, the major objectives of citizenship education were considered as being 'to teach students respect for the law, and to be good citizens without forgetting their nationality, traditions, and culture'. Arab students

must develop national identity based on their unique history and cultural heritage and at the same time be loyal to the state of Israel (see also Ichilov, 1988b). Students must be aware of the fact that the Arab minority still face discrimination within Israeli society and must learn to express their views and protests in a legal and non-violent fashion. One of the respondents expressed his dilemmas in shaping allegiance to a Jewish nation-state: 'Independence Day is a sad day for me...I cannot relate to the flag and national anthem.' Another respondent mentioned the plurality of affiliations and identities: 'I belong to the State of Israel, and at the same time I belong to the Arab people and to the Palestinian people in particular. I'm trying to avoid conflicts among these distinct affiliations.' The principals reported that Independence Day is not celebrated or mentioned in their schools: 'It's merely a vacation day; it has nothing to do with us.' Flying the Israeli flag on all public buildings on Independence Day is the required practice. However, only one of these principal said that the Israeli flag is flown on his school building.

The interviewees spoke of topics and issues which should be included in citizenship education. These included the essence of democracy and its advantages over totalitarianism; the democratic rules of the game; and Arab-Jewish relationships and coexistence. One respondent mentioned that democracy should be experienced in school as well, and that students should be allowed to elect a student council.

The respondents expressed discontent with the existing curriculum. It was described as too narrow, neglecting historical, national and social aspects which are of great significance to the Arab minority. The present curriculum is designed to provide mainly information about political regimes, the structure and functioning of Israeli political institutions, and citizenship obligations and rights in Israel. Arab educators also felt that they do not have enough freedom to design the curriculum, which has to be approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Sensitive issues have been deleted from the curriculum in the past. Some interviewees mentioned that the curriculum is supplemented by additional activities and programs. One principal reported a program in his school dealing with daily events. These may include social and political events which are reported in the media. He mentioned that terrorist acts are presented to students as categorically unacceptable and censured. In addition, for the past 12 years the school had participated in a program for peaceful coexistence of Arabs and Jews. The program included meetings with Jewish students.

Perceptions of citizenship education and teacher training

The training program in this particular teachers' college is designed to

...prepare prospective teachers according to the principles of humanistic education; make them knowledgeable and open-minded individuals, capable of adjusting to changing circumstances;...expose them to moral issues and dilemmas con-

cerning problems within Israeli society; develop in them critical social thinking and motivation for social involvement... (Oranim, 1995/96)

We examined the extent to which these goals are evidenced in interviews with prospective teacher trainers and in the list of courses which are offered to students.

The interviewees, who are involved in teacher training in various capacities, assigned great importance to citizenship education in the schools. They regarded the purpose of citizenship education as the inculcation of attitudes and values. Citizenship education should provide knowledge about civil obligations and rights; personal and collective identities; affiliation with a nation, country and community; and openness and tolerance towards pluralism. In order to cope effectively with the task of citizenship education, they maintained that prospective teachers must have broad horizons, rather than being technically inclined to teach a specific subject.

We found 26 courses which might be related in various ways to the training of teachers to cope with citizenship education in the broad sense. These include more general courses in the social sciences and philosophy; history of Zionism; courses which are specifically designed to train civic education teachers; and courses dealing with issues such as drug abuse, gender equality, ethnicity and identity, and peaceful co-existence within a complex reality. No information is available concerning the average number of courses taken by students. Overall, the program for preparing prospective teachers to educate their future students in citizenship seems fragmented and unfocused.

Summary

Citizenship education within a polarized society, where little consensus exists over the very essence of collective identities, is almost an impossible task. Furthermore, youngsters must learn to reconcile their diverse and sometimes conflicting identities (e.g. Muslim, Palestinian, Arab and Israeli). This is the situation for both Arab and Jewish students in Israel. The formal curriculum seems to offer unsystematic and sporadic treatment of citizenship education. Civics as a school subject is marginal, and many students encounter it for the first time only in the last grades of high school. Similarly, only a few students are exposed to the social sciences. History, literature and language, as well as the study of the Bible, geography and other school subjects that offer opportunities to discuss issues and concepts, are relevant for citizenship education. In many instances, however, textbooks portray stereotypical images of Arabs and neglect the rich cultural traditions of many Jewish and non-Jewish communities which reside in Israel.

The extent to which schools are engaged in extracurricular activities that may promote citizenship orientations and competencies is largely unknown.

There is, however, a wealth of activities, programs and instructional materials offered by the Ministry of Education and Culture (especially through the Youth and Society Division and the Unit for Peaceful Coexistence) and by many non-profit organizations and institutions outside the educational system.

School councils and other forms of student involvement may, in some instances, genuinely engage students in the decision-making processes. In other instances, it is merely token student participation.

The present chapter has attempted to provide an up-to-date picture of the major characteristics and problems of Israeli society and their relationship to the various practices and issues related to citizenship education. However, much more information is needed regarding school practices, school atmosphere and outcomes of citizenship education in Israel.

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ITALY: EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRACY IN A CHANGING DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Introduction

In order to understand the current and future problems that the Italian school system faces in civic education, the first section of this chapter considers processes of change underway in Italian society and in the school system. Some of the more important themes emerging in this case study of civic education in Italy will then be analyzed. The final section deals with the conditions within schools which can contribute to the creation of a context consistent with the aims of educating for democracy.

Problems and uncertainties in a changing democratic society

In its annual report on social indicators in Italy, CENSIS (Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali) stresses how the current Italian situation is characterized by an atmosphere of 'unease' and 'uncertainty' affecting both the political and the social spheres (CENSIS, 1997). This is something of a new phenomenon. In the recent past, political crises were counterbalanced by solid confidence at the economic and social level in initiatives and development 'from below'. Today, however, the unease seems to be a more all-embracing phenomenon. The crisis of uncertainty that Italy is undergoing is partly due to long-standing historical processes, both national and international, and also to medium-term processes linked mainly to the national context.

Firstly, Italy deeply feels the crisis affecting western capitalist democracies after the fall of the Berlin Wall, both from the standpoint of future development prospects and also difficulties in managing processes of change already underway. This crisis joins other phenomena that are relatively new to Italy, such as the increasing flow of immigrants, especially from non-European Union (EU) countries. Only in part does the crisis in the ex-Communist states nearest to Italy (particularly ex-Yugoslavia and Albania) explain this immigration. It is linked to the relations between northern and southern hemispheres in the world and to the enormous problems of underdevelopment. Therefore, it is likely that high levels of immigration will continue. The prospect of a future multiethnic and multicultural society is very real for Italy, and this will involve economic, social, cultural and political problems that are qualitatively and quantitatively very different from those experienced up until now. Ethnic and linguistic minorities have been culturally important but numerically few or concentrated in specific geographical areas.

Within this more general picture there have been certain very rapid changes in Italy's political system that would have been inconceivable a few years ago. These include the disappearance of some political parties that had dominated Italian politics since the birth of the new republic after World War II, the birth of new political organisms with no historical traditions or links with the founding of republican Italy, final recognition of the full democratic legitimacy of

the largest party in Italian left-wing politics,¹ acceptance of the rules of a democratic system on the part of the extreme right-wing party that had traditionally claimed continuity of ideals with the fascist regime, and the establishment of a political scenario based on two opposing party coalitions as an attempt to overcome fragmented party politics that had characterized political and institutional life for decades.

These changes have not come about without pain. The breakdown in the old status quo has seen the emergence of unresolved issues in the Italian political and social system: the chronic disparity between north and south in the country; the gap between citizens and public administration, deeply rooted organized crime, which, in some regions, represents a real power base competing with the Italian State itself; corruption in political and economic life; and bureaucracy and excessive centralization in public administration. These are only a few of the issues that are currently at the center of debate among Italian political and social organizations.

At the political and institutional level, note must be taken of the birth and consolidation of certain political movements and parties in northern Italy in the richest and economically most advanced regions of the country. These political organizations started with claims of a strongly federalist nature, but have progressively moved to positions of a secessionist type, putting the unity of the Italian State itself into question. It is no coincidence that themes of national unity and formation of a national identity, for many years in the background, have gained importance in recent times (Rusconi, 1996). A broad public debate has been developing in Parliament, the press and all over the country, having at its core a revision of the second part of the constitution, relating to the organization of the Italian republic (functions of Parliament, election procedures and the role and functions of the government, the Head of State, the judiciary and local authorities—regional, provincial and municipal).

It is difficult to make any forecasts as to the direction and timing of the transformation processes now underway. However, it is certain that they will profoundly affect the system in which students will complete their education and the country in which they will live as adults.

Moving towards a new configuration in public education

In this picture, it is possible to see growing recognition, on the part of political forces and of public opinion, of the importance of the school system in creating responsible and informed citizens and in building a democratic soci-

¹ The fact that the Italian Communist Party was effectively excluded from any possibility of governing the country—until the party changed into the Democratic Party of the Left—was an obstacle to any real changes in the country's government, thus determining a situation that political debate called 'unfinished democracy'.

ety open to change. Profound changes are taking place which, if fully realized, will lead to a reform of the whole school and vocational training systems. The aim of these processes of change is to overcome certain limitations that currently characterize the Italian school system.

National and international surveys carried out in recent years and existing data (OECD, 1995, 1996; ISTAT, 1996a, 1996b; CENSIS, 1997) have highlighted the way in which the Italian school system, although improving, is still not at a level comparable with major European countries. In 1996, for example, 79.5 per cent of 14- to 18-year-olds attended secondary schools. In 1995, the percentage of 19-year-olds obtaining a high school diploma at the end of upper secondary education was 65.3 per cent. Drop-out rates are still high (especially for the first two years of upper secondary schooling), even if they are decreasing, and there are still strong cultural and social factors influencing school performance as well as great regional differences. Moreover, Italy still does not have any real link between the school system and the vocational training system.

Schooling is compulsory for only the first eight years of school and in any case not beyond age 14. The issue of equality between state and non-state (Catholic) schools is still the subject of much debate. In recent years, the only reform that affected the public school system concerned a new organization in primary schools (Law 148 of 1990) and new study programs for this level of education (1985). The structure for lower secondary schools was established in the reform law of 1962, and the programs currently used for this level were established 20 years ago. Upper secondary schools have been waiting years for a project of overall reform. In the absence of such reform, profound changes have nonetheless come about within existing program structures through initiatives of the Ministry of Education, curricular innovation initiated by individual schools, and 'Brocca' programs for unifying basic subjects during the first two years of upper secondary school. Over the last few years, on the basis of proposals put forward by the Ministry of Education as well as by teachers' associations and other voluntary and environmentalist groups, schools have been encouraged to take on specific projects in subject areas not explicitly envisaged by the curricula. These include environmental education and educating for peace.

It is in this light that the government proposed a law, at the initiative of the Ministry of Education, for an overall restructuring of public education. This represents an attempt to reform systematically the school system and to construct a solid link with the vocational training system within a lifelong education perspective. In addition, a law was approved in 1997 granting greater autonomy to schools in the form of the opportunity to make decisions about teaching methodologies, organization, hours of instruction and even about supplementary courses.

Civic education in Italian schools: some notes on the current situation

An analysis of the status and role of civic education in Italian schools means referring to at least three different levels: general aims of the school system; curricular content and teaching methodologies; and the experiences and 'atmosphere' the students find in school. Specific problems relative to these three levels are presented and discussed later. Specific themes include democracy, national identity, social cohesiveness and diversity, and local and environmental issues. However, it is worth mentioning some of the general issues, found in the literature in this field (see Salerni, 1996), that frame certain problems relating to civic education in schools:

- The task of providing for the civic education of students is assigned to the school as a whole before being assigned to the various school subjects whose contents directly concern this field.
- Civic education is recognized as something that concerns not only the cognitive dimension but also the affective-experiential one, which includes the forming of values. In this regard, it is not enough merely to transmit only dominant values.
- All current programs at the various school levels refer to the Italian Constitution and to the fundamental rights and duties of individuals and citizens that it expresses and confirms.
- The construction of knowledge that is directly related to civic education involves many school subjects (for example, history, geography and social studies in primary schools; history and civic education in lower and upper secondary schools; and law and economics in technical and vocational schools and those adopting the Brocca Programs). The teaching of the Catholic religion (optional at all school level) also contains relevant themes.
- Lower and upper secondary school programs include a specific subject area called 'civic education' that is taught in conjunction with history. The fact that civic education does not have its own time slot and does not have a separate evaluation of the knowledge gained by students greatly reduces its importance for both teachers and students. It is also important to note that history is given a primary role in the formation of civic awareness.
- At the extracurricular level, there are increasingly more projects that involve themes directly connected to the civic education of students. There are also more courses dealing with so-called 'cross-curricular education': education for peace, for lawfulness, for a multi-cultural society, and for environmental education.

In general, the term 'civic education' in Italian schools has a very broad meaning and refers to 'that area of values and problems that essentially concern the dimension of citizen, without forgetting its connections with the ethical, civil, social and economic issues relating to the individual and to the

worker'. Two problems, however, emerge as regards the civic education provided to students by schools: the gap between the intended curriculum and the implemented curriculum and the inadequate training of teachers.

The gap between the intended curriculum and the implemented curriculum comes to light in almost all the studies carried out in the civic education field: in teaching content (Asquini & Salerni, 1992a, 1992b; Agazzi & Berti, 1995); in the actual possibility of meeting the objectives laid down in programs (Berti, Bassan & Pinto, 1987; Benesso & Berti, 1996), and in the way in which textbooks deal with the themes relating to civic education (Berti, Bassan & Pinto, 1987; D'Antonis & Salerni, 1990; Bacceli, 1991). According to the results of this research, time actually devoted to civic education topics is less than that envisaged in official programs and it often depends on the orientation of individual teachers towards these topics. An indication of this can be seen in the infrequent use of textbooks; students very often do not even buy them. Nor is this compensated for by using other teaching tools or by reading newspapers and magazines (a strategy that has been suggested).

The problem of inadequate training of teachers has two aspects. Teachers of civic education and of school subjects that are linked to civic education mainly have a grounding in disciplines such as history, literature or geography. Their training in the more specific field of civic education is less developed. Nor is there any form of special preparation for this field taking place or envisaged in initial teacher training. Moreover, teachers as a whole are deficient in civic and political education (Corda Costa, 1996). The majority of Italian teachers have received their grounding within a school system which placed little emphasis on civic education. The individual teacher's commitment, sensibility and interest may compensate for this situation but only in part.

National case study procedures and research methods

In view of the particular situation in Italy, marked by processes of change that are still underway, the national case study not only tried to focus on themes and problems concerning the intended curriculum and implemented curriculum, but also to obtain information and opinions on the 'desired' curriculum—beliefs about contents and objectives that the Italian school system should try to achieve even though they are not as yet explicitly envisaged in curricula.

The case study was carried out by a working group with the support of an advisory committee. The working group consisted of researchers and teachers who were experts in the civic education field.² The Advisory Committee was

² The working group members were Luigia Acciaroli, Giuseppe Bacceli, Anna Baldazzi, Talia Bittoni, Vittorio Cogliati Dezza, Vittoria Gallina, Bruno Losito, Anna Salerni and Vega Scalera. The specific qualifications and role of each member are given in the documents provided for the international data base of the study.

set up according to three criteria: specific expertise in the civic education field (or in relevant disciplines) and in educational research; diversity of positions and viewpoints; and wide representation (Ministry of Education, universities, teachers' associations, employers' organizations, trade unions and voluntary associations). Each member of the Advisory Committee in this way contributed to the study both as an 'expert' and as a 'privileged informant'.

The answers to the Phase I questions (international framing questions and core framing questions) were elaborated by the working group members and discussed by the group as a whole. The answers were then analyzed by the Advisory Committee in writing and during collective discussion. Each member of the Advisory Committee was asked to provide written answers to certain questions (some common to all and some differentiated according to expertise and institutional role). In this way, a corpus of written interviews was obtained that was used by the working group to answer the framing questions.

In order to draft answers to the framing questions, analysis was also made of current school programs at the various education levels as well as of ministerial directives and circulars. An analysis of textbooks was conducted but it was not comprehensive. This was because of the large number of published textbooks, lack of data on their usage, and poor correspondence between 'adopting' a textbook for civic education and actually using it (confirmed by our interviews). The textbooks analyzed in order to answer the international framing questions were chosen by the working group members according to their experience and knowledge. In addition, individual interviews (with the official representative of the Students' Union, a student organization associated with the trade unions) and group interviews (with third-year lower secondary and with first- and second-year upper secondary students) were carried out. Each group was made up of 8 to 10 students belonging to different classes and chosen at random. The interviews focused on two main themes: (i) the evaluation that students gave of the civic education received at school and their experience in taking part in the democratic life of the school; and (ii) their understanding and interpretation of the concept of democracy. The interviews also turned out to be useful for obtaining information about how students perceive and evaluate their classroom climate.

An initial exploratory study was carried out in three lower secondary schools concerning the teaching practices in civic education relating to the four fundamental domains of the case study, with particular reference to the relation between 'implemented curriculum' and 'desired curriculum'.³

³ See Accaioli and Scalera (1997). Data are currently being processed of a study conducted at the national level, in which a slightly modified version of the two instruments used in the previous study was used. The target group of the study included 138 schools and 1,600 teachers of all disciplines. Of the 138 schools, 87 are Italian-speaking and the rest either other language-speaking (German, Slovenian, Ladin or French language) or Italian-speaking schools situated in areas with other ethnic-linguistic minorities (Albanian, Croat, Greek,

Two instruments were used for this purpose: a teachers' questionnaire and a school questionnaire. The latter was aimed, above all, at collecting information about the social and relational atmosphere of the school and about the level of school participation in problems relating to its neighborhood and community.

A review of the literature and studies on civic education formed the common background for the whole research project.

Themes/problems emerging in the case study

Educating for democracy as a fundamental aim of civic education: stated aims and concrete difficulties

'Democracy' in school programs

The theme of educating for democracy has such a broad connotation in the Italian school system that it coincides with the overall theme of civic education. All school programmes (primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools) explicitly refer to the Italian Constitution and thus to democracy.⁴ Even though there is constant reference to this, the net result is general and does not lead to more in-depth analysis of the many meanings that the term 'democracy' can take on, and indeed has taken on throughout history. One can find three fundamental dimensions in the Italian Constitution to which the concept of 'democracy' can be attached:

- 'democracy' above all as the *exercising of the sovereignty of the people*, which is expressed in a *representative parliamentary* form, but also through forms of *direct participation* and through a system of *local autonomy* and *administrative decentralization*;
- 'democracy' as effective participation of all citizens in the political, economic and social organizations of the country;
- 'democracy' founded on *social pluralism*, on *labor*, on the recognition of *rights* and *duties* of each citizen and of *personal liberties*, on the principle of *equality*, intended both *formally* and *substantially* as equal opportunities for all citizens.⁵

Catalan, French old-Provençal). Besides pursuing the objectives of the earlier survey conducted at a local level, the study aims to: (a) examine both the 'implemented' curriculum as stated by teachers and their 'desired' curriculum and the importance of objectives related to higher cognitive skills—analytical thought, inductive and inferential reasoning and metacognitive strategies (Newmann, 1991); and (b) obtain a comparison between teaching practices with reference to the four chosen domains in those schools attended by pupils of ethnic and/or linguistic minority groups and other schools.

⁴ Reference is made here to the materials presented for the international database and, in particular, to the answers to the international framing questions 11 (V. Scalera), 12 (A. Salerni), 13 (G. Baccelli), 14 (V. Cogliati Dezza), and to the answers relative to the area 'democracy' (G. Baccelli and A. Salerni).

⁵ See the answer to the international framing question 11, drafted by V. Scalera.

References to all three meanings of 'democracy' can be found in school programs. Reference to the constitution leaves it to the programs to make more explicit by way of examples what themes might be dealt with in instruction. All programs, however, mention institutions and political-institutional procedures as well as citizens' rights and duties. Except for the 'law and economics' programs for the first two years of upper secondary education, there are no precise time commitments established for treating these themes.

As regards the specific theme of human rights, beyond what is specified in programs, there are many circulars on the subject issued by the Ministry of Education. However, little attention is given to the issue in textbooks for civic education. Nearly all fail to include the texts of fundamental documents. The inclusion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of Children's Rights, and the International Convention on Children's Rights would be appropriate and in line with guidelines that encourage reading of documentary sources.

The results of some studies

Several studies conducted in schools show that the knowledge actually acquired by students is a long way from that envisaged in the objectives of school programs. A study carried out on third-year lower secondary students (Agazzi & Berti, 1995) shows that, although students are able to distinguish between democracy, monarchy and dictatorship, they nevertheless have a fairly superficial understanding of the democratic system as a whole. In particular, they know very little about the specific functions of the executive and the judiciary branches of government and the organizations connected with them; the reasons behind the division of powers; and the differences between various models for organizing executive power (the parliamentary form of government and the presidential form). A series of studies to determine students' ability to define historical and juridical terms (D'Antonis & Salerni, 1990, 1992) and the knowledge and degree of competence gained by students at the end of lower secondary schooling and at the end of the first two years of upper secondary education showed that, although students in compulsory education could use historical and juridical terminology, they had difficulty defining these terms and even recognizing correct definitions of them. This was found to be true even for commonly used terms such as 'republic' and 'election' (Asquini & Salerni, 1992b; Lastrucci & Salerni, 1993b).

These data become all the more troubling when related to other information emerging in studies on students' attitudes and on the political socialization of youth. These studies point to a considerable lack of confidence in politics (Lastrucci and Viana, 1993) towards certain 'institutions' (above all government, politicians, civil servants and trade unionists) (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993). This study was conducted on a sample of 2,500 young people of 15 to 29 years of age, 478 of whom were 15 to 17 years old and thus close to the age

group of interest. These studies also show that this mistrust increases as one goes from younger to older students.

However, one should proceed with great caution when bringing together results from studies carried out on different populations and using different research tools. Other evaluation elements gleaned from the same studies—relating to participation and commitment in community and social activities—would seem to partly ‘counterbalance’ this image of mistrust and non-commitment on the part of youth (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993). What does come to light is the basic ineffectiveness of the school system to shape certain skills and attitudes necessary for the responsible and conscious practice of democracy.

The experts consulted on the case study agree almost unanimously on this point. The reasons for this ineffectiveness are the same as those cited in the section on the status of civic education in Italian schools in general (weak curricula, gaps between intended and implemented curricula, inadequate teacher training and lack of subject-specific testing and evaluation).

Student participation in school life and the ‘atmosphere’ of the school

A fundamental element in educating for democracy is the opportunity for students to take part in the overall life of the school, in decision-making which affects the school, and in determining certain fundamental choices that concern them, in other words, the chance to effectively exercise forms of democracy. The Delegated Decrees of 1974 provide for student participation in upper secondary schools in the form of representative committees (*organi collegiali*) both at the class level (*consiglio di classe*) and at school level (*consiglio d’istituto*), and the right to meet in an assembly within the school itself. However, it is widely believed at this time that these forms of participation are quite unsatisfactory.⁶ There is currently debate over several proposals to change student participation in committees responsible for running the school, in view of the implementation of the law on the autonomy of schools. In particular, two proposals are being examined: one concerning an overhaul of the functions of school committees and the forms of representation in them, and

⁶ This opinion has been repeatedly stated not only by the Ministry of Education and teachers, but also by parents and students themselves. It was confirmed by the Students’ Union leader interviewed for the case study. A similar opinion was expressed in an interview for the case study with upper secondary students from Rome. The reasons behind this dissatisfaction concerned the ratio of students and teachers making up school committees and the mechanisms for electing student representatives (lack of any real democratic discussion, difficulties in defining clear programmes and proposals, and the dominance of older students over younger ones). The first cause of discontent is, in some way, impossible to eliminate because it is not possible to have school management bodies in which students have a majority of representatives. The second reason for students’ dissatisfaction deserves more careful consideration since it involves fundamental criteria in organising student participation in the democratic life of the school. One must also note that the study carried out by IARD (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993) highlighted the poor student participation in school activities, such as demonstrations, petitions, assemblies and the like.

another regarding the introduction of a 'charter' of students' rights, proposed by the Minister of Education (and long called for by students themselves). So far, lower secondary school pupils have not been included in these proposals, although many schools at this level have adopted some limited forms of student representation, especially class representatives who act as 'go-betweens', bridging the interests of school authorities and students.

The atmosphere that students experience in schools is also of great importance.

It is the result not of one but a thousand concurrent causes, and depends on the attitudes and behavior of all the participants. The tone in which all relations are established in a school that is perceived as being 'democratic' is a long way from both authoritarianism and from permissive demagoguery; it is not the effect of a particular form of teaching, but of a style experienced by all.⁷

That is why it is considered

essential to achieve a democratic atmosphere in schools, where formalism has a secondary role and where mutual respect is the dominant style, and is extended to those that are different. Only on this basis will an in-depth and comparative study of the Constitution ... find that suitable terrain of affective dispositions and social attitudes which can be made into the basis for a political awareness that is both solid and open. (Visalberghi, 1979)

The issue of atmosphere experienced at school calls into question not only the overall organization of the school but also teaching practices and relational models lived out by teachers.

The problems raised by this issue will be taken up in more detail later. It must be noted here that these matters are rather controversial, and it is particularly important to take into account the perception that students have of school 'atmosphere'. It is interesting to note two features that came to light in two different studies carried out at the national level and from student statements during the group interviews. The first study (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993) found that only 67 per cent of the interviewees said they were satisfied with their relations with teachers, whereas 84.6 per cent said they were satisfied with their relations with other students. A more informal survey carried out by the Students' Union through questionnaires given to 12,420 students in some 30 Italian cities also yielded interesting information. To the question 'In student initiatives (assemblies, demonstrations, self-management periods, etc.) how many teachers, even in a questioning way, openly discuss ramifications and consequences with their classes?', 30.9 per cent of the students answered 'none' and 47.7 per cent answered 'a small minority'. These data seem to show that, as perceived by students, a communications problem exists between teachers and students.

⁷ This passage is taken from a written contribution from one of the experts of the Advisory Scientific Committee, Professor Mauro Laeng.

The interviews conducted for the IEA Working Group with lower secondary students and with students in the first two years of upper secondary education offer confirmation for something that is widely sensed: the wide differences among teachers as to their approach in relating to students and to school life in general. While it is clear that these evaluations reflect only students' points of view, it is important to note that the representatives of teachers' associations who sat on the Advisory Committee substantially agreed in finding overall school atmosphere unsatisfactory as regards the availability of behavioral models based on democratic exchange.

The development of a sense of national identity

An analysis of the history and social studies programmes for primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools reveals that the educators did not feel the explicit need to promote a sense of loyalty or belonging in young people with respect to the nation, its different communities, traditions and institutions.⁸

Programs dwell more on forming a personal and social identity in youth rather than on creating a national identity. Moreover, emphasis on methodological and didactic features in recent programs for these disciplines has given a secondary position to the ethical-political contents that these disciplines sometimes carry.

A similar observation may be made about the teaching of other subjects which, because of their cultural importance and link with national history, can contribute to instilling a sense of common cultural identity, for example, Italian and classical languages (Latin and Greek). In programs for these subjects, however, emphasis is on a broader dimension that is European, on the one hand, and universalistic, on the other. In presentations on the teaching aims of these subjects, the programs formulated by the Brocca Commission for the first two years of upper secondary schooling insist on the contribution that these subjects can make to a more detailed understanding of the 'origins and developments of European culture' or to 'the discovery of literature as a representation of universal feelings and situations'.

The scant importance given to some national symbols in schools such as the national flag or the portrait of the President of the Republic (which are usually relegated to out-of-the-way places) seems to confirm this unwillingness in schools to underline and to encourage feelings and attitudes connected with national identity. To give another example, the national celebration of the Republic (2 June) no longer is a school holiday. The only national celebration that still seems to have some standing is 25 April, the anniversary of liberation from fascism, but festivities are left to individual school initiatives. This reticence may in part be explained by the identification of the idea of

⁸ This statement is taken from the answer to the framing question on national identity by T. Bittoni.

'fatherland' and 'nation' with the fascist regime (Galli della Loggia, 1996; Nevola, 1997) and the nationalistic use of these words during fascism. They may carry negative connotations even in a republican post-war Italy. However, this reticence may also be interpreted as the result of other factors, such as the absence of a public sense (Gambino, 1993), the existence of different conflicting and centrifugal identities (Ginsborg, 1989) and the historical extension of a localistic dimension.

Only in recent years has there been talk about the educational responsibility that schools have in developing a sense of national belonging in youth. This has been the consequence not only of the political changes underway (mentioned in previous sections), but also of the condition of young people (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993), of the school's role in political socialization processes and in the development of a national identity (Cartocci & Parisi, 1997). These studies, along with others, have highlighted the existence of a relation between 'national awareness and a set of ethical-political values that are defined as civic culture' (Segatti, 1997, p.140), a relation that is not unidirectional but is affected by the various meanings attributed by various individuals to the concept of 'nation' itself (Diamanti, 1996; Nevola, 1996; Rusconi, 1996). In this view, the problem of national identity and the development of a sense of belonging to the nation is seen to be linked to that of educating for democracy and for active participation in the rights and duties of the community.

This awareness seems to be present in some of the more recent official documents and in the debate on the teaching of contemporary history that has led to revision in upper secondary history programs to provide greater analysis of 20th Century history, which has not been adequately dealt with in the past. However, considering the gap that exists between the intended curriculum and the implemented curriculum, the realistic possibility of putting into teaching practice the orientations emerging from this debate depends largely upon teachers' competence in their subjects and their teaching ability and relational skills. This brings us back to the problem of teacher training.

From the point of view of contents and teaching methodology, there remains the problem of drawing focused attention to the development of a national identity while at the same time promoting open and critically aware attitudes appropriate for a future multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society (Visalberghi, 1993)⁹ and a country increasingly integrated in a supranational context (see precursors of this argument in Dewey, 1916).

⁹ This is a theme that was strongly emphasized by the experts of the Advisory Committee, both in discussions and in many individual written contributions.

Cohesion and social diversity: aims and limitations of school interventions

The scale of the problems

To analyze the topic of 'cohesion and social diversity' and the educational role that the school system tries to play involves reference to a very complex set of issues:¹⁰

- Problems linked to the persistence of considerable economic and social inequality and to the difficulties in fully realizing the 'equal opportunities' sanctioned by the Constitution.
- Problems of minority groups living in Italy (safeguarding their cultural and linguistic identity regardless of their actual numbers).
- Problems linked to increasing immigration (fitting into the economic and social life, respect for cultural diversity and valuing immigrants' contributions to the community).
- Problems connected to the emergence of new social factors (women's movement and immigrants' participation in social and political life).
- Problems linked to situations in which diversity requires recognition of rights to protection and specific care (e.g. the handicapped, the elderly, children).
- Problems connected to the persistence of stereotypes commonly attached to certain forms of diversity (prejudice towards certain people such as Gypsies).
- Problems linked to differences in religious creed.

This area is strongly influenced by the family, the social and cultural contexts in which young people live and also the mass media. As a result, it is very difficult to outline precisely what role school experience can play, especially since there is a lack of relevant studies.

Programs, ministry directives and grass-root initiatives

General guidelines related to these themes/problems are present in the programs of all school levels, and legislation concerning school functioning recognizes the need to bring to awareness and to value all types of diversity within the school context. Moreover, the Ministry of Education has issued a series of specific circulars over the last few years giving methodological and didactic guidelines and suggestions to schools and teachers on how to develop intercultural education (*Educazione Interculturale Nella Scuola*), promote discussion on the fight against racism and anti-semitism, and to develop

¹⁰ Reference is made here to the answers to the international framing questions 6, 7, 8 and 10 (drafted respectively by B. Losito, G. Pavan De Gregorio, V. Gallina and G. Baccelli) and to the answer to the question concerning this topic domain (drafted by V. Gallina) presented for the international database.

teaching strategies that encourage co-operation, mutual recognition of diversity and respect for rights (Circular 240 of 1991 relative to *Progetto Ragazzi 2000*). As regards gender differences, the Ministry of Education has set up an equal opportunities committee.

The stated intention of these initiatives is to integrate programs and suggest the development of teaching practices and initiatives allowing for the direct involvement of students in discussing, debating and working out projects. A fairly significant commitment in such matters as regards schools has been made by local authorities, voluntary associations and universities. For example, Caritas, a Catholic organization, has supplemented its traditional work in helping the poor and alienated with contributions to in-service teacher training along with the production of teaching materials. A full overview of the many varied initiatives of this kind within the school system would be difficult. An indirect indicator of how widespread they are may be found in the growing number of publications and articles in teachers' magazines on these topics in recent years.

It is very difficult to assess what students have effectively gained in terms of knowledge, lasting awareness and behaviors. One difficulty comes from the fact that students' experience in schools in this regard presents contradictory elements that are, in part, unavoidable. In history textbooks, for example, there is, on the one hand, information and documentation on 'the "quashing" of ethnic groups and cultures and the various kinds of colonialism that sadly abound in history'. Moreover, 'as regards the treatment of the history of this century, the cases of oppression, suppression of minority groups and genocide are dealt with in context and become the subject of ethical reflection rather than historical and social consideration'.¹¹ On the other hand,

*surveys conducted on textbooks and other popular books express regret over the lack of information about certain peoples or over the stereotyping and prejudice still found. History is viewed exclusively or mainly from a Western point of view; literature and philosophy hardly ever include authors belonging to different races, and often, in discussing some scientific discoveries, their origin is not given when it does not belong to the culture of the so-called 'civilized' countries.*¹²

A good example of the contradictions that students experience at school is the situation of handicapped students. On the one hand, current legislation and norms promote the complete integration of these students in schools; on the other hand, there is still a great deal to be done, for example, in removing construction barriers in the building. Similar conclusions could be drawn about other types of barriers facing linguistic minority groups.

But there are even more profound reasons that make any evaluation of

¹¹ See the answer drafted by V. Gallina for the international database.

¹² This passage is taken from a written contribution to the case study by Professor Cesarina Checcacci, a member of UCIIM (a Catholic teachers' association).

schools' educational activities difficult in this field. The problem of diversity and marginality (Ulivieri, 1997) leads to the more general problem of prejudice towards those different from ourselves. The interfacing of many different identities involves the recognition of mutual identity, but also, in the context of shared life, the construction of a 'piece of social fabric...each person taking on the responsibility to participate, as far as they can, in a social and cultural life that is not set once and for all, but *invented* a thousand times, day after day' (Callari Galli, 1995, p.101). For young adolescents, this problem is linked to the difficulties connected with the consolidation phase of the self and identity. And school is only *a part*, albeit an important part, of their education from this point of view.

Moreover, as already mentioned about racism, there is a distinction between 'racist behavior' and 'racist ideology'. There is probably no real racist ideology in Italy today, at least not yet, but there are racist phenomena and intolerant behavior (Bobbio, 1993). Schools act strongly and unambiguously against this ideology and behavior, trying to intervene at different levels (cognitive, affective, behavioral and values) in students' educational experience. However, it is also true that schools are, in some respects, protected enclaves, within which social contradictions show up somewhat blunted and are more easily controlled. It is difficult to say with any certainty whether the behaviors and attitudes aimed at respect, at the appreciation of differences and at the acceptance of others that students show at school are effectively transferred to everyday life, especially in cases of conflict.

Schools and local problems: environmental education as education for 'active citizenship'

Faced with the crisis of the quality of life—quality of work—quality of development interrelation, schools are called upon to operate towards the advancement of an active citizenship. In the pursuit of this objective all of the following come together... the qualitative characteristics of the Italian system, citizenship, environmental and cultural organization, economic development and public administration. In this picture, appropriate educational importance must be given to the problem of sustainable development in the environment, understood as a complex interweaving of scientific elements, technological innovation, mind-set and culture, a systemic approach to problems, coherence among branches of knowledge, and behavioral values.

This long passage is taken from the summary document produced by a special commission called upon by the Minister of Education to draft basic cultural guidelines to which the Italian school system will be required to commit itself over the next few years (Maragliano, 1997). It demonstrates the latest stage in the discussion on environmental education, as it has developed in recent years: from education about nature to education concerning the problems of sustainable development.

The contribution of environmental education to the civic education of students

Explicit reference to environmental topics and problems is made in all educational programs (history, geography, social studies, civic education and natural sciences). The ways in which environmental topics are referred to in the programs range from the general ('the man-environment relationship') to the specific (pollution, waste disposal, finite resources, and energy balance). Guidelines for the development of environmental education initiatives are also contained in various Ministry of Education circulars (especially *Circular* No. 149 of 17/4/1966). In schools, environmental education has spread essentially as a 'cross-curricula education' involving different school subjects and teachers in the construction of projects focused outside the school. The debate on contents and teaching methodologies in environmental education itself has concentrated mainly on the quality of projects implemented in schools. These characteristics present certain features that may be considered important for students' civic education:

- Action 'in favor of the environment' has involved schools in the 'adoption' of monuments and local areas allowing students to develop a sense of belonging to their local community. Supported by school authorities, these initiatives have often had the support also of environmentalist organizations such as the WWF and *Legambiente*. Public debates and discussions on problems to be faced have contributed to expanding the issues treated within schools.
- Environmental issues are often controversial and involve different perspectives and points of view. Environmental problems do not have clear-cut solutions, and any solution involves choices that may lead to different consequences and carry specific responsibilities. From this standpoint, environmental education in schools has tried to develop the capacity to deal with different conflicting points of view, and to accept a sense of responsibility with a spirit of initiative (OCDE-CERI, 1995). All these abilities are also listed among the aims of civic education.
- Working by projects, collectively defining in class the topics to be dealt with, the ways to proceed and the responsibilities of each person within the project have all constituted a real opportunity for exercising forms of democratic participation in school life and in the organization of teaching activities (Losito & Mayer, 1995).

Obstacles which this kind of environmental education faces in schools seem to be linked mainly to:

- The rigidity of school organization (and the resulting difficulty in working on projects involving different teachers and school subjects).
- The need to develop in teachers skills that go beyond their traditional training.

- The persistence in official programs (unlike what is happening in teaching practices) of a kind of logic that is linked to the transmission of information.
- The lack of any specific assessment, which tends to relegate environmental education to the field of extracurricular activity.

For environmental education it is also difficult to say to what extent the stated objectives are actually achieved or achievable, especially considering the fact that it explicitly aims not only to develop knowledge, but also to change attitudes and encourage discussion of different values.

The role of teachers in educating 'for' democracy 'within' a democracy

One of the main issues that emerges in the materials collected and interviews conducted is the need to pursue or achieve an acceptable level of consistency between the stated objectives of educating for democracy and the students' own experience in school as an institution. This refers to the important problem of coherence between the educational aims that the school explicitly proposes to achieve in this field and the organizational, didactic, relational and cultural conditions in which these aims are pursued. Thus formulated, educating for democracy crosses the four domains and relates as much to the general atmosphere (or 'climate') in schools and in individual classes as it does to the organization of teaching activities and the teachers' role.

School 'climate' and teaching

A number of factors go to make up school 'climate' and they refer to four fundamental dimensions (Anderson, 1982): the ecological dimension, which refers to the school's physical characteristics; the environmental dimension, which refers to the individual characteristics of people involved with the school (not only students, teachers and administrative staff but also parents); the social dimension, determined by all the rules and regulations that govern school life; and the cultural dimension, which defines the overall set of values and meanings shared in school in relation to its surrounding environment. To what extent is school climate 'actually' definable as a democratic climate and what are the characteristics that make school climate democratic? Some see the Italian school system as characterized by the existence of very open rules and regulations that are only partially implemented, which appears to result in dissatisfaction on the part of both students and teachers.

Yet the Italian school system, for all its limitations, does recognize and safeguard the opportunity for students' discussion (even of a political kind). Students have the right to organize public debates and demonstrations at school, even if this opportunity is not always taken up. Student participation

in external demonstrations is largely tolerated and not subject to sanctions.¹³ Through some specific directives, the Ministry of Education itself has encouraged schools to promote the creation of 'meeting places and opportunities' and to 'favor the school's openness to educational and cultural demands coming from its surrounding area' as an 'answer to students' demands for more active participation in school life' (Ministry of Education Directive, No. 133, 1996). And yet all this does not seem to reduce the sense of dissatisfaction and the impression that very often this participation is 'not spontaneous, or at least is induced by a form of institutional rite' (Cavalli & de Lillo, 1993, p.39).

By following through on a distinction found in the literature between 'climate inside school' and 'climate inside the classroom', a possible interpretation of this situation may be found. A substantial gap appears to exist between forms of participation that the school allows and even encourages and everyday teaching experience inside the classroom. One could say that these are two kinds of experiences that develop in parallel fashion with very few intersecting elements. Indeed, the underlying criteria for most teaching activities do not seem to be very 'participatory'. This impression is confirmed by the data collected in several studies. It is worth recalling that in studies where it has been possible to compare what teachers claim they do and what students say that teachers do, considerable differences have been found (Asquini & Salerni, 1992a). It is likely that the distinction found in other research between 'espoused theories' and 'enacted theories' could be used for teachers also (Argyris & Schon, 1978).

In a study carried out by the municipal authorities of the city of Padua, when asked to identify what they considered to be the teachers' main objective during a lesson, 50.4 per cent of the students said it was to 'go through the planned topic', while only 3 per cent said 'to encourage students' questions', 5.3 per cent said 'to encourage discussion and comparison of different views' and 1.8 per cent said 'to show connections with aspects and problems of students' experience outside school' (Semeraro, 1993).¹⁴ When asked to give the essential characteristics of a lesson, based on their own experience, 44.1 per cent of the students said 'the presentation of a syllabus topic', 29.9 per cent said 'a more or less thorough exposition of a textbook section', 9.9 per cent said 'the definition of a problem and the start of a discussion or a research activity', 7.5 per cent said 'the suggestion of guidelines for students' further personal study' and 8 per cent said 'offering of an incentive leading to ongoing effort'.

¹³ The reader is referred to answers 14 and 15 drafted by V. Cogliati Dezza.

¹⁴ This study was carried out by way of a questionnaire administered to a random sample of 2,270 students in the second and fifth years of state upper secondary education, on a total student population (for the city of Padua) of 7,239 attending these two school years. The study focused on the themes of identity and participation.

In the survey already cited carried out by the Students' Union organization, to the question 'How many of your teachers review the objectives of the subject program at the start of the school year?', 40.7 per cent of the students answered 'very few' and 21.7 per cent said 'about half of them'. To the question, 'How many teachers explain assessment criteria?', 58.5 per cent of the students answered 'very few' and 10.1 per cent said 'about half of them'.

Other studies have highlighted the considerable differences in this field among the various kinds of schools and tracks (Grandi, 1990). Most of the students reflect a strongly traditional form of teaching, still mainly centered (above all, in secondary schools) on the lesson (individual study) questioning sequence, where any real kind of 'educational contract' is lacking. In this setting, room for 'individual and group research activities, well-guided detailed discussions, experiences of the conflict of ideas and "negotiation" between differing points of view' (Visalberghi, 1988, p.161) seems to be unsatisfactory. If it is true that 'debate and negotiation...openly pursued [are]...enemies of hegemony—whether related to gender, race, ethnic origin, religion or just brute force' (Bruner, 1996), the current situation is worrisome, and growing initiatives in teaching innovation such as 'cross-curricula education' cannot fully solve the problem.

If this teaching situation is, on the whole, negative, it is especially unacceptable when it takes place in subjects which, by their very nature, play a special role in the civic education of students. This situation is even more unacceptable when we consider that such activities are the ones that contribute to the acquisition of some of the 'specific skills established as core objectives in civic education.

It would be well to note another element which emerges from the analysis of textbooks, for example 'law and economics' used in the first two years of upper secondary education, namely, the scant historical treatment and contextualisation of certain fundamental concepts in these disciplines, without reference to the different meanings or nuances that they may have in various interpretative theories.¹⁵

Add to all this the unsatisfactory student performance in history, something which is fairly consistently borne out in studies on school performance and on which experts of the field largely agree, and a rather worrisome picture emerges concerning the civic education of students. This relative weakness in the historical dimension is rather paradoxical in the culture of the Italian school system, which is still strongly influenced by historicism. The failure to show students comparisons among the many different kinds of interpretations of historical and social events risks triggering a potentially dangerous misunderstanding. That is, students might come to hold an image of democracy as 'a

¹⁵ Reference is made in this case to the answers to questions 5 and 10 and to the one concerning the domain 'democracy, rights and duties' drafted by A. Salerni and G. Baccelli.

definitively acquired political system, something taken for granted, almost as if democracy were the natural environment of individuals of our time' (Coq, 1996) and not the result of a laborious struggle which history shows often to be prone to unpredictable upheavals and to require the enlightened action of all citizens for democracy to develop and be maintained.

The central role of teachers

In a situation of this kind, the teachers' place becomes fundamental both as regards the quality of their specific teaching and their role as 'mediators' in the classroom between the general aims of school education (of civic education, in particular) and the actual cognitive and socio-affective experience that students have in school. This focuses on teachers' competence especially but not exclusively in subjects directly related to civic education.

A relatively recent study (OECD, 1994) identified five dimensions for defining the 'quality of the teacher': knowledge of subject contents; methodological and didactic competence; the ability to reflect on one's own teaching practice; 'empathy', meant as the 'recognition of the dignity' of students, parents, colleagues; and organisational-management skills (inside and outside the classroom). This model seems to fit the teacher's functions reasonably well within the problem areas considered. These 'dimensions' would appear to include the skills as well as the attitudes necessary to contribute to the development of teaching-learning contexts and of a teaching 'climate' based on democratic participation. Here it would be well to highlight the teacher's ability to be reflective about teaching practice because it speaks to an adaptive-developmental component among teacher skills, one that calls for adjustment to contexts and concrete problems to be faced. It is debatable whether teachers in Italian schools actually have the opportunity to develop these skills in their initial training and in-service training. But this seems to be the direction in which the most important work must be done in order to establish the necessary consistency between the stated aim of educating students for democracy and the conditions within which this aim is pursued.

Conclusions

The reform projects now underway in the Italian school system, and particularly those measures already cited that are linked to civic education, indicate attention to the problems connected with the shaping of democratic citizens aware of the characteristics and problems of the democratic society in which they live. However, there is still a large gap between intended curriculum and implemented curriculum, between stated objectives and teaching practice, and between the wide latitude for innovation offered by existing legislation and regulations and the concrete achievements seen so far in schools. The debate

on certain themes is still wide open, for instance, on national identity and its relationship to building a society that includes and values diverse identities and cultures.

Within this ensemble, some more forward-looking schools and teachers have made significant progress in the field of civic education both as to topics dealt with and experiential learning. Processes of change in the Italian school system have traditionally been facilitated and supported by innovation from below, promoted by a cohort of teachers who are committed and professionally more aware. It is likely and desirable that this cohort will provide the impetus for overcoming the limitations that still mark the Italian school system as regards civic education. Much remains to be done, however, in terms of initial and in-service teacher training opportunities so as to allow teachers to acquire and develop the necessary skills to deal with the complexity and difficulties inherent in shaping democratic citizens.

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NATIONAL IDENTITY AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN LITHUANIA

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Background

The Soviet Occupation in 1940 diverted the natural process of Lithuania's development. The communist regime attempted to neutralize national consciousness through heavy doses of socialist ideology and to 'reeducate' by dampening national values created over a long history (Kuzmickas, 1996). The main purpose of the educational system was to form consciousness of being a Soviet citizen and to develop attitudes favorable toward communist values. The subjects of the social sciences and history were especially used for this purpose.

The educational system did not succeed fully in achieving this aim because people developed a kind of double consciousness. Official speech and behavior in public were quite different from how many people acted in private. National feeling and memories of Independent Lithuania remained strong. Under the Soviet occupation (1940-1990) a resolve to seek national independence was steadily maturing. Here and there underground intellectual groups formed and began publishing periodicals, disseminating ideas about restoring statehood and about national and religious rebirth. Works by democratic authors from the West were translated, published and circulated. These activities had considerable impact on students' ways of thinking and served as a kind of informal civic education. Under these influences, a large number of students took part in the resistance movement. Therefore, in 1988, conditions for introducing the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika were in place. A multi-party system was formed. While still under the occupational regime, democratic elections for the Supreme Council were organized and, in 1990, Lithuanian Independence was announced. Following the August 1991 putsch in Moscow, the international community began to recognize Lithuania, and a more normal process of the creation of statehood began unhampered. All this contributed to the development in Lithuanian society of the rudiments of citizenship and to the rapid development of educational reform.

These political changes have influenced the process of building a democratic state. The new Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania was approved by popular vote in a referendum in October 1992. The principle of the separation of powers was introduced, and democratic institutions characteristic of western countries were created. Individual citizens as well as organizations obtained important rights, including protections against arbitrary actions by civil servants. Freedom of speech and the press were strengthened. There have been several elections at the parliamentary and municipal levels. Private property was recognized, for example, by privatizing apartments and restoring nationalized real estate to former owners.

On the negative side, however, the spread of democratic attitudes was hindered by ideological polarization in politics and some worked to sabotage the actions of the new government. There were wide discussions of what

should be taught, and debates about moral education and religion. However, the process by which these problems were confronted did not always encourage tolerance, loyalty to the State or respect for legislation. Public officials often announced decisions with little opportunities for citizens to participate. It is difficult to develop a wide-spread sense of citizenship when the prevailing public attitudes condone evading the law or avoiding taxes.

Civic education remains disadvantaged by certain obstacles. Habits of work, thought and behavior developed during the Soviet period remain. Informed understanding of democracy is rare among the public. Citizens have little faith in the Constitution or laws since their implementation is sometimes hampered by administrative bureaucracy, corruption and the inefficiency of institutions of justice. Growing unemployment, declining productivity and an acute decrease in buying power constitute serious economic problems. Even though education is a priority in national policy, state financing of education is insufficient. The activities of those in charge of carrying out educational reform are poorly coordinated, and the functions of different levels of administration (ministry, district and municipality) are not divided clearly enough. It will take competent, responsible and nationally-minded citizens willing to take initiative to realize the transformation into a healthy civil society.

Education and citizenship

The educational system of Lithuania has been in existence for more than 600 years. The first schools in the nation appeared at the end of the 14th Century. Vilnius University was established in 1579. During a difficult history, Lithuanian education has grown into an institutional system conveying significant values to the younger generation.

The current development of education in Lithuania is closely connected with political, social, economic and cultural changes brought about by the restoration of statehood. Efforts are directed at ways in which education can strengthen the independent state, create a modern, open and pluralistic society of free citizens, develop a sustainable economic life based on market principles, and foster the national and cultural identity of the country.

The educational system is deeply involved in reform. The ideas guiding this process are national traditions of education; ideals of national liberation; general principles of democratic and open society; the modern pedagogical experience of western countries; and some trends of contemporary educational thought such as humanistic psychology. These ideological sources match the principle aims of Lithuanian education, including humanism, democracy, commitment to Lithuanian culture and the preservation of identity and historic continuity.

The basic ideas of the national school reform were reflected in the *Concept-*

tion of Secondary Education in Lithuania, issued in 1994. Primary schools consist of Grades 1 through 4 of the general education school; students continue their studies at the basic level in Grades 5 through 10. The third level of general education, upper secondary school, includes Grades 11 and 12. The gymnasium offers a more advanced level of Grades 9 through 12.

The restoration of statehood in Lithuania in 1990 created new possibilities for development which resonated with the aspirations not only of Lithuanians but also of those of other nationalities living in the country, estimated at about 8 per cent Russian, 7 per cent Polish, and 1 per cent Ukrainian and Belorussian (Motusas, 1997). There are national minority preschools and general education institutions, some of them already in existence when the communist regime collapsed. These schools provide both an opportunity for consideration of native culture and integration into Lithuanian culture and society. These schools use textbooks approved by the Ministry of Culture and Education, and one of the languages taught is Lithuanian.

Civic education receives special attention in the educational reform documents. It is expected to fill the gap created when the ideologized social sciences were discarded.

Civic Education is considered to be one of the essential goals of the educational system: to foster citizenship, the understanding of a person's duties toward family, nation, society, and the State of Lithuania, as well as the need to participate in the cultural, social, economic, and political life of the Republic. (The Law of Education in the Republic of Lithuania, 1991)

The whole educational process is supposed to lead to an understanding of both the principles of life in a democratic society and also the problems in creating democracy (and ways to approach their solution). The *General Curricula of Secondary School in Lithuania* provide that the course entitled 'The Principles of Civil Society' be taught as a separate subject in Grades 7 and 8 (one hour per week) and in Grade 10 (two hours per week). In other grades this subject is integrated into other courses, for example, in Grades 1 to 4 into the course 'I and the World'; in later grades, into courses such as history, moral education and economics.

One of the most important factors influencing citizenship education is the way in which school life is organized. For instance: Does the teacher use democratic methods in teaching? Are students encouraged to be responsible for the school community? Does self-government exist in the school? Do students and parents take an active role in establishing curriculum priorities? Does the school have close relations to local governmental institutions? Some of these democratic characteristics are mandated, but in many areas of the country they are not yet realities.

Individual syllabi and school-based curricula for civics are being developed in Lithuania on the assumption that teachers will select the content and choose

appropriate teaching styles. Within this context, the collection of material relating to the IEA Civic Education Project began in the mid-1990s.

Research methods

The research methods used in Phase I of the IEA study include the following:

- 1) *Focus groups with about 60 teachers, 90 students and 25 parents*: These were organized in the three regions of the country.
- 2) *Interviews*: These took place with about 200 other individuals—politicians, educational policy-makers, curriculum developers, textbook authors and teacher trainers.
- 3) *A content analysis or review*: This was completed in the following areas:
 - historical cultural studies
 - philosophical and political journals to show the current context for students' civic education
 - research data based on a study covering the development of civil society in the 1990s
 - research studies about students' civic knowledge, attitudes and behavior, including citizenship development and historical awareness
 - educational documents, such as curriculum and programs
 - textbooks translated and adapted for students and teachers and originating in western countries, especially Civitas (1995)
 - original textbooks, both published and unpublished, for classes in ethics, history and geography, illustrating the type of materials available for both students and teachers
 - pedagogical journals such as *Mokykla*, the newspaper *Dialogas* and other daily or weekly periodicals to show what kind of discussion is going on about civic education and that illustrate educators' concerns.

The content and processes of civic education in the domains of study

Democracy, institutions, rights and responsibilities

According to the Lithuanian *Core Curriculum for Secondary School* (1994), the concept of democracy, together with rights and responsibilities, are the central concepts on which citizenship education is based for all grades and in all subject areas.

In primary school, democracy is intended to be taught as a way of decision-making in the classroom. In the course 'I and the World', students' attention is focused on the main ideas from the United Nations Convention of Human Rights. Related material is taught beyond the primary school. *Ethics classes* help students to familiarize themselves with children's rights and to relate to the concept of human rights more generally. Stress is placed on the Universal Declaration and Conventions of Human Rights. Students also learn about rights of groups such as the handicapped, women, immigrants and the aged. The most important discussions are about the human rights situation in Lithuania, although the international scene is also considered, for example, the activities of the organization Amnesty International. Students are taught to evaluate concrete principles like equality, majority rule, consideration for minority opinion, democratic principles for law and electoral procedures. The problems which are likely to arise in implementing these principles are also considered in the curricula for Grades 6, 7 and 8. During *religion* classes in the 8th grade, students discuss such topics as 'Slavery, Anarchy and Rules'. Through civics courses, students by ages 14 or 15 are expected to learn about direct and representative democracy, about the Lithuanian election system, and about alternatives to democracy (totalitarianism, authoritarianism and anarchy). Students learn about how individuals and groups participate in political processes and about the rights and responsibilities of Lithuanian citizens, including voting, military service, paying taxes and respecting laws (*General Program for Principles of Civil Society*, 1994).

One of the most important objectives in *history* courses is 'to learn and know the historical antecedents to modern democracy' (*Programs for Secondary School*, 1993). The teaching of history includes democracy and citizenship in various periods and the development of the political system. In the 5th grade, with 11- to 12-year-old students, attention is given to the modern Lithuanian democracy. In Grade 6, emphasis is put on the origins of democracy in ancient Greece. In Grades 7 and 8, the stress is on the development of political systems such as monarchy, the parliamentary system, the electoral system, government and administration.

An examination of the curriculum and of history textbooks, as well as interviews with groups of teachers and students of ages 14 and 15, shows that the concept of democracy is taught mostly as an idealized political system where power is vested in the people (Biunoras, 1994). For example, the following phrases are used: 'Democracy—the system which recognizes equal rights of citizens' (p.142); 'Democracy—governing by people or majority rule' (p.151). The history textbooks refer to civil rights as an essential feature of democracy. Explanations of civil rights are emphasized in discussions of the War for American Independence and the French Revolution, for example. Democracy is presented with an emphasis on how parliament is chosen through elections and the part which citizens play in the electoral process.

Study of problems of democracy, laws, rights and duties are to be found in the mother tongue instruction. Among the topics considered are: 'Citizen and Language'; 'State Language and Ethnic Language'; 'Minority Languages and Their Legal Protection'; and 'Language in the Development of a Free and Democratic Citizen' (Martinaitis, 1994). In courses which are under development, the theme stressed is often that of tolerance, freedom of speech and the press. In the teaching of communication skills (including public speaking), themes about democracy, personal freedom, cultural heritage and the consumer society are addressed. There are some civics topics related to these issues in textbooks which are under development. Unfortunately, there are, as yet, no textbooks explicitly developed for civics.

Students of ages 14 to 15 are encouraged to take part in practicing ideas of democracy in the classroom and at the school level. But, of course, what students actually do depends on the everyday situation in their own school.

National identity

The first lessons about the nation's history and its heroes are learned in the primary school during the course 'I and the World'. The themes include 'the family, relatives and nation', 'our language and folklore', 'united by a common history', 'Vytautas Magnus, the founding father', and 'the loss of independence'.

One of the objectives of history courses at the secondary level is 'to learn and understand the singularity of the nation's historical fate' (*Program for Secondary Schools/History*, 1993). In Lithuania, there is a tradition of separate courses for national history, taught in chronological order and mandatory. There is a course of 'Readings in Lithuanian History' at Grade 5 (68 lessons) and at Grades 6 to 8 (74 lessons). Included in the textbooks are documents which are widely believed to be important for all citizens to know about, for example, the text of the Roman historian Tacitus about our ancestors, the first mention of the name Lithuania, the letters of Grand Duke Gediminas, with the first mention of Vilnius, and the Act of Declaration of Lithuania's Independence. Another textbook includes readings about national leaders—kings (Mindaugas), dukes (Gediminas, Vytautas), national liberators (V. Kudirka) and political figures (A. Smetona). They are presented as heroes of history. Furthermore, courses in religion or ethics place special stress on founding of the State, fighting for the country's freedom and the dignity of national pride.

During the Soviet period, Lithuanian language courses were (and still remain) a major vehicle for developing students' national identity. For example, 'the most important goal for developing competence in the native language is to enable a person to command the cultural heritage of the nation's past...and create values important for the world the culture of the nation' (*General Program for Lithuanian Languages*, 1997). Native language and literature textbooks contain a variety of texts focused on national subjects,

both fiction and non-fiction. Some of the most significant thematic categories are:

- 1) *History of the country*. Texts include three kinds—fiction (e.g. an extract from the novel *Algimantas* for Grade 7), science (e.g. text of the experiment in writing numerals by Duke Mindaugas for Grade 6), and popular narratives (e.g. reminiscences of deportees for Grade 6).
- 2) *Customs, traditions, and ethnic originality*. These texts for Lithuanian language study often include folk-lore (e.g. legends, traditional festivals, games and songs). Under this theme, one also finds texts describing the lifestyle of Lithuanians throughout history. There are also some mentions of social science research, for example, on Baltic mythology.
- 3) *Geography of the country and the beauty of nature*: This theme is found in a variety of textbooks, including poetry as well as narratives and mythology. The purpose seems to be fostering a spiritual connection with one's homeland.
- 4) *National dignity and self-respect*: Here, textbooks cultivate respect for language, national identity and the connection of literature to the native land and its people, with the aim of promoting the person's care for the nation and society's common interests as well as the development of civil consciousness (especially in Grades 6 and 8).

Social cohesion and diversity

The problem of social cohesion and diversity became important after the restoration of Lithuanian statehood in 1990, but has not been addressed as part of the official curriculum of the school as yet. The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania states that: 'Citizens who belong to ethnic communities shall have the right to foster their language, culture and customs' (chapter 1, article 37) and 'Ethnic communities of citizens shall independently administer the affairs of their ethnic culture, education, organizations, charity, and mutual assistance. The state shall support ethnic communities' (chapter 3, article 45).

Different national and religious communities have lived in the country for several centuries: Poles, Byellorussians, Russians and Tartars, for example. The culture of these groups is seen as part of Lithuanian culture. The term 'the Nation of Lithuania' instead of 'the Lithuanian Nation' is used to emphasize that Lithuania is seen as the motherland for all these peoples. These groups are encouraged to preserve their own language, culture and religion. Polish, Russian, Byellorussian and Jewish groups have national schools. The same textbooks used with Lithuanian students are used, but translated in the mother language of the pupils. Polish and Russian schools may use textbooks from their respective countries as well.

It is presumed that, at the age of 15, students are able to understand certain aspects of people's racial, ethnic, linguistic and social structure. In teaching geography, there is an attempt to show the relation between ethnic features of Lithuanian people and other peoples of the world. The interaction of socio-cultural and economic activities are emphasized. For example, students analyze the diversity of income per citizen in the world and its influence on living conditions and lifestyle (Janupkis, 1994).

The General Program for Lithuanian Language emphasizes tolerance for 'a person speaking and thinking otherwise than oneself' (*General Program for Lithuanian Language*, 1997). Students are given an opportunity to compare the use of Lithuanian language with other languages (e.g. Latvian, Russian, Polish), paying attention not only to linguistic features but also to the reflections of social and cultural relations.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, there is to be no discrimination in the country. Ethics courses are frequently the place where questions related to social diversity are raised. These classes are intended to build tolerance, national and common solidarity and to help students 'perceive the principles and rules of harmonious common life of people...and to ground their personal everyday life on those principles and rules' (*Introduction to the General Ethics Program*, 1994, p.83). Although students are acquainted with various national and religious communities (including world religions), socio-economic differences receive less emphasis. Recently, wide differences in wealth have developed in Lithuania. Segments of society unable to adapt to new economic realities have become impoverished, especially older people, women, and families with many children.

By law, rights and obligations of citizenship do not differ by gender, but in fact women have fewer rights and more obligations because of their responsibilities for children and housekeeping. Children have some opportunities to discuss problems such as these during ethics classes and to consider why there are only a few women in positions of national leadership.

Mass media

This topic is seen as very important in the re-established state, and the freedom to seek, obtain and disseminate ideas is protected in the Constitution. To teach students how to use their right to obtain information about politics and express their opinions through the mass media is therefore an especially important task in civic education.

During the Soviet period, and up until 1990, there was no tradition of teaching about the mass media, which has led to delays in the development of this topic in the official curriculum and the textbooks. In the core curriculum of 1994, *Principles of Civil Society*, the media are seen as basic and important sources of information about governmental actions or politics and social problems. In courses such as literature there are such topics as the 'Gathering and

Use of Information'. Included here are the analysis of broadcasts and telecasts, and students are expected to prepare reports and engage in discussions. In courses such as native language, students are expected to sharpen their ability to communicate with adults as well as their peers. Some of these courses also link varied modes of presentation, including fiction, telecasts, performances, films and documents, and the student learns how to select among them critically.

Class activities and assessments

In the standards developed for *Principles of Civil Society* (1997), it is noted that three dimensions of activity are to be used in the educational process: cognition-research, communication and participation. Furthermore, it is important for teenagers to learn the essence of civil society first on a level that will be meaningful to them. Thus, in the educational and developmental process, it is essential to see to it that the knowledge and attitudes taught at school are not removed from reality.

Active teaching methods are necessary: brainstorming, case studies, debates, interviews, surveys and role playing. These methods are also used to develop students' sense of responsibility in teaching them to make decisions for themselves as well as in developing knowledge about themselves, their families, their communities and the Lithuanian state. Teachers are especially urged to use discussion so that students can clarify their thoughts by exploring a number of points of view and becoming personally interested in the topic. During discussions and debates, students are encouraged to take examples from real life, mass media, current events and concerns of neighboring countries.

One must realize that changes such as those described are going to be implemented on a broad scale only gradually. Reading the textbook and other materials still dominates history and other civics-related lessons in Lithuanian schools. Classroom conversations and other activities directed by the teacher are commonly used. However, most teachers still consider themselves to be principally the mediators of knowledge (noted during the focus groups conducted in the study and confirmed by subject experts). There are some exceptions to this in the teaching of native language, ethics and religion.

There is no official national examination in social studies for Grades 7 to 9. Learning outcomes are assessed by each individual teacher taking into account factual knowledge and independent work. Establishing an assessment system for all subject areas in Lithuania is very important at this juncture of educational reform and is now in the process of development.

Extracurricular activities (inside and outside the school)

Participation skills will condition how students play social roles in class and in the society surrounding school, as well as the extent to which they will be

able, alone or with a group, to organize an excursion or meeting. The newly developed *Core-curriculum for Secondary School* (1994) and plans for extracurricular activities try to create possibilities for communication and participation. Students are encouraged to identify political parties, to compare candidates' programs and to participate in election campaigns.

Students by the ages of 14 or 15 usually practice some democracy in school. They create student self-government, such as the Student Council, usually consisting of pupils from the upper grades. Students from the lower grades usually have a right to vote in these elections, however. In some schools, pupils every year elect someone who represents the school in the wider society, for example, extending even to activities with the Ministry of Education and Science.

Children's national and patriotic feelings are developed through clubs which work on the history of the school. They also collect information about the history of Lithuania and about people who fought for Lithuanian independence.

Some schools give special attention to national identity, especially respect for national symbols (such as the flag) and traditions (festivities of national songs or celebrations of holidays). Some students take part in the competition 'Do you know your regional history?' Students in Grades 5 to 8 are especially active in organizing festivals commemorating Lithuanian Independence Day (16 February) and Restoration of Statehood Day (11 March).

Students can gain public writing skills not only during class periods but also during extracurricular activities involving the publication of monthly student newspapers. Sometimes these are organized at the school level; in other places at the grade level. Other activities include roundtables and clubs. Some students also take part in the mock elections organized by the Open Society Foundation.

There is a tradition in Lithuania of using museums in teaching, and there are a number of local museums. Some schools also develop their own museums with student participation. These activities contribute towards recovering and restoring the national heritage. The pupils make displays telling about the fight for independence, for example a display about the signers of the statement of the 16th of February or about the Constitution of Lithuania. Some pupils also organize conferences commemorating historical events. These sometimes include students from other schools and guests from the Ministry of Education. Topics of some conferences have included such themes as 'The Oldest School in Vilnius' and 'School in the Center of Fights for Independence'.

Lithuanian youth organizations form partnerships with youth communities in different countries, especially with those in the neighboring Baltic and Nordic regions. These activities help to develop a sense of belonging to a wider community without losing national identity.

Teacher training and mass media

There are two main influences on teaching with respect to the topic domains: standards expressed in the curriculum and explicit or implicit national goals. As a rule, those teaching civics were originally prepared to teach history. Furthermore, the majority of history teachers were trained under the old ideological system. Now the teachers are in a difficult situation, because the concepts have changed so much in this field (more so than in other fields). New textbooks have become available, and some history teachers want to use them uncritically, replacing one dogma with a new one. Some adopt western textbooks but work through them in the old-fashioned way, from the first to the last page.

Now the whole Lithuanian teacher training system is under reformation, and this will have an impact upon teachers of civics in a special way. Didactic studies will familiarize new teachers with issues related to the curriculum, the nature of the subject and methods of work. There are some new courses for students at the Vilnius Pedagogical University's Faculty of History. Some of them are based on interdisciplinary approaches, such as 'teaching about the making of one world'. There are opportunities for students to choose a second specialty, such as political science, or to choose a specialty within history (for example, social history or the history of national identity).

Another way to prepare for teaching civics is in-service teacher training courses. In these courses teachers gain experience in using active methods of teaching and in using strategies such as student discussion or in project-work.

The mass media are seen as an important source of information about politics. Students need to learn to distinguish fact from opinion, to compare different sources and interpret conflicting information. While students get much information from the media, the connection with school instruction is not always made.

Mass media can be seen as the main informal resource in all subjects, but especially in civics. For the near future, while there are few up-to-date textbooks, in their place newspapers, magazines, and other press publications are especially important resources in forming the political and social outlook of students. This creates good conditions to develop an analytic attitude toward information. According to the Lithuanian press, the following issues are analyzed most frequently:

- relations with neighboring countries (Latvia, Belarus, Russia)
- Lithuania's international relations
- problems of the domestic economy
- social issues such as unemployment and crime
- ecological issues in Lithuania and their regional aspect.

There is some discussion in the mass media about Lithuanian integration into international organizations such as NATO and the European Community. The majority opinion favors joining these organizations. Doubts, however, are expressed about the possible danger of losing our national identity. These issues are part of some classroom discussions.

In the study of ethics, students familiarize themselves with the activities of many international organizations such as the United Nations and Amnesty International. A 'global perspective' or an 'international outlook' is very important for students when they discuss world resources, protecting nature, inter-governmental relations and human rights in the world. Religious education is important from this point of view also.

Problems related to teaching in civics

The most serious obstacles and problems can be identified as:

- 1) Politics and social issues do not interest young people. This was observed during interviews and focus groups.
- 2) There is a lack of up-to-date teaching materials oriented around the problems of interest to students of this age.
- 3) Many teachers lack experience and methodological training in civics teaching.
- 4) Teachers are not prepared to use mass media sources which could be of special value during the current period when there are few appropriate textbooks.

Changes during the last 10 years and the importance of national identity

The most important change was the restoration of statehood to the Republic of Lithuania in 1990. This has had a profound influence on educational content. There is a new constitution, and also newly established institutions and a variety of political parties. Among the most important changes in teaching civics is a new emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of Lithuanian citizens. Only following the restoration of the independence of Lithuania in 1990 were teachers free to develop students' national identity. This brings us to one of the most important issues in the area of civic education.

Lithuania seeks national liberation, continuation of the historical evolution of its statehood, and 'an open, just and harmonious civil society and a law-governed state' (Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania). The main question is how to develop national identity in harmony with openness to the European and the world community (or how to create an open society without losing national identity). Unfortunately, there is no broad discussion yet about the role of citizenship education in this process.

Every nation as a community of people developing in a certain social environment has its own culture, that is, experience gained from former generations which determines the expression of mental and material life. To neglect the ethnic culture and national history often leads to the loss of national identity.

From an early age, students are taught to love and respect national history and culture, thus promoting a sense of identity and a personal relationship with the nation. This process is successful only through the joint efforts of parents, schools and the mass media. Cultural self-understanding is based on respect for the values of one's own country and those of other countries.

National identity expressed through patriotism is strengthened during periods when the existence of a nation or its ways of life are threatened. From the 16th Century until the early 20th Century, protection of the mother tongue became an expression of the nation's self-consciousness. Efforts to protect beliefs and traditions also influenced the development of Lithuanian national consciousness. Probably the most distinctive feature of the Lithuanian national character is faithfulness to ancestors and heritage. This helped the nation for centuries resist the attempts by others to dominate it (Stoskus, 1991).

The main goals for the nation are survival, preservation of identity and constant social and cultural development. In order to achieve these conditions, the State serves as a major guarantor of identity. The restoration of independence in 1918, when Lithuania got rid of the oppression of Czarist Russia, was an especially significant event for a nation which had a 600-year tradition of independence. However, after 20 years of independence, Lithuania was once again subjected to attempts to level its national identity. Lithuanian national self-consciousness developed as cultural self-consciousness because there were few possibilities for it to develop a political self-consciousness. The historical memory of the nation and its striving for freedom, justice, civic responsibility and personal dignity were transmitted through the culture (Buzmickas, 1989). Continuing efforts of the Lithuanian nation to preserve its identity, language and customs and to develop its national culture grew into the struggle for independence and into the 'Singing Revolution' as an expression of national solidarity.

Of course, repression in Lithuania also influenced national identity. During the Soviet period, an attempt was made to suppress national values. After the re-establishment of independence, many saw a new threat to national identity because Lithuania is a small nation. The open market and the open world brought the threat of cosmopolitanism and national nihilism. It is not possible to restore the quality of values which characterized the Lithuanian nation before the Second World War, when they were the direct heritage of an old and unique Baltic civilization and were handed down from one generation to another in peasant families. Wishing to preserve the national identity in all its uniqueness, the re-established State of Lithuania is searching for ways to build an open society without losing national identity.

Conditions for developing national identity and openness

Education, like the other spheres of national life, reflects society. Antecedents of Lithuanian educational reform are similar to those of national rebirth: the vivid memory of an Independent Lithuania (1918 to 1940); recollections of the guerrilla war against the Soviet occupation (1944 to 1953), along with vivid memories of deportations to Siberia; contact with the Lithuanian emigration to the USA during the years of occupation; the social and philosophical works by the pre-war and emigrant authors circulated in certain circles of Lithuanian society; and the activity of the Lithuanian Catholic Church (1972-1988), including its publications regarding human rights violations. These factors were generators of the movement for independence and national rebirth and are thought of as essential precursors of educational reform. National identity has been crucial for the older generation, and remains the most active element of citizenship education.

Education for national identity is of concern not only to Lithuanian students but also for those from national minorities. After the re-establishment of the State, an Address to Lithuanian National Communities was made in which all inhabitants of Lithuania were given citizenship, if they wished to receive it. This was followed with laws guaranteeing political, economic, social and cultural rights along with respect for language and culture. There have been serious intentions to create a democratic state with a multi-ethnic society.

Another challenge for civic education is socio-political. The formation of civil society during the recent reform period is analyzed by Degutis (1995). He stresses that a dominant feeling of powerlessness in political life destroyed a sense of responsibility for the life of society. This feeling was reinforced during the reform period. Three aspects of the reforms had a major impact on the formation of political culture. First, institutional reform reduced the effectiveness of state activity and control and consequently the authority of state power. Second, economic reform and a decrease in living standards contributed to a decrease in political activity. Third, the shift in value orientation caused anomie in society. In turn, a low level of popular political activity enabled uncontrolled actions by elite groups which did not help the reform process.

Yet another issue for civic education concerns Lithuania as a sovereign country joining supranational organizations such as the European Union and NATO. The majority in society appears to be in favor of joining. However, some express doubts about the implications for national identity.

Modes for developing national identity

The main architects of post-Soviet educational reform (Luksiene, Jackunas & Kuolys, 1994) recognize that the successful way to develop national identity and openness is through reform in which citizenship education plays an important role.

A cornerstone of educational reform, starting in 1988, was the restoration of the national school in which the assimilation by an individual of his or her national culture has the most significant role. To give only one example, in the *Conception of Education in Lithuania* (1992), it is a 'duty of Lithuanian culture to preserve identity and historical continuity' (p.7). A very important obligation of reformed schools is 'to advance cultural self-consciousness and the student's realization that he is not only someone who partakes in the national culture but also a creator responsible for its development and preservation' (p.5). The following are important components of this development: 'firm moral fundamentals, orientation toward the essential values of a democratic society and State; freedom, equality and solidarity; respect for dignity and tolerance; loyalty to the democratic State and nation; and understanding of the Lithuanian nation within world historic development' (*Core Curriculum for Secondary School*, 1994, p.272).

Openness as an aim is more likely to be pursued through pursuing the European dimension in society and education. The educational system would aim at the restoration of broken European traditions and values in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the promotion of personal awareness of European identity. The following measures are likely to be helpful:

- inclusion in the curriculum of the foundations of European cultural heritage
- reshaping initial and in-service teacher training with a view to fostering European awareness among teachers
- revision of teaching materials (textbooks, exercise books, books for teachers)
- improving the quality of foreign language studies
- promoting cooperation between Lithuanian schools and schools in various European countries through exchanges.

These two aims—national identity and openness—exist without too much tension. However, depending on which political party is in power, the concern for national identity becomes stronger or weaker.

Conclusions: challenges of civic education

Analysis of the literature, curriculum and textbooks together with the results of interviews with policy-makers, teachers, trainers of teachers and parents allow us to formulate some challenges to be faced in the near future in Lithuania. Challenges arise from the fact that political, social and economic changes after the restoration of statehood in 1990 have resulted in new mentalities and attitudes. Consequently, the society is facing new questions about the role and purpose of civic education (Zaleskiene, 1996).

Rapid changes in the educational system are influencing the quality of teaching because curriculum and syllabi as well as teaching and learning materials are not yet established but in the process of development. Teachers must consequently adapt their methods to new educational objectives. Students present more diversity in terms of their social skills, backgrounds, ambitions and behavior. It will take some time to prepare teachers for this changed situation.

The content of civic education is described only in broad outline in the core curriculum. Teachers have to develop their own programs according to their own understandings and the needs of their students. This is a very difficult task for most teachers, who were trained in older more traditional ways. The teacher training system itself is in need of reform. Further difficulties are caused by the fact that teaching and learning materials for civic education are only now beginning to appear in print.

The content of civic education is not the subject of enough public discussion. Some think that the subject should be replaced with political education, with human rights education, with law-related education, or with patriotic education. This often makes the teacher's job more difficult.

Local communities are relatively under-developed in Lithuanian society. They are not prepared to take an active part in civic education or in developing the sense of belonging to a community. In some places, the only important institutions are thought to be the family and the national state, with no intermediate organizations to which young people might develop a sense of loyalty.

The above challenges arising for civic education at present require collective efforts on the part of society as a whole, and it is expected over time that such efforts will create an open democratic and modern society.

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CITIZENSHIP CONCEPTIONS AND COMPETENCIES IN THE SUBJECT MATTER 'SOCIETY' IN THE DUTCH SCHOOLS

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Notes:

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Introduction

In the Netherlands, two empirical studies published in the mid-1990s revitalized public debate about the goals of education in general and of civic education in particular. In the first study, Members of Parliament were tested as to their knowledge of history (*Historisch Nieuwsblad*, 5, 4, 1996). In the second study, teachers of the school subject-matter called 'society' as well as history teachers were tested as to their knowledge of politics (Vis, 1995). (These two groups of teachers are the most relevant to civic education.) The outcomes of both studies were disappointing; the levels of knowledge were surprisingly low. Respondents in the studies at first became objects of public derision, but they became indignant rather than ashamed. Some stated that the kind of factual knowledge that was asked for was useless. That led commentators to ask for an in-depth reflection on the goals of education: What goals does formal education have now and what should we be teaching the young generation?

Goals occupy a central position in public debate and in political education theory. They serve as standards for the selection of themes to teach about, for choosing methods of teaching, for styles of interaction between teacher and students, and for the selection of textbooks and other educational materials. Goals also set the objectives for educational evaluation and assessment.

In this chapter, we focus on the goals of the school subject matter 'society' ('maatschappijleer') in Dutch secondary education. We report relevant research that has been carried out and describe various points of view regarding both the structural (formal) and content (material) dimensions of educational goals. The structural dimension includes questions such as: Who should decide about the goals of education? What types of educational goals can be distinguished? The second dimension regards the content of these goals. What knowledge is youth expected to acquire? If attitudinal goals are to be included, which attitudes should be strengthened and which downplayed? Which behavioral intentions should young people develop?

Ever since the subject society was first offered in schools, the focal point has been 'good' citizenship. The subject's ultimate goal was and is to prepare youth for their role as 'good' citizens. Fundamental questions are: What is a 'good' citizen, that is, what knowledge, which attitudes and values, and which behavioral intentions does a 'good' citizen have? How do young people measure up? What does the school contribute to citizenship education?

Before we start to report the relevant research regarding the educational goals for the subject society and the fundamental questions for this citizenship education, the context for civic education in the Netherlands, both political and educational, will be described.

Politics in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is a unitary state. Its political system is well described and analyzed in Andeweg and Irwin (1993). A crucial element of the Dutch political system is that the Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy. Following parliamentary elections, the Dutch monarch appoints an 'informator' or 'formator' who has to find out which parties could form a government coalition. Other tasks of the Dutch monarch are formal, including chairing particular political events and representing the country when officially visiting other countries.

The government consists formally of the Queen and the Cabinet of Ministers. The Queen does not participate in weekly ministerial meetings. The Prime Minister has few powers. He (so far, no woman has occupied the position) draws up the agenda and chairs cabinet meetings. He can neither appoint nor remove ministers, and his staff is relatively small. Even though the Prime Minister's role in international affairs has grown as a result of the prominent position of the European Council within the European Union, the Dutch Cabinet has a long-standing tradition of collegiality. The members of the government represent the parliamentary parties who together have a majority of seats in the Second Chamber. There is limited dualism in the relation between government and Parliament.

Representatives to three legislative bodies are elected directly: the municipal council, the provincial council, and the Second Chamber of Parliament. Members of provincial councils indirectly elect the 75 members of the First Chamber of Parliament. These First Chamber elections are held every four years. The powers of the First Chamber are limited compared to the Second Chamber's powers. The Second Chamber was added to the 'States-General' as a result of the short-lived union with Belgium from 1815-1830. As citizens of the European Union, the Dutch also directly elect 31 members of the European Parliament. The members of the executive and judicial branch are appointed.

The Dutch electoral system is a proportional system. The entire country is considered as being a single electoral district for the distribution of seats in the Second Chamber. The voters decide upon the distribution of the 150 seats among the political parties, rather than upon specific representatives. Political parties (through their boards) nominate candidates. The major parties have memberships that are less than 3 per cent of their electorate. Less than 10 per cent of the party members are actively involved in intra-party decision-making. The ballot presented to the Dutch voters has more than 20 party names. The candidates of each party are listed in a column under the party name. Only one choice of a party can be made. The major political parties are the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), the Labor Party (PvdA), the conservative-liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD),

the 'pragmatic' Democrats '66 (D66; the full name is no longer used) and the Green Left (GL).

An important element of Dutch social and political structure is the so-called 'pillarization'. At the beginning of this century, Catholics as well as several Protestant groups organized themselves into separate forces at almost every level of society. This also applies to Social-Democrats and, to a lesser degree, to Liberals (who are Conservatives in the Dutch context). Each group had its own schools, newspapers, broadcasting, sports clubs and so forth. Belonging to a certain pillar, one voted almost automatically for the party that was associated with it. Since the late 1960s, pillarization has become weaker.

Since no party can achieve sole domination in Parliament, coalitions in government are a necessity. Elections seldom determine the formation of a government. In most cases, several different coalitions are possible. The 'formator' has to answer questions such as which parties are willing to govern with which other party (or parties), what the government's program will be for the coming four years, and which party will get which ministerial posts. The link between the outcomes of parliamentary elections and the eventual composition of government is weak.

Compared to some other democracies, political campaigning in the Netherlands is not very well developed. In the pillarized period, there were few reasons to expend effort to obtain new votes. Commercial television is also a recent phenomenon, since broadcasting organizations were part of the pillarized system. Political parties lack funds for commercial advertising and rely mainly on free publicity or public television's evening news. A crucial element in campaigning is to attract journalists' attention with pithy campaign statements. In the mid-1980s some of the parties have started to promote their leaders in addition to their political programs. Candidates then became more likely to be selected on the basis of their skills and abilities and to present themselves positively on television. It is expected that this trend will grow. Some critics have called this the 'Americanization' of politics.

Turnout in the elections is on a decline. Turnout in the elections for the Second Chamber has declined from a high of 84 per cent in 1972 to 73 per cent in 1998. Turnout in the provincial elections is on a decline from a recent high of 80 per cent to 50 per cent in 1995. Turnout in the elections for the municipal councils dropped from 74 per cent in 1978 to 60 per cent in 1998. Turnout in the European Parliament elections is also on a decline from 58 per cent in 1979 to 36 per cent in 1994. Turnout is lowest among the youngest voters.

School education in the Netherlands

Statutory freedom of education is one of the most important features of the Dutch education system. As a 1994 report from the Ministry of Education and Science says: 'Freedom of education, which is laid down in the Constitution, finds expression in virtually all facets of the Dutch education system' (Ministerie, 1994, p.3). Freedom is threefold: freedom to found schools, freedom to organize schools, and freedom to determine the religious or other convictions on which schools are based. Under the terms of the Constitution, public and private schools are funded on an equal basis. As a result, there is a wide variety of schools in the Netherlands. Two categories can be distinguished: public-authority and private schools. The private schools can be subdivided into Roman Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Hindu and private non-denominational schools (e.g. Montessori schools and Jena Plan schools). The content of education provided by schools varies because of the freedom given to school authorities to determine the teaching in their schools on the basis of their own views. There are, however, standards imposed by the Ministry of Education. These include statutory provisions stipulating which subjects must be taught at each level of education. Other binding regulations govern the requirements for obtaining a school-leaving certificate, with or without examinations.

A second characteristic feature of the Dutch education system is compulsory education. Education is compulsory until the end of the school year in which the student reaches the age of 16 or has completed at least 12 full years of schooling. After full-time compulsory education, it is compulsory to attend school at least part-time till the age of 18. All students who have completed primary school may, in principle, go on to any form of secondary education. In general, final examinations for the individual subject matters are made up of a national examination and an examination which is set by the school. Some subjects are assessed only by the school exam. These examinations serve as a basis for admission to higher education.

Primary schools serve all children between four and 12 years of age. All forms of secondary education start with a three-year period of basic education for students aged 12 to 15 years. It provides a broad general education. The division between general and vocational education is made in the different types of schools following basic secondary education. Pre-senior secondary vocational education (VMBO) and special education for students with learning problems (VSO) prepare more than 60 per cent of students.

VMBO is a new term for the previous pre-vocational education (VBO; four-year course, ages 12 to 16) and junior general secondary education (MAVO; four-year course, ages 12 to 16). The upper secondary education or second phase of secondary education also includes senior secondary education (HAVO; five-year course; ages 12 to 17), and pre-university education (VWO; six-year course, ages 12 to 18).

A recent innovation in Dutch education is the formulation of national attainment targets. These targets are objectives that describe those qualities of students—knowledge, insight, skills that should minimally be included in the goals of every school. National attainment targets have been set for all subjects in the core curriculum for primary and secondary education. A group of external experts formulates the targets. Pupils are assessed by the school using tests designed by the National Institute for Educational Measurement.

In primary schools, the following subjects must always appear in the curriculum: Dutch, English (in the top two classes), arithmetic and mathematics, physical education, social and life skills, healthy living, expressive activities, and a number of 'academic' subjects—science, geography, history, social structures (including civics) and religions and ideologies. Schools in the province of Friesland also teach Frisian language. In the case of children with a non-Dutch background, some lessons may be conducted in their own native language.

In basic secondary education, the recommended timetable includes the following distribution of periods among subjects over the three-year period: Dutch (400 teaching periods of 50 minutes); English (280); second modern language: French and/or German (240); mathematics (400); biology (120); physics and chemistry (200); economics (80); technology (180); computer and information literacy (20); physical education (360); visual arts, music, dance and/or drama (280); social and life skills (100); geography (140); and history and constitution (200). In the core curriculum for basic secondary education, 'cross-curricular themes' are also included. Some of these 13 themes are development education, European dimension education and environmental education.

Upper secondary education has been undergoing important changes in structure and methods since the school year 1998/1999 began. The system of free choice of examination will disappear. The new VMBO curriculum is made up of four sectors with a particular cluster of subject matters: technology, care and welfare, economics and agriculture. The final examinations will include general subjects, sector-specific subjects, and optional subjects. The optional subjects are determined by the educational pathway the student has selected. The general subject matters with a national examination are Dutch and English. The three other general subjects, only including a school examination, are society (80 teaching periods), art and physical education. Society is also an optional subject but only for students in the theoretical and combined pathways. The revised HAVO and VWO curricula, since the start of the school year 1998/1999, comprise a common component which is the same for all students (almost half the time), a specialized profile component (more than one third), and a small optional component for which the subject matters can be chosen by individual students. Time set aside for the optional component can also be used for activities in the student or participation council. There are four profiles, each with obligatory subject matters: science and

technology, science and health care, economics and society, and culture and society. The changes in teaching methods involve the implementation of the so-called 'study house' concept. Schools are encouraged to rely less on providing traditional teaching methods and more on organizing other forms of working, such as group assignments, searching for information on Internet and conducting interviews. The teacher's task increasingly will be to organize and supervise the learning processes. Pupils are expected to learn how to handle new information, write, speak, give presentations, present arguments, work in a team and do 'research'.

General support institutions promote the operation of the school as a whole, while specialized services operate in curriculum development and methods of testing. Specialized support organisations are the National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO) and the National Institute for Educational Measurement (CITO). Textbooks and other educational materials are collected by a National Infocentre on Teaching and Learning Materials. The production, distribution and sale of teaching materials is a commercial, private sector activity. Schools are free in their choice of textbooks.

The government establishes the requirements for founding schools, the types of schools, the subjects that must be taught at each level of education, and the requirements for obtaining a school-leaving certificate. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science is charged with implementing the legislation. Every school produces a school work plan describing how it interprets the targets of the core curriculum and establishing periodic evaluations of results. In many schools, students have the opportunity to express their opinions about the school in student or participation council meetings. The members are elected, if enough candidates are proposed.

Also, with respect to history and constitution and the subject society, the government's powers are limited to decisions about whether to teach the subject and, if so, in which type of school and for how many hours. The government also looks at whether the subjects can be part of the final examination. Final examination requirements are proposed by an Examination Committee for Society, whose members are appointed by the Minister of Education. Teachers' committees, teacher organizations, teacher trainers, and specialized organizations and institutions give recommendations. Politicians and political parties differ in their views about the importance and objectives of citizenship education in schools. In times of problematic youth behaviors and after elections with low turnouts and publication of research reports showing youth to be politically ignorant, citizenship education receives more support. In general, politicians seem to give limited rank and status to 'society' and political education (Hoogerwerf, 1988, 1990). History and constitution receives more support among policy-makers.

Civic education in the Netherlands

Civic education in the Netherlands has its place in both primary education (see Gemmeke, 1998) and secondary education. Here, we focus on secondary education. In basic secondary education, civic education is expected to be included in the subject history and constitution (200 school hours). In upper secondary education, the civic education subjects are history and constitution and society. History and constitution is directed at providing young people with knowledge, insight and skills regarding history, politics and government 'so that they may participate, both now and in the future, in historically developed social relations in their role as members of various communities, as consumers and producers, and as national and international citizens' (Ministry, 1994, p.45). In the Constitution, which is part of the subject matter history and constitution, an introduction to the structures and processes of the Dutch political system is given.

The overall goal of the subject matter society is social and political education. The subject was introduced into general secondary education in 1968 and is scheduled for two hours weekly in one of the last two years of the school curriculum or for one hour during each of the two years (80 teaching periods of 50 minutes). Since 1991, schools have been allowed to offer society also as a final examination subject. Only a few secondary schools have offered that possibility. The number of students who have selected society is very low: in 1991, 500 and in 1994, 1,100 students (Vis, 1995, 50).

Training of teachers for the higher grades in schools for higher general and pre-university education differs from that provided for teachers in other types of schools. The first is called 'first grade teacher training' and the other, 'second grade teacher training'. The first grade training is connected to universities; the second to schools for higher vocational training. The university training includes a two-month graduate course on teaching and learning in general and a one-year post-graduate course on teaching and learning in general and the subject matter in particular (Vis, 1995). Society teachers at schools for higher general education and pre-university education have at least a Master's degree with a strong social science component, and have taken a full-year post-graduate teacher education course. These requirements were introduced in 1991.

There have been a few systematic content analyses of textbooks in the subject area of society, for example, by Brands (1970), Toonstra and van Veen (1976) and Mulders (1979). In recent examinations of textbooks, special attention has been focused on clichés and stereotypes about other countries and peoples (e.g. Wolfs, 1997). Textbook analyses have been mostly critical and even negative.

It is believed that political education in the non-examination subject society had a limited impact. Some small-scale studies looked at the effects of

specific projects (Schennink, 1973; Karskens & Schennink, 1983). With respect to political education about the European Community in the Netherlands, it was found that youngsters who had classes on politics in Europe had a greater feeling of being European, but were less willing to vote for the European Parliament elections. There was no improvement in the level of knowledge (Meulema, 1991). The explanation for the limited impact cited most often was the redundancy hypothesis. There were two other hypotheses. The first is the deficiency hypothesis: the limited effectiveness or even total absence of political education is due to teachers poorly trained in political science and to the limited quantity and inferior quality of the information offered in textbooks. The second hypothesis is the socialization hypothesis. This hypothesis ascribes the absence or ineffectiveness of political education to the fact that the starting point of political education is usually negative because of earlier political socialization. Most teachers were expected to fail to take that prior political socialization into account in their political education classes. Society has also been a low status subject (Inspectie, 1993).

In the more intense examination-oriented society course, there is an expectation that the impact on students is greater. In one study, the effects on political orientations were measured for both the intensive society as an examination subject course and the non-examination society course (Wittebrood, 1995). It appeared that the intensive course does contribute to political involvement but not to the political tolerance of the students. Students who had an intensive course in society showed a greater increase in interest in political issues, in political efficacy, in their intention to take part in conventional and unconventional political activity, and in their intention to vote in parliamentary elections. It also contributed to a decrease in political cynicism. The intensive society course did not, however, contribute to a differential decrease in political intolerance (authoritarianism and ethnocentrism). The decrease was equal for students who had society as an examination subject and for students who had society as a compulsory non-examination subject. There is no research into the relative effectiveness of the school subject society compared to the influences from other socialization agencies such as parents and mass media.

Goals of formal education in the Netherlands

Discussions about the goals for the subject society are related to several different types of goals. An important point relates to the distinction between prescribed and voluntary formal education goals. Prescribed goals are goals set by an actor other than a teacher, usually the government, but the teacher is obliged to accept them. Dutch Government documents contain only broadly defined educational goals. This has to do with the widespread sensitivity about

governmental influence on education. There is a broad consensus that the State should be allowed to decide about the subject matters that should be taught and to indicate in general their aims but not to decide about their specific goals and contents. The latter is the task of independent curriculum committees, composed of experienced teachers and educational experts, and of the schools. Society teachers do not seem to be in favor of prescribed goals. In part, this may come from the fact that, when the subject was first introduced, it had no such goals. Once the teachers were accustomed to the freedom to select their own goals, they did not want to give up this right. This may also explain why, for a long time, a majority of these teachers opposed the introduction of a final examination in their subject matter, a move which would necessarily include nationally decided goals. Opposition against goals set by others than the teacher may also be one of the reasons why relatively few teachers used a textbook. Many of them made or collected the educational materials for their own students.

Another point relates to the distinction between 'goals with' and 'goals of' formal education. 'Goals with' education differs from 'goals of' education in the sense that the former cannot be realized solely by means of education alone, although education may contribute to its realization. Two types of 'goals with' education can be distinguished. The first covers personal goals, for example, 'a mature personality'. The second refers to societal goals, such as 'democratization of the society'. In some documents from the 1970s and 1980s about the subject society, more pages were dedicated to descriptions of the ideal personality or society than to goals that are reasonably achievable as a result of education in this subject. Opponents point to the fact that such 'goals with' are not educational goals but are political goals and that emphasizing these goals will result in an over-politicization of education. Another argument is that when 'goals with' are confused with 'goals of' education, disappointment about the results of education is almost guaranteed. Proponents argue that education inevitably serves political goals. In most cases, education serves the status quo and has the function of socialization into the existing society. They also argue that ultimate, long-term goals ('goals with') are indispensable for the selection and legitimation of the 'goals of' education. The two points of view are synthesized in the opinion that 'goals of' education are to be derived from 'goals with' education and should serve them.

A related discussion has to do with the distinction between school goals and subject matter goals. School goals are usually broader, more abstract, and less content-oriented compared to subject matter goals (e.g. the ability to do critical thinking compared to being able to distinguish facts and comment in a newspaper). Achieving school goals also requires more effort and time compared to achieving subject matter goals. Some society goals are more school than subject matter goals, for example, an understanding of the world. Such a

goal is clearly beyond the capacity of the lessons in society to deliver by themselves (if not beyond the capacity of the school). Outcomes of instruction in the society course are therefore bound to fall short of the goal so that disappointment about results is predictable.

There are also goals ascribed to society by teachers that properly belong to other subject matters. Putting these educational goals into society was justified by the argument that the school or other subject matters refuse to accept these important goals, for example, knowledge about sexuality, information about the effects of drug use, and the ability to write a good application letter. Those opposed to the inclusion of these goals in society warned that the subject was in danger of becoming a hodgepodge. In order to avoid this, a more limited scope for the subject matter society was requested in order to distinguish its goals from those of other subjects and of the school, thereby giving the subject its own identity.

Another category of educational goals is also a point of discussion. A distinction is often made between cognitive, affective and conative goals. Those who oppose this kind of categorization stress the mutual interaction of these goals. For example, new knowledge has an effect on affects. These affects, in turn, have an effect on future knowledge acquisition. The proponents of the categorization point to the different ways of acquisition. The acquiring of cognitions differs from the development of affections, and the development of connations. For example, insight is acquired by combining several bits of factual information, which were acquired earlier. Attitudes are derived from knowledge, beliefs coupled with values, and emotions. For the development of behavioral intentions, attitudes are relevant variables.

If the distinction among cognitions, affections and conation is accepted, what follows is the question of whether formal education should include all these goals. This is a question of legitimation. Do teachers have the right, or even the duty, to support particular attitudes? The opponents say that school has only a cognitive mission. There is also a fear of manipulation and indoctrination. Proponents say that students only learn if they have an interest; education requires the awakening or strengthening of interest. Moreover, it is said that a democracy requires not only knowledge but also particular attitudes, for example, political interest and a willingness to take part in elections. In a research study among a group of 50 experienced society teachers, almost all respondents wanted students to achieve all three categories of goals. The development of attitudes was found to be by far the most important. Knowledge came in second place. The acquisition of 'skills' was regarded as being the least important goal (Dekker, 1986).

Different levels of complexity within each of these educational goals presents a problem. Seldom is there reference to the taxonomies developed by educational psychologists in reference to cognitive and affective goals. As a result, society curricula for the several different school types (levels) do not, in gen-

eral, differ as to low or high level of complexity (simple or complex goals) but rather only as to topics and amount of information. This probably has something to do with the question of whether social and political knowledge is unidimensional or multidimensional (see Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975, for a study taking a multidimensional point of view; see also Olgers, 1993). There also is the question of whether one can speak of a cumulativeness in this knowledge. There appears to be no Dutch study aimed at answering this question, except for a small-scale study into the relationship between national and international political knowledge. This study found that only students with adequate knowledge about national politics also had adequate knowledge about international politics (Meulema, 1991). Another result of the absence of taxonomy references is the confusion about the conceptualization of 'skills'. In many society documents, skills are considered a separate domain (besides the cognitive and affective domains) or as potentially applying to each.

Now the focus turns to the content of the goals for the subject matter society. These goals have generated heated discussions from time to time. The research presented in the following section presents the history of these discussions, shows the broad spectrum of views and identifies the goals that teachers, teacher trainers and experts in this field consider desirable.

Education goals for the school subject history

Several studies describe the history of the subject matter society and the development of the discussion about its goals (e.g. Klaassen, 1979; Langeveld, 1979, 1986, 1991; Dekker, 1983, 1984a,b; Dijkstra, 1985; Foeken-Rubinstein, 1985; Hartman & Vlug, 1989; Hooghoff, 1990; Vis, 1991, 1995). Concern about a lack of adequate preparation of future citizens was one of the motivations to promote the subject society for secondary education. One report in 1963 stated that the goal of the subject society is to bridge the gap between society and youth. The young should be prepared for participation in social institutions in such a way that they are willing and able to make decisions in a deliberate way. A 1963 law introduced this subject as an obligatory subject for two hours per week during one school year in the second phase of secondary education. After some years of experimenting, it was generally introduced in secondary education in 1968. The overall goal was broadly described as 'giving some knowledge of and insights into relations between individuals and groups' and 'discussion of current issues'. Everyone who was qualified to teach another subject became also qualified to teach society including, for example, theology teachers. Teachers, teacher trainers and textbook authors were free to interpret the goal of the subject as they wished and were free to select their own specific goals. Soon it became clear that the subject matter was in danger of developing into a hodgepodge. To meet that

danger, the Minister of Education created a committee of teachers and teacher trainers for curriculum development two years after the subject society was first introduced. This committee and its successors developed a model for the subject that can be characterized as social education.

In the years that followed, individual teachers and teacher trainers also developed their conceptions or models of the subject matter. One of these focused on social skills, such as 'good listening' and 'writing a good application letter'. Another model emphasized sociological knowledge of the family, school, mass media, labor and politics. A third approach was called political education and focused on national and international political structures, processes and issues (i.e. polity, politics and policies). One author distinguished 10 different 'concept models' in curricula and textbooks (Klaassen, 1979). The first model was education in good social behavior, that is, 'partnership education'. The second was 'citizenship education', preparing the young for their role as citizens in a democracy. Next came 'moral education', 'knowledge of institutions', 'introduction to sociology', 'conflict theory', 'critical social learning', 'political education', 'critical theory' and 'Marxist theory'. This list of distinctions received not only positive but also negative comments: the 'models' are not all mutually exclusive and the empirical evidence for them was weak.

At the end of the 1970s, a curriculum committee, in search of a consensus, combined the several conceptions in the following overall goal: social and political education. The content areas finally selected were education and development; social environment; labor and leisure time; technology and society; state and society; and international relations. It was expected that each area would be analyzed in four ways: political-juridical; socio-economic; socio-cultural; and developmental and international comparison. Application of these four ways of analyzing is expected to result in a 'polycontextual' learning and through that lead to a 'meta-cognitive development' of the students (Geerlings, 1998). The socio-cultural sciences, that is, sociology, political science, cultural anthropology and sociology of non-western countries and peoples, were accepted as the sciences from which the specific contents should be derived. Teachers and teacher trainers were free to accept, amend or reject this curriculum outline.

In a research investigation into desired goals, experienced society subject teachers from schools for higher general and pre-university education were interviewed face-to-face in 1984 (Dekker, 1986). Fifty-one out of the 52 teachers who met the experience requirements participated in the study. Both open- and closed-ended questions were asked in the structured interviews. The goal selected most often from a set of 10 briefly stated overall goals, corresponding substantially with the concept models listed above, was the broad designation of 'social and political education'. The second most popular goal was 'personal development'. 'Citizenship education' was ranked third.

This was followed by 'social development' and 'moral education'. 'Political education' was in sixth position. At the bottom of the list were 'partnership education' and 'constitution'. 'Introduction to sociology' and 'introduction to political science' failed to obtain a single 'vote'. Citizenship education did not rank any higher than third, probably because during the culturally revolutionary early 1970s it had taken on a negative connotation among many teachers, identified as it was with uninteresting introductions to old-fashioned, autocratic social and political institutions. Responding to an open-ended question, the 51 teachers named a total of more than 2,400 goals. Many of these were of the 'goals with' type. These goals pointed to a kind of general competence to be acquired by the students or they included making a contribution towards changing Dutch society.

As far as the 'goals of' type are concerned, a surprisingly large number of different attitudes was listed as desirable, for example, respect, openness to views of others, tolerance, solidarity, fairness, altruism, involvement, anti-fascism, political trust and political efficacy. The respondents also listed a huge number of different themes and topics about which students should gain knowledge. The respondents did not want to contribute to political education at all. The other half did have political education goals, but they also wanted to achieve other goals and teach about other topics. Respondents named several arguments against political education as the major society goal. Amongst others, these were: students are too young for and not interested in politics; there may be parents who object to politics in school; politics as a learning area holds the danger of indoctrination by the teacher; and politics do not interest the teachers themselves. Respondents also had doubts about their competence to teach politics, as most of them had received no specific preparation to teach this subject.

The goal 'social and political education' received more and more acceptance as the years went by. The Association of Society Teachers (NVLM) commissioned the National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO) to develop 'a social and political education' curriculum for the subject society. More than 20 years after its introduction, curricula for society for all school types became available (Projectgroep, 1987; Gerritsen & Klaassen, 1991).

For teachers who had to prepare their students for a final examination in this subject matter at the end of their school career, this curriculum was elaborated into a final examination program by the Examination Committee for Society. This program included detailed goals, described in behavioral terms. A sourcebook for society teachers includes a detailed description of the goals, topics and key concepts (Dieteren, Dieteren & Meijs, 1994 and following years). This committee also offered an in-service training for teachers.

The curriculum for the examination subject society for VBO and MAVO schools included five theme areas and themes: politics and policy; labour and society; mass media, multi-cultural society, and constitutional state and

criminality. The curriculum for the examination subject society for HAVO and VWO schools included six theme areas: education and socialization; environment; labour and leisure time; technology and society; state and society; and international relations.

The 1998/99 changes to the upper secondary education curriculum ('study house') have resulted in the following position for the subject society. In the common component of the VMBO curriculum, society continues to be an obligatory 'general' subject matter (80 hours). There is a school-based examination; there is no central examination. In the optional component of two of the four pathways in the VMBO curriculum, the students have the option to choose society (280 hours), including a national examination. The theme domains are political decision-making; multi-cultural society; mass media; labor and society; criminality and the constitutional state; youth and society; skills; and research.

In the common component of the HAVO and VWO curriculum, society is still an obligatory subject matter (respectively 160 and 120 teaching hours), including a school examination (there is no national examination). The society examination program in the common part of the HAVO curriculum in the coming years includes the domains of political decision-making, multi-cultural society, and people and work. The domain of 'skills and approaches' is examined in combination with the other four themes. The VWO domains are the same with one exception—criminality and the constitutional state are in place of people and work. The domain of skills and approaches is in a central position. There are general skills (to be trained in all school subjects) and subject-related approaches. The society approach involves three ways of analyzing: the political-juridical, socio-economic and the socio-cultural (Gijssels, 1998). However, in the school year 2000/2001, society in the common component will be replaced by a new subject matter called history and society. In the specialized component of the HAVO and VWO curriculum, society is absent (it has been replaced by the subject matter cultural and artistic education). In the optional component part of the HAVO and VWO curriculum, students have the opportunity to choose society (200 and 360 teaching hours respectively), including a national examination. It is the expectation that only a small number of schools will offer the opportunity to choose society as a free examination subject matter and that, as a result, only a minority of the students will choose society in the optional component of the curriculum. The society examination program in the free part relates to the following domains and subdomains:

- *Political decision-making*: political structures; actors in the process of decision-making; political culture and ideologies; international relations.
- *Mass media*: communication and technological developments; mass media and the State; economics; culture.

- *Multi-cultural society*: multi-cultural society; the State's policy; societal position; discrimination and culture.
- *People and work*: political views and the welfare state; economic order; employer-employee relations; labor division; information technology; significance of labor.
- *Criminality and constitutional state*: criminality and society; the constitutional state; the State's policies; functions of penalties; causes of criminality.
- *Environment and policy*: environment as a societal problem; the State's policies; societal organisations; environment on a global level; environment and culture.
- *Development cooperation and policy*: development cooperation and the State's policies; national and international organizations; development, cooperation and culture.
- *Skills and approaches*: skills in collecting information, doing research, and analyzing concrete societal issues and developments; the subdomain of opportunities for future education

Although themes of sex and drug education have disappeared from the curriculum, some experts in the field still find the range of themes too broad and are looking for some clear standard to bring about further restriction (democratic citizenship being the one the most often mentioned). Some consider that the subject society should prepare the young adequately for their political citizenship and that the teaching area of society should be limited to politics (national and international) alone (Philippens, 1993; Vis, 1995). Others plead that higher importance be given to value education (Klaassen, 1996). As in the 1960s, the following question has remained: what is an adequate preparation for citizenship, or what should future citizens minimally be taught and learn (Hartman, 1990)?

Concepts of citizenship and the national agenda in the Netherlands

Society teachers are not the only ones who discuss citizenship. Since the mid-1990s, citizenship has returned to a high place on the political agenda in the Netherlands. Several different perceived developments in Dutch society may be responsible for the revival of interest in citizenship issues: perceptions of a growing 'gap between citizens and politics'; problems of national identity attributed to an increasing diversity in the Dutch population and the internationalization of Dutch society; and loss of a sense of civic responsibility, for example, abuse of social security, higher criminality rates and a loss of 'good' manners. One of the results of the growing interest in citizenship issues is the report on 'contemporary citizenship' from the Scientific Advisory Board of

the Government (Wetenschappelijk Raad, 1992) and a series of new political theory publications on citizenship (Van Gunsteren, 1994, 1998).

The concept of citizenship has, in most publications, four aspects: the society or community gives the individual certain rights; the individual must fulfill certain social duties; the individual enjoys rights which other individuals must respect; and the individual has to fulfill certain duties toward those other individuals. The rights and duties of citizens have several dimensions, which lead to several different types of citizenship. Six dimensions can be distinguished: social, economic, cultural, ecological, civil and political. Social rights and duties are considered part of 'social citizenship' (e.g. the right to education and the duty to educate children). Civil rights and duties belong to 'civil citizenship' (e.g. the freedom of speech and the duty to respect public property). Political rights and duties are considered part of 'political citizenship' (e.g. the right to establish political organizations and the duty to vote). Political citizenship is connected with political entities at the local, regional, national, international and world levels. In the Netherlands, the national and European Union levels are of central interest. Local and regional political citizenship usually receive attention only after local and regional elections with low turnouts. World political citizenship (relating to the United States) is almost never discussed.

Literature about citizenship is sometimes confusing because of a mix of the legal and the psychological meanings of the word. As a legal concept, citizenship includes the legal status, rights and duties of an individual, described in national and international constitutions, laws and/or court decisions. The psychological concept of citizenship refers to the whole of cognitions, affections, intentions and behaviors of individuals with respect to their positions as citizens. At the core is one's behavior; other components are seen as more or less supporting behavior. Here, the psychological concept of citizenship is the focal point of interest because of its basic importance for citizenship education. Citizenship in the political-psychological (contrary to the legal) sense of the word is not an absolute condition. The 'good citizen' is something of an ideal type.

One of the ideal type citizens is the 'democratic citizen', but the characteristics vary with the definition of democracy. Two dominant ideal types have, to a large extent, influenced thinking about democracy and democratic citizenship. On the one hand, there are representative democracy theories; on the other, there are participatory democracy theories (see Pateman, 1979; Conover, Crewe & Searing, 1990). The two different sets of theories about democracy assume different sets of political roles, rights and duties for citizens and the different sets of requirements citizens have to satisfy in terms of democratic citizenship competence (Dekker, 1996). There are, however, points of convergence. They may be considered as the requirements of a 'good-enough' citizenship (Dahl, 1992). The first point of convergence is that

(ideally) citizens should be supportive of democracy. The second point is that (ideally) citizens should be informed about politics in order to take part in elections. The third point is that (ideally) citizens should have a clear preference with respect to the several different options in elections (parties/candidates and policy options). The fourth point is that (ideally) citizens should be active in elections (or intend to be) as voters and/or candidates. At the core is actual electoral participation (or an intention in that direction).

The Dutch discussion in the 1990s about democratic citizenship focuses on whether there is a gap between citizens and politics. Reasons for thinking that such a gap exists are lowering levels of turnout in elections, the appearance on the political scene of extreme right-wing, anti-foreigner parties, and a dramatic decrease in political party membership. Some observers clearly see a gap between citizens and politics because of these three developments. Others see only marginal differences in opinions, attitudes and behaviors among both the elites and the wider population. They observe long-term stability rather than a dramatic decrease in voter turnout (with the exception of the elections for the European Parliament). The appearance of extreme right-wing parties is seen as a reaction to the flow of foreigners into the Netherlands rather than a protest-against-the-system vote. The dramatic decrease in party membership is admitted but is seen as counterbalanced by an increase in membership of single-issue groups (see Inglehart & Andeweg, 1993; Andeweg & Van Gunsteren, 1996).

A second topic in citizenship discussions in the Netherlands is citizenship in the European Union (EU). Legal EU citizenship was established by the Treaty on the European Union (1992). In several documents, EU institutions have indicated what EU-citizens should know, believe, think, feel, want and do with respect to the EU. Questions relating to this EU citizenship require a separate treatment (Dekker & Portengen, 1996).

In acknowledging the inevitability of a gap between voters and the elected in a representative democracy like that of the Netherlands, we must return to this question: how big would the gap be before it would become a threat to the political system? If we accept that citizens cannot be expected to have the same level of political knowledge as do professional politicians, we must then ask this question: what is the basic minimum political knowledge that citizens should possess? If we accept the fact that it is unrealistic to expect all citizens to feel politically efficacious, we then may ask: is the situation serious if, for example, 20 per cent of the citizens do not have this feeling? Other questions include the following. What percentage of the citizenry must exhibit political distrust before the situation can be called alarming? What is a reasonable expectation for numbers of members in political parties? What is a minimally acceptable level of voter turnout? Besides these kinds of normative question, there is the empirical question that relates to determining the condition of democratic citizens in general and of young citizens in particular.

Citizenship competencies of Dutch youth

Often, voting, or having the intention to vote, is seen as the most relevant element of 'good-enough' democratic citizenship. Two key questions are these: how many young people have the intention to vote or not to vote and what are the determinants of such intentions? In previous studies, the voting intention of Dutch youth was shown to correlate with gender and level of education: females tended to vote for the Second Chamber less often than males, and the higher the level of education, the more positive the intention to participate in such elections. Gender and level of education are, however, just background variables.

In the relevant literature, voting and voting intention are hypothetically explained using systemic variables (which cannot be changed by education), such as whether or not parties and their candidates take different issue positions, and how intensely parties mobilize their adherents and campaign. Variables that could be changed by education include perceptions of the cost-benefit ratio of voting, political efficacy, strength of party identification or attachment, interest in politics, and politically informative activity such as following politics in newspapers (see, for example, Niemi & Weisberg, 1993). Efforts to explain voting intentions empirically are usually not very successful. The percentages of explained variance are usually low. In some studies among adults, the strongest explanation for electoral participation is the habit of voting. This factor is, however, not applicable in research among young voters, who have not yet had the possibility to develop this habit. Because of the low proportions of explained variance in studies up to this point, no convincing theory has emerged.

Most prominent are the rationality voting theory (Downs, 1957), the reasoned action theory (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) and the political socialization theory (Dekker, 1991; Wasburn, 1994; Farnen, Dekker, Meyenberg & German, 1996). According to the first theory, voting is a rational activity. This means that voters are directed by reason towards the achievement of conscious goals. A person is expected to vote only if the benefits (based on how much difference the individual perceives between parties/candidates and/or ideologies) exceed the costs, usually of time to get information and actually to vote. In this view, the voters must see differences between the parties/candidates and/or ideologies and have strong preferences and/or expect to get some return from voting. Thus, voters may experience a benefit, even if they do not care who wins the particular election in question, in the form of satisfaction resulting from having supported democracy or having fulfilled a civic duty. In Ajzen and Fishbein's theory, a behavioral intention is a function of, and is to be explained by, the individual's attitude towards that particular behavior, the perceived behavioral control and the subjective norm. Individuals will intend to vote when they evaluate voting positively, perceive the act of

voting as easy and when they believe that important others think they should vote. The individual's behavioral attitude is, in turn, a function of behavioral beliefs, while the subjective norm is a function of perceptions about others' expectations of the individual (normative beliefs) and corresponding motivations to comply with the specific referents. The 'subjective norm' corresponds with political socialization theory. In this theory, the intention to vote or not to vote is explained by the content and quantity of the messages about voting that the individual receives from his or her relevant others.

An empirical study among Dutch youth in 1994 aimed to find out the main determinants of their voting intentions (Dekker & Portengen, 1995; Veld, 1997). It was decided to include all the relevant and major variables named in the relevant literature rather than to opt for just one of the three named theories. The sample included 1,554 students in three age categories (approximately 13, 15, and 17 years of age). In all, 1,444 youngsters completed questionnaires (93 per cent of the total sample; 7 per cent were absent from classes). Respondents were students from different types of schools, different denominations, different regions, and both urbanized and less urbanized areas. Quota-controls were based on data from the Central Statistics Bureau. Students from confessional schools were slightly over-represented compared to students from public schools. The same applied to students from junior general education schools compared to students from pre-vocational, senior general and pre-university education schools. The data were collected two months before the national elections for the Second Chamber of the Dutch Bicameral Parliament in 1994. Data collection took place during regular school hours, mainly during Dutch or English language classes. The researchers or one of their assistants introduced and distributed the questionnaires.

One third of the respondents would certainly vote if elections for the Second Chamber were held 'tomorrow' and if they were entitled to vote (35 per cent). Another third would probably vote (32 per cent). Almost one quarter would probably or certainly not vote (14 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively), while one out of 10 respondents had no opinion or did not know (12 per cent; $N = 1,430$).

The analysis of voting intentions applied to the respondents in the third and fourth (pre-vocational and junior general education) or fifth (senior general and pre-university education) school years (excluding the respondents in the first school year), of Dutch nationality, and having a clear voting intention (the respondents who had 'no opinion' and 'did not know' were excluded from the analysis; $N = 764$). Bivariate analyses showed no correlation with church attendance, belief in a political gap, attitudes about the Second Chamber and political distrust. Very weak correlations (Somer's $d: < .20$) were found with age, gender, subjective social class, living in urbanised areas, level of education, belief in the Queen's influence, opinion about democracy in the

Netherlands, opinion about the importance of the Second Chamber for the Dutch and the political powerlessness item 'people like me have no influence'. Weak correlations (.20 - .39) were found for objective and subjective political knowledge, absence of left to right self-scaling, opinion about the importance of having influence on government, opinion on the importance of the Second Chamber for one's own life, the political powerlessness item 'my vote does not matter', interest in political issues, and the perceived father's and mother's voting intention. Moderately strong correlations ($\geq .40$) were found with the attitude toward the right to vote (-.43), interest in politics in general (.44), having a party attachment (.47), and not having an identifiable party preference (-.43).

The $\geq .40$ variables were included in a multiple regression analysis that aimed to find out to what extent this combination of variables could explain the variance in (dichotomized) voting intentions and what the partial contributions of the four (dichotomized) variables were. The combination of variables explained 19 per cent of the variance in voting intentions. When controlled for the impact of the other variables, the attitude towards the right to vote turned out to be the most influential variable ($\beta .27$). This may be seen as consonant with Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) hypothesis that a behavioral intention is a function of the attitude towards that particular behavior (and the subjective norm), corroborating the relatively high similarity in voting intentions of the respondents and their parents. Not having a party-preference (a variable used by Downs) and interest in politics ($\beta .17$ and $.14$, respectively) were in second and third place. Party attachment had no significant influence.

The final step was a path analysis. The model that fitted the empirical data was able to explain 37 per cent of the variance in voting intentions. Political interest had by far the highest total, that is, direct and indirect effects on voting intention. Political knowledge (which is a rationality voting theory variable) had the second highest total effect on voting intention. Its total effect was twice as high as its direct effect. Attitudes towards the right to vote (a reasoned action theory variable) and having a party preference (a rationality voting theory variable) had only a direct effect and were in third and fourth position. In fifth and sixth position were political powerlessness, with its direct and indirect effects, and the opinion that it is important to have an influence on what the government does (indirect effect). Intensity of voting intention socialization by parents (a socialization theory variable) and having an ideology (a rationality voting theory variable) had weak direct and indirect effects on voting intention.

In the section above on concepts of citizenship, we listed four requirements for 'good-enough citizenship': being supportive of democracy; being informed about politics; having a clear party/candidate preference; and the willingness to vote. These requirements can now be compared with the research findings presented above. First, support for democracy is widespread;

eight out of 10 respondents thought that it was important to have influence on what the government does. Seven out of 10 thought they knew little about politics in the Netherlands. This self-evaluation corresponds with the outcomes of the knowledge test. In most cases, even the names of the parties of the leading candidates were unknown. One third of the respondents had no party preference and practically no respondent considered himself or herself a follower of a particular political party. Only one third of the student group we studied would certainly vote in an election for the Second Chamber, given the opportunity. The variables that had most influence on this behavioral intention were interest in politics, political knowledge, the attitude towards the right to vote, and having a party-preference. Half of the respondents, however, had no interest in politics in general, eight out of 10 respondents did not know the correct answers to more than half of the knowledge test questions, one fourth of the respondents did not have a positive attitude towards the right to vote, and one third had no party-preference. Obviously, many young Dutch do not meet the minimal 'good-enough' democratic citizenship requirements.

Summary

This chapter has focused on goals of education in general and of civic education in particular as found in the Netherlands. Both the structural and the contents dimension of educational goals were discussed. Concern about a lack of good citizenship among the youth was one of the motivations leading to the introduction of the subject society ('Maatschappijleer') into secondary education in the Netherlands. Recently, citizenship again has ranked high on the educational and political agenda. Fundamental questions are the following. What is a 'good' citizen? How 'good' are our young citizens in fact? What can the schools be expected to contribute to citizenship education? Different ideal types of good citizenship were presented. The 'good-enough' democratic citizenship concept includes four points of convergence: supportive of democracy, being informed about politics, having a clear party/candidate preference, and the willingness to vote. A study in the mid-1990s showed that many secondary school students do not meet the minimal requirements for good-enough democratic citizenship. The lack of elementary political knowledge was striking.

There is nothing approaching a consensus about what schools should contribute to democratic citizenship education in the Netherlands. In fact, society, the subject matter that is most associated with citizenship, has been a low-status subject sitting somewhere on the periphery of the Dutch school system. In general, Dutch political elites have not been in favour of strengthening the position of this subject. They do not seem to think it important that

the school, and the subject society in particular, should give time and attention to improving democratic citizenship competencies. In 1997, the government, with the approval of Parliament, decided to strike society off the list of obligatory subject matters to be included in formal school education and to replace it in the year 2000 by a new subject that would include a combination of history and society. The Association of Society Teachers has been trying to convince the Minister of Education and Members of Parliament that this is not a good decision and have been asking for a postponement of its implementation, hoping that all will not be lost through the delay.

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THE SPECIFIC NATURE AND OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN POLAND: SOME REFLECTIONS

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Preface: biographical note concerning Andrzej Janowski

I, the author of the following essay, am a Professor of Education, perhaps a somewhat atypical one, since my original university education has been Polish philology, and my interests lean towards sociology, history and politics. I was born in 1935 and have been studying various educational phenomena for well over 30 years now. For a large part of these three decades I have been interested in civic education, initially regarding this as a hobby without any special hope that knowledge in this field might be useful for this country in any foreseeable future. I believed data collection and theoretical considerations on civic education to be an important component of seeking an answer to the question that has been crucial to me for many years: whether, and if so, how the theory and practice of education can be meaningfully pursued in a country in which education and pedagogy are subordinated to the communist party rule?

In the years 1980 to 1989 I was engaged in the independent education movement—underground or semi-underground educational activities organized by Solidarity. From Fall 1989 to January 1992 I was a deputy minister of Education in the first non-communist Polish government. In this capacity I was responsible for the development of civic education programs and curricula, as well as for ethnic minorities education. At present, my main interests focus on factors influencing educational policy. Since 1994, I have been a vice-chairman of the Council of the International Bureau of Education in Geneva and National Delegate for Poland to the CERI Governing Board, OECD, Paris, France. I am also a chairman of the Educational Section of the Polish National Commission for UNESCO. I deeply care for the development of democracy in my country, but perhaps even more for our learning how to exercise democracy wisely.

Historical and socio-psychological context

Development of the new approach to civic education following the 1989 political transformation had to take into consideration numerous factors which, over many years, had shaped opinions on how to prepare future citizens for adult life. These factors can be divided into two groups: (a) those related to the specific characteristics of life in the so-called 'real socialism' in Poland; and (b) those (earlier) factors developed over the last 250 or so years.

Historical legacy

Many of the specific features of Polish society are the result of several decades of communism. However, a considerable number of Polish characteristics can be traced to more distant times. Over the last 200 years, Polish society had no

more than 20 years of normal life in its own country. This short period of independence occurred between World War I and World War II.

In the 19th Century, Polish territory was partitioned between three empires, those of Russia, Germany and Austria. The experiences in each of these partitions differed significantly. Russian supremacy probably evoked the worst experiences of all. It enforced passivity, a feature which was later to prove extremely harmful for future Polish citizens. Under the Russian rule, Poles had no chance whatsoever for political self-organization and very limited opportunities for economic activity. The German rule gave very little opportunity for political activity but quite substantial economic freedom. The Austrian empire was relatively the most lenient, both politically and economically.

These 19th Century influences have proven very enduring. Descendants of people reared in the 19th Century under German and Austrian rule have better skills of self-organization for constructive purposes, while descendants of the Russian Tsar's subjects tend to engage in rebellious activities. These 19th Century influences did not disappear during the brief period of independence in the 1920s and 1930s, and the communist regime proved to be a new and even worse and more demoralizing form of Russian oppression. The fact that the majority of contemporary Poles are the descendants of Russian subjects (this group includes the descendants of inhabitants of the territories taken over by the Soviet Union in 1944 and now belonging to the Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania) gives understanding to the sort of experiences and attitudes predominant in Polish society today.

School education is a separate factor among the determinants of Polish attitudes and experiences under the communist regime. When characterizing the educational system of those times in broad terms, it is not enough to say that it was heavily state-controlled and subject to Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the 45 post-war years, there were long periods of forceful and centrally steered ideological indoctrination. During these periods, the communist educational authorities strove to introduce many elements of Marxism and Leninism into the school system; to develop the cult of the communist party and the Soviet Union as a 'Workers and Peasants' State'; to impose various elements of so-called 'communist morality'; and to combat religion. The early 1950s were particularly characteristic in this respect, although later years also brought periods of 'increased ideological battle'. The late 1980s were relatively free of ideological activity.

Although it is difficult to substantiate this belief with any objective research findings, it seems that in the last 10 or 15 years of communist rule in Poland there was much less indoctrination in the educational system than in other countries living under 'real socialism'. I have been told by intellectuals from Ukraine or Lithuania that they learned Polish at that time so as to acquaint themselves with western sociological or psychological literature, since in Poland many translations of books from the West were available. Moreo-

ver, the first Solidarity won some positive changes in school curricula as early as 1981 (Mader, 1988).

However, two 'ideological' subjects taught in Polish schools had as their main aim indoctrination. Pupils in their final grade in primary school, that is, 15- to 16-year-olds completing their compulsory education, were taught a subject called 'civic education'. Secondary schools had a similar compulsory subject called 'knowledge of society'. Both these subjects were almost unanimously made light of by all concerned, that is, students, teachers and parents. These subjects received no respect and were considered to be unnecessary and unimportant for further educational advancement. This criticism was justified to the extent that no sound knowledge of social life could in fact be gleaned from these lessons. Their sole aim was to stimulate approval of the 'leading power', namely, the communist party.

There were years, however, when ideological subjects were compulsory as part of the graduation examination from secondary school ('matura') and of entrance examinations to college. Students, therefore, studied these subjects, but did not respect them. Moreover, whereas in the 1950s some people, both young and old, ardently believed in Marxism-Leninism and the 'bright future of socialism', such people were no longer to be found in the 1970s and 1980s. For both teachers and students, 'knowledge of society' had become a set of ritualized catchwords.

It must also be noted that, according to the recommendations of the communist party, the 'ideological and educational intervention', as it was then called, was implemented by a number of different institutions and organizations supervised by the party. However, the falsification of history and Polish literature contributed more to the indoctrination of the young generation than did special ideological instruction. Furthermore, the party monopolized the press, publications, radio and television, so that many people had difficulty discriminating between information and manipulation.

It would not be an overstatement to say that three values perdured in Polish schools despite pressure and ideology. The most important value to survive was the attitude towards knowledge. Polish teachers shared an attitude of devotion to knowledge and the common opinion that knowledge is a value. This mind-set has, on the whole, been successfully transmitted even to the economically disadvantaged and students of low academic achievement. This 'knowledge cum value' approach persisted within the school and so was prominent in the minds of students. To some degree, however, the value functioned in the decorative mode and had little influence on real-life decisions. Over the last 10 years of communist rule, we witnessed a steady deterioration of educational aspirations in Polish school leavers.

The second value obviously present in the Polish school climate was patriotism. There are probably at least four reasons why patriotism remained an important value in our schools:

- 1) The long-lasting tradition of the Polish pre-war school, which adopted the 19th Century approach to education as a means to liberate the subjugated nation.
- 2) Parental support in the majority of families.
- 3) Support for patriotic education from the Catholic Church, a very influential institution in Poland.
- 4) Fear on the part of the communist authorities about the consequences of contradicting patriotic values.

A third value was also present, but it was not as salient as the first two. This value, retained in spite of the curricular tendency to indoctrination, was knowledge of the cultural heritage of humanity, with special emphasis on the roots of western civilization, European history and our Mediterranean origins.

I believe these values are still present in Polish schools, although I am not sure whether my perception is shared by many of my compatriots.

Socio-psychological impact of the past

Alongside whatever might be said about enduring values in Polish education, mention should also be made of the gaps in education and the negative changes in mentality in Polish society due to the educational impact of both the communists as well as of earlier events (Janowski, 1992; Ministry of National Education, 1996).

The educational gaps of Polish society fall into three categories. First, economic illiteracy should be mentioned. Although capitalism in Poland has never been strong, up to the end of the 1940s there was economic activity, and the young generations could see what it was like to run one's own business by watching their parents or neighbors. These opportunities to learn from one's seniors disappeared for 40 years. In the 1980s, the results of this illiteracy were all too visible. The 30 years during which economic instruction was purely verbal and based on handbooks of 'political economy of socialism' left a cognitive void in its wake.

Second, there was an obvious shortage of knowledge on the functioning of democratic society in the second half of the 20th Century. This knowledge gap covered such concerns as how elections should be organized, how legislative, executive and judicial institutions should function, what citizen participation in regional government involves, what forms democracy takes in different countries, and so on. Knowledge about the self-organization of local, professional and regional social groups was also non-existent. These deficiencies shared the same origins with deficiencies in economic knowledge. There was no opportunity for young people to acquire this knowledge in the process of spontaneous socialization. As for civic education at school, it focused mainly on the apotheosis of the leading role of the communist party.

Third, the shortage of historical knowledge, particularly knowledge con-

cerning Central-Eastern Europe in the 20th Century, was acute. People knew very little about the processes which led to the formation of the so-called 'people's democracies' and still less about their history. These shortages resulted from the omission of certain facts from officially published books, from deliberate falsifications and from the ideological principles governing the interpretation of facts and social processes. The same, though to a lesser degree, can be said of earlier historical records, the history of human thought and the history of literature.

Nearly half a century of totalitarian rule together with the complex experiences of the last few centuries, have marked Polish society with the following characteristics:

- The basic division into '*we*—ordinary, decent people' and '*they*—in power'. 'We' do not like 'them', but it is good to have someone in the family among 'them' to remember about us and take care of us.
- Poor awareness of the need for legal order. The law was always treated as 'theirs' and for 'them', whereas 'ordinary people' should learn to bypass the law because such behavior is the most important survival strategy in the system that 'they' have created.
- A considerable respect for the Catholic Church and relatively weak secularization.
- An unwillingness (effectively inculcated by the regime) to self-organize in the name of shared group interests, accompanied by lack of organizational skills.
- A suspicious approach to 'grand' words, frequently used and abused in propaganda.
- A belief that if someone is encouraging people to do something, he or she must have some cryptic motive and that it would be naive to give credence to the actions.

These factors led to a number of consequences that became apparent after the 1989 systemic transformation. I would suggest that the following generalized description of the experiences of the young generation and their parents at the onset of the construction of the Third Republic of Poland: civic education as such and everything it taught about society, the party, socialism and capitalism is one great bunch of 'lies'. This opinion was justified but it led to two different conclusions. Some people thought that there was a need for a new program of civic education based on truth. Others thought that there is no such thing as a truthful and non-manipulative civic education, no matter who the author is, so it would be more advisable to focus on real knowledge such as mathematics and physics and to stop bothering about such things as civic education. Though the first group was outnumbered by the second, it still had the opportunity to start work on new programs of civic education

and found support in the new senior authorities at the Ministry of National Education.

When I took the post of Deputy Minister of Education in the first non-communist government of Poland in Fall 1989, I was sure that two fields required special care and urgent action. These were the teaching of foreign languages and preparing young people to function in a democratic society. For years I was convinced that there is a strict connection between democracy and the learning process. I was certain that the building of democracy is a creative process, one which involves long-term action. I was convinced that one should not wait passively for society itself to mature into democracy in a country now enjoying the opportunities for independence and growth. As such, the new, reformed program of civic education in Polish education should begin with an analysis of the principle objectives of Polish society during the 'Spring of nations' which arrived in Fall 1989. Let us therefore take a closer look at a selection of issues affecting the social climate of civic education in Poland.

Disputes and controversies

The first important controversy has to do with the role of the Catholic church in civic education and education in general. I deliberately mention only the Catholic church and ignore the remaining churches because only the Catholic church has both the ambition and the power to affect the entirety of public life in Poland. Two different points of view emerge in answer to this question: What should be the cornerstone of education in public schools? 'Human rights' is one apparent answer; 'Christian values', which in Polish reality means 'the Catholic approach', is the other. I purposely describe this difference of opinion as 'emerging' so as to make the point that, while I feel the tension between the two positions, I do not see any movement towards honest debate where the purpose is to find compromise and achieve consensus.

The environment in which any educational activity, civic education included, takes place in Poland has an interesting feature. This can be described as the tendency to equate Catholicism and Polishness. The phrase 'Pole is Catholic', meaning that one cannot be a good Pole without being Catholic, has been with us for over a century. The phrase is in need of nuance and modification for, as is evident, both the past and the present have witnessed a number of distinguished Poles who were either non-Catholics or even non-believers. Despite the fact that the traditional Polish combination of Catholicism supporting patriotism and vice versa has been deeply rooted in Polish history, it is not uncritically and automatically acceptable to all in today's new situation, that is, an independent country striving to build participatory democracy.

Second, tolerance of the views and behaviors of those who are different in one way or another from the majority is not, apparently, a typical characteristic of the average Pole (Jastrzab-Mrozicka, 1993). Hostility and aggression

toward Gypsies is just one example of such intolerance in the 1990s. Polish intolerance is sometimes related to a keen sense of nationality. I tend to believe, however, that intolerance is bred for reasons that are not necessarily related to the nationality issue. For instance, the most important problem seems to be intolerance towards AIDS victims and people of different sexual orientation. In the former case, the intolerant rationalize their attitudes by saying that they condemn not so much the sickness itself as the 'sin' that lies at its roots.

An illustration of this controversy is the approach to sexual education in Polish schools. As yet, there is no centrally approved curriculum for sexual education. Influential groups, backed by leaders of the Catholic church, are fighting for a syllabus which excludes any knowledge of sex or contraception and contains only clichés about the need for love in the family, despite the 'sexual education' label.

Third, there is a significant interest among my compatriots to be treated as citizens of Europe, with the general vision of Western Europe as a model. But the whole problem of entering Europe creates tensions among politicians, tensions that are reflected to some extent among educators as well. One comes across opinions that idolize western civilization uncritically, alongside opposite opinions that stress national values and diminish the positive role of Western Europe.

I expected, in vain, that the educational debate would start with the evaluation of values traditionally associated with western civilization followed by decisions as to what to adopt and what to reject. The entire problem is strongly connected with the search for identity by present-day Poles. Within this area of debate, the current situation is unclear: some people apparently suffer from an inferiority complex vis-a-vis the rest of the world, whereas others show the tendency to treat Poland as a spiritual model for other nations. Old myths and stereotypes survive and continue. The situation in which a nation should evaluate its strong and weak points by way of on-going comparison with other nations affords a great opportunity to reach a healthy and unbiased judgment about itself. The search for identity, focused on adopting as many European standards and values as possible without rejecting the most valuable features of national, ethnic education, is a challenge for those who are shaping the new model of education in Poland.

Fourth, there is considerable Polish interest in the European standards of secondary education. Many people would like our education system to be more 'synchronized' with what is going on in the west. In many cases, the person in the street believes that if something is western, then it is better than ours. The same is true of education. There are others who believe that reverting to a traditional approach to education and adopting the model of 'a sound school in the old style' would embody more valuable qualities than would 'cosmopolitan novelties'. These differences in approach give way to different

feelings in relation to education but do not give way to substantive discussion, partly because it is very difficult to say, from the Polish perspective, whether there is such a thing as an homogeneous 'western' school. Be that as it may, there is considerable interest in the 'International Baccalaureate' movement and tendencies to introduce a system of equivalent diplomas in the future.

Fifth, a number of people are wondering how much 'national' and how much 'universal' there ought to be in the Polish educational system. Considerable diversity of opinion can also be found with respect to the balance between tradition and modernity. No one denies the need to prepare young people for the future. However, it is not always clear how this is to be done. Moreover, we know that reliable knowledge of the past is often the best preparation for the future. It is not clear, however, which elements of the past and tradition should be retained and which should be allowed to fall into oblivion.

These controversies are frequently accompanied by disagreement as to what the axis of Polish education should be: reliable knowledge coming from recognized standard disciplines or the more psychologically oriented approach, that is, personality development. Sensible people know that these are not contradictory orientations yet disagreement exists.

Sixth, another likely hindrance to civic education in Poland is the common idolatry of our new and rather ruthless capitalism and disregard for the fact that its 19th Century, anti-social features need not necessarily serve as a model worth following. Some think, however, that exaggerated concern about the costs of systemic transformation is a communist legacy that impedes the construction of a sound and efficient economy. In the crossfire, the major casualty is humanistic values.

Seventh, it is not at all clear what the main focus of civil education in Polish schools should be. In various countries (refer International Bureau of Education, 1997) civic education includes such diverse issues as:

- encouraging patriotism
- developing a sense of belonging to the direct neighborhood, locality and region
- developing respect for truth, justice and moral principles
- developing the ability to think critically and understand political and social phenomena
- becoming acquainted with the institutions and principles of democracy
- preparing for active participation in the life of the country
- developing skills in communicating with the administration
- learning about human rights, developing tolerance and overcoming negative stereotypes in interpersonal relations
- preparing for life in a pluralistic and multi-cultural society
- developing the ability to express one's thoughts, to discuss, to make in-

formed decisions, to exercise leadership and subordination, and to be co-operative

- creating the bases for analysis of various phenomena from an all-European perspectives
- cultivating the ability to resolve conflicts but also the ability to live with unyielding differences.

Different countries give different weight to each of these facets, which are reflected in the curricula for different subjects or extra-curricular activities (see Taylor, 1994). The nation-to-nation differences are considerable. I do not believe that Polish society is sufficiently informed to know that the content of civic education is a matter of deliberate choice among alternatives.

Universal social issues in civic education

Since 1989, Poland has had four major goals: the achievement of stable internal security; the consolidation of democracy; the development of a civil society; and the development of a dynamic economy based on stable operational rules. These are all realistic and attainable goals. However, despite the considerable progress that has been made in recent years, it is still not certain whether any of these goals will be achieved.

1) To live in a safe and secure country

At the general political level, Polish membership in NATO and the European Union are perceived as the prerequisites of national security. Naturally, these goals are realized primarily by politicians. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that activity at the political level can and should be supported by educational initiatives. These initiatives should focus on the following:

- (a) Stimulation of concern for one's country, including the ability to recognize political interests and perceive various issues within a broad international context.
- (b) Development of the readiness and capacity to protect and defend one's country and development of the ability to cooperate on behalf of this goal.
- (c) Creation of the best possible relations with all Polish neighbors and with national minorities living in Poland.

As far as the attitude toward one's country is concerned, a Polish peculiarity is worth noting. Today, at the close of the 20th Century, Dutch or Danish citizens, for example, have no need to be concerned about the existence or potential of their homelands; they may calmly consider which prerogatives to delegate to the superior authorities of the European Union and which to pass down to regional or provincial authorities. Polish people have a more complex task to perform: they must consider how to increase respect for the State and, at the same time, anticipate the changes which will soon be necessary if

Poland joins the European Union. Civic education must therefore emphasize Poland's position in relation to international structures or, in more general terms, teach people to analyze local, regional and national phenomena within a more global framework.

Most Poles approve of the idea of joining NATO and the European Union. Solidly founded in history, a deep conviction is fixed in the Polish mind: the West will not defend Poland. To expect otherwise would be highly unrealistic. Poles need to count on themselves and their own potential. The fact is, however, that they are unwilling to make sacrifices in order to defend their country. When things do not work out as they would like, they are very quick to accuse the West of not wanting to 'mourir pour Dantzig', as the French said in 1939.

Before 1989, Poland had three neighbors: the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Today, Poland borders with Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic and Germany. Dealing with relations with our neighbors, outsiders and national minorities is a very important challenge for civic education. Considerable segments of Polish society harbor negative stereotypes of outsiders, mainly Gypsies, Jews and Ukrainians. Over the last few years a number of intolerant nationalist youth groups have developed. Minorities are still incorrectly thought of as making up one-third of the population (as they did in 1939) and posing a threat to Poland (Janowski, 1995).

Poland today is a very homogeneous country as far as nationality is concerned. National minorities constitute no more than 3 to 4 per cent of the population. We have very few ethnic minorities within our boundaries and a very large Polish diaspora abroad. Only when we are able to meet decently the postulates of minorities living in Poland will we have the moral right to demand respect for the rights of Poles living abroad.

2) To live in a truly democratic country

Dictatorships may be imposed overnight. Democracies develop only through a long learning processes. In Poland, it is the adults who must go through the learning process. However, the shape of future democracy depends to a considerable extent on how well the young generation is prepared.

Education for democracy in Polish schools is a priority. For half a century it was impossible in Poland to acquire any sound knowledge about democracy. Moreover, pre-war democratic institutions were not particularly strong. An accelerated and widespread acquisition of practical know-how regarding practical functioning in a democracy seems to be the 'conditio sine qua non' for the future development of the social and political life of the country.

We will be able to say we have been successful in our efforts on behalf of education for democracy when the majority of students express willingness to be active and take full control of their lives, when they are willing to accept

responsibility for their decisions and behavior, and when they are aware of how to reach these goals democratically and how to achieve acceptable compromise via negotiations. However, it is not easy to transform these far-reaching intentions into curriculum goals and tasks to be realized in schools.

There is the encoded apprehension in Polish tradition that irresponsible application of democracy may lead to paralysis of executive power and may impede the realization of important public goals. The question of how to combine democracy with effective executive power was also an important issue for those who were responsible for civic education in Poland before the war.

Kamiński (1942), one of the distinguished Polish pre-war pedagogues, introduced the concept of 'sick' and 'healthy' democracy. He posed this problem to young people in the following way:

Some democratic systems are sick, others are healthy. Polish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century democracy was sick. The major symptom of the disease consisted in the inability to compromise and the infantile belief that the interests of the group to which one belongs are identical with the interests of the entire nation...The mark of healthy democracy is the belief that to subordinate...oneself to the will of the majority is neither a dishonor nor a disaster. On the contrary, it is something quite natural. Conclusion: whoever works for the benefit of Polish democracy should...give testimony through his own deeds...of his ability to co-operate, his subordination to the will of the majority and his loyalty, not only to his friends but also to his political foes.

3) To develop a civic society

The 250 years of Polish history have imprinted on the Polish awareness that more often than not they have had no independent state of their own and that the country has been either in alien hands or, at best, only semi-independent. This long-lasting experience, in which we were either under alien rule or only partly responsible for ourselves, has left many of us with a lack of respect for the law and a weakened sense of responsibility for our country.

How should we cope with this negativity-constructivity antinomy? As I have already mentioned, specific historical circumstances have left many people thinking that an individual does his or her country and fellow citizens the greatest favor when he or she shouts 'begone with you' and manifests a readiness to fight or actually begins to fight. The instinct to behave in such a way is deeply ingrained in the older generation and has been passed on to many representatives of the younger generation. As a result, even today relatively few people are at home with the fact that we now live in an 'ordinary' country and that, instead of shouting 'begone with you', it is time to start thinking and trying to do what needs to be done in an orderly way. This is an important challenge for civic education, which should show and teach how to create something new corporately and constructively instead of simply taking a negative, oppositional stance.

Meanwhile, for historical reasons, the Polish situation still focuses on the particular. When people in Western Europe want to launch some new idea, they have a number of familiar, long-accepted forms, traditions and organizational solutions to which they can refer. In Poland, all we can do is to turn to how such things were done 60 years ago, or borrow appropriate solutions from other countries or just start from scratch. Civic education can play an important part in preparing people for such a search and for the ensuing creative activity.

That said, we should not overlook the rapid development in the last few years of various organizations, associations and foundations. These forms of activity provide the germ for a future pluralist and diversified civil society. Only recently did I realize how much has been done since 1989. There are now a number of examples of constructive activity and reasonable suggestions coming from those who are not satisfied with sitting with their arms folded and shouting 'begone with you'.

4) To live in an economically efficient country

The economic illiteracy of the majority of Poles, old and young alike, calls for special action aimed at introducing the rudiments of economics into the curricula of civic education and social studies. We, as a society, have emerged from our history very poorly informed economically. It is, therefore, very important that the young generation be much better prepared than we were. Appropriate action has recently been taken, in and out of school. Rudiments of economic thinking are taught in schools, foundations promoting enterprise of the young have been established, and many publications on this subject are appearing (Kwiatkowski, 1997).

The need for economic knowledge is related to another need, that is, teaching young people to be enterprising and preparing them for the professional roles that will be indispensable in the 21st Century. This is a task not only for civic education but also for education in general. As the result of their schooling, young people should know something about work culture, cooperation, management and discipline, as well as about the work ethic, honesty and reliability. Taken together, these attributes were once called 'commercial-mindedness'. Young people also should be encouraged to demonstrate an enterprising spirit and know that, in the course of their work career, they will need to acquire new skills, take additional training and give attention to self-improvement. In comparison with traditional schools, modern schools pay much more attention to self-improvement.

Civic education initiatives, 1989-1997

We shall now focus on a number of initiatives and activities that are particularly relevant for civic education.

Creation of school curricula and auxiliary materials

From the end of World War II to 1989, the school curriculum for civic education and knowledge of society, like all other school programs, was prepared only by institutions directly supervised by the Ministry of National Education. There was one national curriculum and a single textbook for a given subject. Obviously, such a system was strongly centralized and nationalized.

In 1989, this system began to change. When trying to introduce new civic education into Polish schools, it was necessary to start almost from scratch. In 1990, the former curricula and textbooks for civic education and social studies were abolished as useless. That same year, the Ministry of National Education launched the preparation of curricula and textbooks for the new era of emergent democracy. Since then, a variety of individuals and teams has been involved in implementing this task. There is plenty of room for initiative because the educational authorities present only the leading ideas of the so-called 'core curriculum' and leave the rest to the authors or to the teachers themselves. In the core curriculum, the main objectives of education are presented not in terms of knowledge to be remembered, but rather of skills to be acquired by students.

Starting from the 'core curriculum' for each subject, every teacher can construct his or her own program. Also, any team or institution can suggest programs of their own, propagate them and distribute them, as long as the core curriculum is retained. Teachers have great freedom to innovate because they can construct their own 'individual teacher's programs'. It is not difficult to get permission to create individualized programs. As a result, various curricula and handbooks have begun to sprout since 1991 and, at present, are being used on an experimental or regular basis.

The Polish-American 'Education for Citizenship in a Democratic Society' Project

This project was launched in October 1991. The Polish project team is led by Dr Jacek Strzemieczny, now head of the Foundation for Citizenship Education (NGO). The American project team is led by Professor Richard Remy at Mershon Center, Ohio State University. The project has so far produced, among other things, a new civics curriculum, translations of American materials and methodological guidelines. The curriculum has been formally approved by the Ministry. Its implementation is facilitated by a very interesting publication, *Lesson Scenarios for Civic Education*, which contains more than 80 interesting and ready-to-use lesson scenarios grouped under such head-

ings as local government, fundamental principles of democracy, human rights, institutions of a democratic state, citizen activity and public opinion, market economy and challenges for Poland and the world.

The project has produced several practice-oriented publications for teachers, written with the help of a number of prominent Polish and American experts. High standards render these materials extremely useful. All in all, Education for *Citizenship in a Democratic Society* is undoubtedly the single most important step to date in laying the educational foundations for international understanding and civic education (Remy & Strzemieczny, 1996).

The Education for Democracy Foundation

The Foundation is chaired by Wiktor Kulerski, who was actively involved for many years in the independence movement and was Deputy Minister of Education in 1990. The Foundation was established as a result of long-term links and cooperation between the American Federation of Teachers and the Solidarity-sponsored Independent Education Group, an underground organization of the 1980s. The Foundation runs training sessions for teacher trade unionists as well as practical training for teachers and students. Participants are taught how to function in a democracy, with emphasis on methodology and chairing meetings, decision-making, negotiation and conflict resolution. The Foundation has published dozens of booklets devoted to these skills, written by both Polish and American authors.

Open Society

Since 1990, the activities of teachers of civic education and social studies have been supported by the monthly *Spoleczeństwo Otwarte* (*Open Society*), targeted primarily at secondary schools. This journal has contributed greatly to the popularization of human rights documents and materials on open society. It publishes many articles on civic education in different countries. It also popularizes information on national minorities living in Poland. Much of the material published in this monthly can be used directly in class during 'social studies' and history lessons. Many people known for their democratic and liberal beliefs publish in this journal. The journal produces large editions and has quite a large readership.

Associated Schools Project

We must also mention the recent dynamic development of schools affiliated with UNESCO. These schools (mainly comprehensive secondary schools) have existed in Poland for many years but only recently have they gained momentum and significance. Their activities include summer language camps for teachers and youth from different countries. These schools contribute significantly not only to the development of language skills but also, or even primarily, to mutual understanding among youth from different countries. Every year students and teachers from 10 to 12 countries attend these schools.

Religious and ethical instruction

Beginning in the Fall of 1990, religious instruction has been conducted in Polish schools two hours a week. In secondary schools, parents or students themselves decide about participation. Those students who do not take religious instruction may choose to study ethics. However, neither is compulsory. Religious instruction is based on curricula and textbooks prepared by the churches. The majority of people in Poland believe that religious instruction is necessary and helps promote moral behavior (Kiciński, 1993).

Professional academic ethicists are not particularly enthusiastic about the fact that religious and ethical instruction can be interchanged. However, the specialists have decided to make the best of the situation, and several ethics curricula and handbooks have been prepared recently.

Few students attend classes in ethics. In very good secondary schools the proportion of such students does not exceed 15 per cent. In smaller localities, attendance is much lower. Pupils are urged by tradition and their parents to attend religious instruction. These same motives are not present to support the study of ethics.

Other initiatives

Besides the foundations already mentioned, education in the area of social studies and civics is promoted in our country by several other NGOs including the Helsinki Committee, the Stefan Batory Foundation and the Amnesty International-sponsored Human Rights Education Project.

One may say that, for some time now, the teaching of civics at school has been attracting intellectuals, teachers and other people interested in education and that a social movement has formed. This movement has produced ideas and initiatives which demonstrate better planning and greater dynamism than some of the Ministry of National Education's activities. Given that these individual and group initiatives are independently planned, they provide the best foundation for growth and give confidence for the future. Curriculum development and teacher training projects are usually grass-roots initiatives.

Concluding Remarks

Civic education and school climate

One interesting assumption with respect to civic education seems to be universally accepted, namely, that the contents of school instruction are only one of many factors that contribute to the kind of citizen a student will be in the future. Not all the issues which are important for civic education can be presented as a package of information and taught at school. Much depends on such hard-to-define phenomena as school climate. The following components of school climate may be distinguished: how teachers treat students (whether

or not students feel that they are being treated honestly and fairly); how schools are organized (the extent to which teachers and students are given the opportunity to influence decision-making processes in a democratic way); how students are organized (whether they have a self-government and the possibilities and responsibilities that this body has); and the possibilities of an 'implicit school program' or a so-called 'hidden curriculum' that covers those many imponderables that teachers view as important in their evaluation of students (even if they overtly declare otherwise). Note that the term 'hidden curriculum' comes from the work of Jackson (1990).

The role of form teachers

Form teachers are a specific feature of the Polish educational system. A form teacher is a teacher who has been designated to take special care of a given form (grade) and who deals with all educational problems the students may have. A form teacher always teaches his or her subject to his or her form. Ideally, the form has many hours of this subject per week. There is a tendency for form teachers to stay with the same form for several years and to accompany youngsters in their development. Form teachers have many opportunities to discuss with their students problems important to civic education, and they often do so.

Serving one's country

Ideally, civic education deals not only with individual rights and obligations but also with those obligations that are both important for society and stimulate the young person's educational development. This is how civic education was understood in many schools, organizations and associations before the war. This educational tradition has largely disappeared, partly because in communist days students were so often indoctrinated about the importance of 'work for society'—work that the majority of ordinary people perceived as a totally unnecessary form of coercion. The concept 'work for society' has therefore lost its original noble connotation. Civic education must now rediscover and reconstruct this sense anew.

In Poland, it has been known for a long time that peer groups sometimes have a very negative effect, for example, they may encourage drug use, whereas at other times they may have a positive impact when fitted into an organizational framework (Polska Fundacja Dzieci i y, 1993). Scouting, sports clubs, artistic clubs, youth clubs, friends of nature and pro-life movements may all have very positive impacts. Several of these types of movements are very active in Poland; others are only now emerging. Such organizations teach the rules of co-existence, show how to deal with important problems and also encourage awareness of citizen rights and obligations.

It is my view that it would be a good thing in Poland to promote an idea which has been successful in many other countries, that is, some form of 'national service'. Four forms of such service can be distinguished: military serv-

ice and civil defence; educational activity (often in underdeveloped regions of the country); voluntary work abroad (e.g. the American Peace Corps); and voluntary humanitarian or technological aid.

Education for international understanding in history courses

Education for international understanding as a part of civic education has become very important in Central and Eastern Europe since the dissolution of the Soviet empire. The key problem for mutual understanding among nations is the overcoming of stereotypes. For centuries, albeit a long time ago, Lithuania, Belarus and to some extent the Ukraine formed part of the Polish State. The resulting tensions and biases still exist today. In addition, the long-lasting German rule over the province of Silesia has left its mark on the population that now forms the German minority in Poland. These past experiences have influenced visions of Polish history which are very diverse, so much so that interpretations of major historical events may be totally different not only in popular tradition but in textbooks as well. A comparison between Polish and Lithuanian textbooks is a very good example of such differences.

There is a growing conviction that if we are to understand one another, this situation must change. It is absolutely essential that we avoid statements in our textbooks that may be perceived as untrue, insulting or biased from our neighbours' points of view. Negotiations in this area have already begun but much work still remains to be done. Maybe in the future it will be possible to share the same textbook of Central and Eastern European history, approved by every national authority in the region.

'Neighbours and minorities'—curriculum construction project

The Polish Commission for UNESCO believes that it can play a significant role in building ties of understanding and positive attitudes between Poles and Poland's neighbours on the one hand and between Poles and national minorities living in this country on the other. The Polish National Commission for UNESCO has decided to initiate the development of educational materials to help Polish teachers teach students about 'us' and 'them', about how to treat others and about multi-culturalism.

The key objective is to gain a better understanding of Poland's closest neighbours: Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians and Russians. An understanding of these nationalities is wanting, and the attitudes of Poles towards them continue to be influenced by old myths and stereotypes. Overcoming these stereotypes is a critical challenge for Poland's educational system. The process may get help from the fact that almost all of the neighboring nations have compatriots living in this country.

The teaching of cross-national understanding and promoting constructive cross-national attitudes will fail unless the initiative in that direction takes into account certain characteristics of Polish schools. The widespread complaint is that school curricula are overloaded, and as such it makes no sense to

seek to create a special school subject dealing with the situation of each Central and Eastern European nation. By contrast, the past few years have shown growing interest in such issues as similarities and dissimilarities between peoples. Then, too, the flood of information about nationalistic fighting and ethnic cleansing naturally raises the question of how and why nationalism and hostility towards others are so strongly manifested in various countries. To help schools in their task of leading young people in their search for answers to this and similar questions, we have deemed it useful to develop a set of pertinent curriculum materials to be used flexibly in different situations at schools. Each part of the set can be treated as a separate curriculum to be used either in civic education or history classes or during tutorial hours organized by form teachers or as part of extracurricular activities. The Polish educational system already gives the teacher considerable room to modify and supplement the core curriculum. In the context of growing teacher autonomy, one can hope that the curriculum modules will be welcomed and widely used wherever teachers and parents find them helpful.

It is believed that the topics of nationality and the 'us' and 'them' relationship should initially be addressed in the following four curriculum modules: (i) 'Our Neighbours'—a general overview intended for students of higher primary grades; (ii) 'Poland's National Minorities'—a general overview for secondary schools; (iii) 'Multiculturalism' or 'What Can Be Learned from Others'—for secondary schools; and (iv) 'Attitudes, Myths and Stereotypes and their Psychological and Social Origins'—for secondary schools.

The Polish National Commission for UNESCO also wants to develop curriculum material for teacher training centers that would bring together all topics of the modules. The Commission also would like to stimulate the development of curricular materials that can be termed 'presentations'. A presentation entitled 'Lithuanians (Belarussians, Ukrainians [etc.] Present Themselves to Polish Schools' would, for example, cover key information points about the neighbouring country as well as about the minority groups living in Poland.

The Polish National Commission for UNESCO wishes to have these plans implemented in cooperation with Poland's neighbours and in agreement with Poland's minority organizations. These plans began to be realized in 1998.

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CIVIC EDUCATION ISSUES AND THE INTENDED CURRICULA IN BASIC EDUCATION IN PORTUGAL

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Notes:

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Introduction

An understanding of civic education in Portugal obviously demands that we take account of the country's recent history, and expressly two major historical developments in the last 25 years. The first is the so-called 'carnation revolution' in 1974 which restored democracy after almost 50 years of an authoritarian and bureaucratic regime that had dominated the country. As with any revolution, this one resulted in major changes in the social and political arena and culminated in the end of the 'Portuguese Empire', with independence being granted to the former colonies in Africa. The second development is Portugal's entrance into the European Community in 1985, ending a period of social instability in the late 1970s and early 1980s and symbolizing the stabilization of the democratic regime. Also, the fact that, since the 1960s, Europe has been 'a metaphor or a symbol of democracy and freedom' (Barreto, 1994, p.1054) contrasted with the 'African orientation' of the colonial regime. Entrance into the European Economic Community served as a 'buffer of losses and griefs...[like] the defeat in the colonial wars...the disappearance of the empire,...the diminishment of the fatherland and the loss of its historical sense' (ibid., p.1060).

Naturally, these important changes have contributed to important transformations within Portuguese society. These transformations were recently conceptualized by Almeida (1994) through the identification of four major trends in social values orientations that are particularly visible within urban, well-educated and younger groups: (i) a moderate individualism; (ii) a pragmatic orientation; (iii) conviviality and tolerance; and (iv) an ideological eclecticism. Moderate individualism stresses personal fulfilment as a life principle, realized through the importance of the family and affective domains, as well as through the relevance of personal satisfaction as the main criterion for career projects. The search for pragmatism and the commitment to near-term, immediate and controllable goals is accompanied by a sceptical attitude towards idealism and long-term aims, such as those involving social and political participation. However, it remains to be proven if this Portuguese pragmatism derives from a basic disbelief in the effectiveness of civic participation as a means to social change or from a lack of a participatory experience and culture. The openness and complexity of Portuguese society resulted in a growing tolerance towards others and an emphasis on conviviality, particularly in the younger generation. However, these traits are more evident in some domains (e.g. personal life-style options and projects) than in others (e.g. ethnic prejudice and intolerance; refer Brederode Santos & Dias, 1993). This tendency is considered to be the most fragile and could easily be menaced by such factors as a rapid growth of social exclusion, unemployment, immigration or regional inequalities, all of which are not unlikely. Finally, the way the Portuguese relate to ideologies seems to reveal an instrumental and

eclectic disposition. Some years ago, being left or a right wing implied clear-cut options in terms of behaviors, ethics, values and life styles, but not any more! Apparently, there is a tendency for people to organize various ideological elements in a more individualized and autonomous way, resulting in an 'ideological patchwork' that is, in fact, a kind of idiosyncratic 'meaning-making' system.

These intense political and social changes in Portugal are particularly relevant to an understanding of how the society as a whole, and the educational system in particular, are contributing to the formation of citizens who will be called upon for active democratic participation in a socio-historical context that will probably face important challenges in the forthcoming years. The full integration into the European Union is, undoubtedly, one of these challenges. This integration encompasses a 'new Europe whose importance must be seen in relation to those other Europes beyond but also behind the wall of Maastricht: the Europe of immigrants, of new forms of discrimination, of the voiceless groups in our communication society' (Novoa, 1996, p.29).

The educational system and civic education: an overview of concepts, changes and effects

Until 1974, the Portuguese educational system was organized to inculcate Christian values and to preserve the authoritarian and Catholic model of society (Monica, 1978; Cortesao, 1982; Stoer, 1986). School management was non-democratic and non-participative; teachers could not associate in professional organizations or trade unions. After the Revolution, the Constitution (1976) defined three basic aims of education (Gracio, 1981): to promote personal development, to promote the development and progress of the national community and to reinforce social cohesion and a collective feeling of identity. Specifically, education should contribute to the progress of a democratic and socialist society (Article 73). There was a considerable debate on the desirable and actual role that school education should play in citizenship education (Brederode Santos, 1981, 1984). However, some experiments in the mid-1970s were criticized (Bettencourt, 1982; Bettencourt & Brederode Santos, 1983) and ultimately abandoned due to fears of ideological inculcation (Brederode Santos, 1984, 1985, 1987). Together with these practical experiments, scholarly and public discussion of these issues more or less disappeared.

The debate was reactivated in 1986 with the discussion and approval of the Education Act. Strongly resistant to any form of ideological influence by the State, the Act states that schools must promote the development of citizens who are free, responsible, autonomous and capable of commitment to social progress and transformation. Schools must also inculcate a democratic,

pluralist spirit that respects others and their ideas and is open to dialogue and the free exchange of opinions, along with a national identity that is open to diversity in a spirit of universal humanism, solidarity and international cooperation. Furthermore, they must provide experiences that promote civic awareness and emotional maturity and attitudes and practical habits of cooperation within the family or the community (Articles 2 and 7). To fulfil these objectives, schools must function as democratic institutions, with the curricula including 'at all levels...an area of personal and social education (PSE), possibly comprising ecological education, consumer education, family education, sex education, health education, safety and citizenship education' (Article 47).

The concerns underlying these proposals were common to both sociopolitical and scholarly groups, an understandable situation if one considers not only the social transformations in Portugal but also the results of psychological, sociological and educational research during the 1980s and early 1990s. Moreover, there was a general tendency among Portuguese youngsters to be non-associative and non-participative in social and political domains and to have a very low interest in political and social issues (Correia Jesuino, 1983; Braga da Cruz, 1985; Reis, 1985, 1986; Vala, 1985, 1986; Brederode Santos & Dias, 1993; Franca, 1993), consistent with the low level of political development and culture in Portugal (Braga da Cruz, 1985, 1995; Cabral, 1995). Additionally, curricular analysis revealed not only an emphasis on socio-moral aims (the development of responsibility, critical thinking, reciprocity, cooperation) and values (justice, human dignity, reciprocity, tolerance) (Marques, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993), but also a tendency to overvalue intellectual development and cognitive objectives (Soares & Abreu, 1986). Furthermore, exploratory studies of teaching methods and organizational conditions (Bettencourt & Brederode Santos, 1981), the hidden curriculum (Bettencourt & Marques, 1987; Marques, 1989, 1991) and the management of secondary schools (Brederode Santos & Roldao, 1986; Lima, 1988) revealed these factors were, at least, irrelevant and at times harmful as a means for students' civic education.

Therefore, the Portuguese Educational Act's (Law 46/86 of 14 October) deliberate declaration that civic education is a central aim of the schools was both notable and desirable within the Portuguese social context. During the process of educational reform in 1989, the Minister of Education defined that PSE, during basic and secondary schooling, should be: (i) the aim of all subjects through cross-curricular dissemination; (ii) comprise a specific subject, namely, 'personal and social development' (PSD), of one hour per week and as an alternative to 'moral and religious education'; (iii) be part of extracurricular activities; and (iv) include a non-disciplinary curricular space for project development ('school area'), occupying 110 hours per year. The latter should also contribute to improving school-environment relations and to promoting the practical application of knowledge. To this end, during the third cycle of

basic education (Grades 7 to 9), a specific national program of civic education is to be implemented in this curricular space.

The curricular operationalization of PSE by the Minister of Education was the result of a complex process (Campos, 1992), with various social and political groups presenting conflicting views, some emphasizing the moral/ethical dimension, and some advocating a broader view by stressing the need to empower students for critical reflection and discerning action. In the end, the school's responsibility for preparing youngsters for citizenship was emphasized, even if some options of the Ministry have led to some ambivalence: for instance, the fact that the specific subject of PSD is an alternative to moral and religious education, and that civic education is, during the third cycle, a national program within a curricular area (school area) that has no nationally defined program.

The debate over the aims, contents and methods of civic education has been intense since the mid-1980s. Some acquaintance with it is necessary if one is to understand the idiosyncrasies and commonalties of the Portuguese situation. The systematization by Campos (1991) of the major theoretical proposals in the domain of civic education may be useful for a more comprehensive and accurate characterization of the Portuguese discussion over these matters. According to Campos, three basic concerns give origin to the inclusion of PSE or citizenship education in the school: (i) preparation for dealing with life problems, (ii) emphasis on values, and (iii) promotion of students' development.

The role of school education in preparing students for *dealing with life problems and events* is emphasized by advocates of the idea that the school should adapt its curricula by including up-to-date and relevant themes, such as human rights, environment, national defence, national identity, AIDS and so on. Portuguese non-government organizations (e.g. environmental and consumer associations), official groups (e.g. the Commission for Human Rights Education created by the Ministry of Education) and others elaborate specific programs or activities to be implemented in the school context, in areas such as environmental education, consumer education, multicultural education, peace education, human rights education, media education, and education for national defence.

Emphasis on *values* includes various approaches (moral education, values clarification, and character education) that, despite major theoretical (and ideological) differences, have a common focus on the ethical dimension of civic education. The emphasis on a content-oriented approach to moral education has been adopted by Cunha (1993, 1994), an advocate of character education, and Marques (1989, 1990, 1994), who synthesizes the proposals of Kohlberg and Gilligan and advocates that character education within schools should promote justice, caring and goodness. Oliveira-Formosinho (1986) and Lourenco (1991, 1992) advocate a strictly (early) Kohlbergian approach,

oriented to issues of justice (rather than 'sanctity'). Valente (1989a, b) defends values clarification as a means for the school to promote opportunities for critical reflection.

Finally, several Portuguese authors have stressed the *processual dimensions of civic education* by insisting that schools must promote the development of psychological processes if students are to acquire competencies to deal with the experiences, opportunities and responsibilities of adult life (Campos, 1980, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1991; Brederode Santos, 1984, 1987; Oliveira-Formosinho, 1988, 1989). The Portuguese Commission for the Reform of the Educational System has even determined several goals of personal and social education concerning the development of psychological processes:

(i) comprehensive reasoning; (ii) the ability to understand various points of view and to incorporate such points of view in dialogue and decisions; (iii) the capacity for empathy, integrating into one's attitudes an awareness of ever-widening circles of human relationships; (iv) self-development; and (v) the construction of universal values which guide a person's thoughts and moral stance beyond mere conventions. (CRSE, 1988, p.123)

On the whole, there has been an intense debate on citizenship education but a consensus would probably state that PSE should include the acquisition of knowledge, the development of psychological processes—either cognitive, motivational or attitudinal—and the formation of dispositions and capacities for action.

This intense and, sometimes, public debate attended the implementation of the curricular reform that was experimental from 1989 and has been generalized since 1991. An analysis of the daily newspapers during this period is quite productive in understanding the debate. For instance, there are articles that express doubts regarding the alternative nature of the specific subject or discuss vividly and repeatedly the issue of 'what students know and what they should know'. At the same time, newspapers also gave accounts of specific civic education experiences in some schools, with some aiming either to change the school climate towards more democratic procedures and others aiming to integrate minority students.

The reform went on and currently is in effect for all grades of basic and secondary education in every school. However, both the specific subject and the program of civic education have been implemented only experimentally in a small group of schools. As is always the case in any process of innovation, the translation of educational goals into real-life situations in specific schools with actual students is not necessarily without turmoil. But it is possible to detect positive trends brought about by the reform, namely:

- The curricula now emphasize goals in the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral domains.

- The curricular contents for Grades 5 through 9 include themes of PSE, and suggestions for teaching strategies and methodologies are frequently sensitive to citizenship aims, indicating that cross-curricular dissemination may have been achieved (Mourao, Pais & Nunes, 1994).
- The experience of the innovative citizenship strategies (the subject PSD, the school area and the program of civic education) produced positive results according to major educational agents, but there were some difficulties in their implementation (Ramalho, 1992, 1993; Cadima, 1993; Cadima & Monteiro, 1993; Figueiredo & Branco, 1993).

However, the main conclusion from a review of the existing research would undoubtedly be that there is a strong need for more investigation in this area. Therefore, participation in the IEA Civic Education Study is particularly significant for Portugal. The important economic, scientific, technical and cultural developments that the country has experienced in the last decades together with political changes and the forthcoming European Union initiatives will continue to challenge our citizens to play a more active role in civic affairs at the local, regional, national and supranational levels.

Civic issues in the official curricula and textbooks

An analysis of the proposed curricula in basic education was centered around five core issues, identified as particularly important in the Portuguese context, namely: (i) democracy; (ii) national identity; (iii) social cohesion and social diversity; (iv) economic principles; and (v) local problems. Their relevance emerges from developments such as the relatively recent transition to a democratic state, the changes in the conception of national identity from a 'proudly alone' syndrome to a full integration into the European Union, the movement from an eminently homogenous community towards a multicultural society, the growing phenomenon of immigration contrasting with a prior experience of strong emigration, the centrality of economic options in the political debate since 1974, and the increasing significance of local issues in citizens' consciousness and action.

Method

Data collection involved the content analysis of documents such as legislation and other policy documents, official curricula and textbooks. Legislation and other policy documents consist of the Education Act, the regulations for basic education on issues such as students' participation in school management, evaluation practices, and the like. The official curricula included some core curricular areas and subjects for Grades 1 to 9 that were identified in a preliminary analysis as relevant in this domain, both in terms of contents and methods. These were: maternal language (Grades 1 to 9); study of the envi-

ronment (Grades 1 to 4); foreign language: English (Grades 5 to 9); natural sciences (Grades 5 to 8); Portuguese history and geography (Grades 5 to 6); history (Grades 7 to 9); geography (Grades 7 and 9); and the school area (Grades 1 to 9).

Given that the textbooks are selected by the schools, a group of bestsellers was used in the following subject areas: maternal language (Grades 5 to 9); foreign language: English (Grades 5 to 9); Portuguese history and geography (Grades 5 to 6); history (Grades 7 to 9); and geography (Grades 7 and 9). The content grids are a close adaptation of those specified by the International Coordination for the five core issues (see Table 1), and all the materials were analyzed by either the research team or trained teachers.

Results

Under each of the main types of documents analyzed, namely, legislation and policy documents, official curricula and textbooks, we present a synthesis of content analysis, addressing the issues of democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, and economy and local problems.

Legislation and other policy documents

The existing legislation and other policy documents generally include explicit references to various civic issues. For instance, education is conceptualized, in the Education Act, as a means for the formation of democratic citizens. There also are references to the importance of the functioning of the school as a democratic institution, in which students are supposed to participate. Other aims of the Education Act include the development of a national identity open to diversity and solidarity, the promotion of tolerance, respect and appreciation for different people and cultures, and the significance of closeness between the local community and the school. In fact, there are several other instances where civic issues are noted. The one major exception is the relationship between the economy and politics. Apart from references to work-related themes, this area is absent.

Official curricula

The official curricula for the various subjects include a variety of both objectives and contents relating to democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, economy and local problems. There is a general tendency for maternal language to approach these issues from a competency-oriented perspective by aiming to develop the students' skills that are instrumental for civic participation (e.g. debating and expressing oneself clearly). In the other subjects, the approach is more content-oriented: civic themes are present in the subject's contents, in a more or less extensive form. For example, several subjects analyze concepts related to *democracy*, such as individual fundamental rights and liberties, political institutions, political crises, the right to protest, resist and revolt, parliamentary democracy, and the opposition between

Table 1 Content grid for the five core civic issues in Portugal

Core Civic Issues	Topics
I: Democracy	1) <i>Concept</i>: definition, characteristics and alternatives 2) <i>Institutions</i>: processes for choosing leaders and controlling them, law definition and reinforcement, power exercise (at individual, group and institutional levels) 3) <i>Rights and duties</i>: political rights, participation rights, social and economic rights, obligations 4) <i>Learning aims</i>: knowledge vs. critical knowledge, acquisition of knowledge vs. action skills, 'basic trust' (i.e. in one's capacity to act and in its effectiveness, namely the responsiveness of our targets) 5) <i>Learning processes</i>: rhetorical approach vs. experiential, 'artificial' vs. real action opportunities within the school (e.g. discussing candidates' ideas), opportunities of political participation outside the school
II: National Identity	1) Relevance 2) <i>Meaning and contents</i>: symbols, heroes, models, events, histories/tales, ideals 3) <i>National leaders</i>: conceptions of qualities and weakness ('sacred vs. fallible'), acceptability of critical/sceptical attitudes 4) <i>'Dubious' events</i>: recognition vs. denial, desirable attitudes 5) <i>International relations</i>: allied vs. enemy countries, external menaces, role of the country (nature and appropriateness) 6) <i>Identity structures</i>: regarding what institutions and groups? how? relationship with national identity
III: Discriminated Groups	1) <i>Who?</i> ethnic, social class, gender, ... 2) <i>In what aspects?</i> political participation, leadership exercise 3) <i>When?</i> contemporary vs. past society 4) <i>Social conscience</i>: denial vs. recognition, desire to assimilate vs. accepting diversity 5) <i>Learning aims</i>: respect and tolerance 6) <i>Learning processes</i>: how?
IV: Economy	1) <i>Acknowledgment of the relationship between economy and politics</i>: which economic principles (free market vs. state control)? what are the relations and implications in political and governmental options? in which areas of government? 2) <i>State/Citizen responsibilities</i>: which responsibilities and in which situation? welfare state vs. liberalism? consequences for the State (e.g. bankruptcy, citizens' support) and for the citizen (e.g. subsidy addiction, equality) 3) <i>Learning aims</i>: which attitudes, perspectives?
V: Local Problems	1) <i>What problems?</i> community level or more global, what nature? (e.g. violence, environment, unemployment) 2) <i>Why?</i> local responsibility (e.g. factory that pollutes a river) vs. global (e.g. new rules that result from the integration in the EU) 3) <i>What should be done?</i> direct involvement of the student/school vs. passivity, belief in the possibility of change (optimism vs. pessimism) 4) <i>Level of analysis</i>: local or global?

democracy and dictatorship. These concepts are addressed both on a contemporary basis (e.g. the political institutions of the Portuguese Republic and the European Union) and an historical basis (e.g. the Greek *polis*, the existence of a political police that repressed citizens' rights during the authoritarian regime before 1974). National and international examples are presented. However, there is clearly a tendency to stress citizenship rights (to protest, to resist, to revolt, to express opinions, to join political and civic organizations, to get an education) and their repression in specific situations (e.g. of religious rights during the Inquisition or of political rights during the dictatorship), without mentioning citizenship duties or social expectations of the citizen.

The issue of *national identity* seems to evolve from a regional focus in Grades 1 to 4 (in which national symbols and events have relevance only if there is a local impact), through a national emphasis during Grades 5 and 6, to a recognition of the need to articulate national identity within a European consciousness. The European Union, therefore, emerges as a locus of students' loyalty and consciousness if not of identity and belonging. The versions of national history tend not to emphasize an ethnocentric and uncritical version of national leaders and events, but to stimulate a critical and comprehensive vision. There is a tendency to recognize less dignifying and more polarizing events, and to propose their discussion and analysis. This tendency is also apparent when analyzing international relationships.

In general, there is a tendency for *social cohesion and diversity* themes to be spread across the various subjects areas, but the explicit aim of promoting tolerance, respect and solidarity seems to be sought by citing exogenous situations, that is, past or foreign, without acknowledging the students' own experiences, real or vicarious, within the national context. However, given that in Grades 1 to 4 the focus is mainly on the students' community, sometimes (but only if the pupil actually lives in a multicultural community) these issues are addressed in a more immediate way. Even though the contents and aims in this domain emphatically condemn racism and discrimination, it appears that there is no clear recognition of the growing multicultural nature of Portuguese society.

The relation of *economic* issues and political processes is specially addressed in the curricula for Grades 7 to 9, and mainly in the subjects of history and geography, giving students the opportunity to reflect on the responsibilities of the State and the citizen. For example, in history the curriculum refers to several situations in which economic crises gave way to social and political conflicts in the course of Portuguese and European history (e.g. the expansion of capitalism determined the European colonial dominance of Africa that resulted in the political control of regions whose borders were arbitrarily defined). In geography, students are required to understand the economic and social dynamic of industrialized countries and its relationship to political, mental and social structures and to discuss problems such as social security, employ-

ment and quality of life.

Finally, in various subject areas, the analysis of *local problems* is explicitly suggested, with a tendency to highlight environmental issues. In the analysis of these problems, a global perspective is stressed, and students are encouraged to propose solutions for solving daily problems in their own community, even if episodically. The connection with the surrounding environment is particularly emphasized in Grades 1 to 4, during which the students' community is recommended as a major resource for the teacher.

From a methodological point of view, the curricula also suggest a variety of activities and tasks, some of which have a direct relationship with the five core citizenship themes. Among these are paper and pencil activities (e.g. reading newspapers and diaries, like Anne Frank's, and having pen-friends from other Portuguese speaking countries), the hearing/viewing of audio-visual materials (e.g. listening to 'resistance' music before the 1974 Revolution) and more active strategies (role-playing, presenting assignments, participating in class debates). Assignments include small-scale research projects (e.g. interviewing family members who were involved in the colonial wars) or larger projects (e.g. organizing debates on human rights or contests for posters on environmental issues, visiting local areas of historical interest). The official curricula also propose various examples of projects to be developed in the school area whose aims are eminently related to the issues of democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, economy and local problems. These projects and tasks are supposed to be planned, implemented and evaluated with the active participation of the students.

Textbooks

The textbooks for Grades 5 to 9 tend to slight the emphasis on civic education when compared to the official curricula. However, important concepts related to the five core civic themes are included: democracy; free elections; equality before the law; political institutions (e.g. the Parliament, the President); civil and political rights; different types of democracy (representative versus direct); social conflicts; economic and social equality; ethnic and political persecutions; national heroes; symbols and events; international relations; discriminated groups; slavery; assimilation versus valuing diversity; religious, ethnic, political and sexual discrimination; racism; state protectionism; liberalism; market economy; economic recession; unemployment; and environmental problems (amongst others). However, in the area of national identity, the textbooks tend to overlook the analysis of controversial national events, and sometimes, as in geography, even present an implicit negative picture of national identity when stressing that the European Union aims at 'overcoming nationalism through European exaltation' (p.71). Occasionally, the textbooks present stereotypes in the area of gender (e.g. 'My dad is a vet; my mom just cooks'), even while at the same time stressing the importance of gender equality.

Additionally, besides evaluation exercises, the textbooks suggest activities and tasks similar to those included in the curricula: analyzing written and iconographic documents; collecting and hearing music; doing role-playing activities and debates; conducting interviews and small-scale researches; organizing exhibitions in the school; and making field trips.

Generally speaking, knowledge in the textbooks is presented in a simplistic and schematic manner, and concepts are sometimes cited but not defined. Superficiality in treatment can be found. For instance, in treating the role of various groups and institutions in the political process, the individual's participation seems to be limited to voting. What is more, to vote is presented as the only explicit civic right and duty, together with subtle attempts to inculcate voting behaviors and positive attitudes towards voting (Portuguese history and geography, Grade 6). This superficiality sometimes is seen in the presentation of something outdated. In the geography textbook for Grade 7, Western European countries are classified as:

republics or monarchies, all of which are pluralist democratic states, where parties and politicians alternate in the exercising power, depending on free elections, and economic systems are capitalist based on free initiative, characteristics that are in opposition with East European countries in rapid change but that were, until recently, popular democracies, where political power was exerted by a single party, the communist party; they had economies of the socialist type. (p.62)

Discussion

On the whole, both the relevant educational legislation (the Education Act and other directives regulating school management and evaluation procedures) and the official curricula for Grades 1 to 9 address citizenship issues, mentioning relevant contents (e.g. political institutions; civic rights; democratic decision-making processes; national identity and European consciousness; social, political, religious and gender discrimination; economic processes; and local problems) and stressing the relevance of the school climate and organization for learning about democracy.

This emphasis on civic issues is also present, although in a lesser degree, in the textbooks for various subjects in Grades 5 to 9. Moreover, the approach of the textbooks reveals a tendency to organize information in a more simplistic and schematic manner: concepts are frequently mentioned but not defined, and problems are frequently presented without recognizing their controversial nature. It is as if the textbooks assumed that the students already know what democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, economy and local problems are, and therefore do not see the need to give definitions. Additionally, even potentially polarizing events are sometimes glossed over and made simple and less controversial. In this sense it appears that the curriculum has a potential for civic education but that the textbooks do not help

to realize that potential nor do they give sufficient recognition to the developmental nature of the students who are learning in the social and political domain.

Civic education in Portugal: synopsis and insights into the implemented and achieved curricula

On the whole, it can be said that the social relevance of civic education in Portugal was translated into the proposed curriculum, which embodies a concentrated effort to develop students' capacity to know, critically reflect upon and come to act on the issues of democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, the economy and local problems, even if this effort is not uniformly realized in the policy documents, official curricula and textbooks, and even though some issues are more stressed than others. An analysis of the proposed curriculum lead to the identification of some major tendencies.

First, the curriculum is inclined to emphasize 'subject matter knowledge' in the area of citizenship; the main exception is the subject area of maternal language in which the development of instrumental competencies for the exercise of citizenship is favored, although all the other subject areas include a domain of attitudes and values and a domain of skills and capacities.

Second, the potential for civic education found in the curriculum tends not to be realized in textbooks because they include fewer civic-related themes and adopt a more informative logic, characterized by a focus on knowledge with little confrontation between different points of view. As we have already stressed, this leads to a simplistic and schematic model that risks superficiality both regarding concept acquisition and the capacity to use it as a meaningful point of departure for individual or collective reflection and action (see, for instance, Berti, 1994).

Third, the way in which the various issues are approached reveals a tendency towards emphasizing compromise and consensus in Portuguese society. For instance, the curriculum explicitly aims at the development of a European consciousness and at the values of environmental preservation. But if the treatment of civic duties, political participation and the State's responsibility in the economy has the proposed curriculum adopting a supposed 'neutrality' or, at most, a subtle support for some specific options, then this cautious position has some disadvantages. It leads to the omission of certain topics, such as a means of civic participation besides voting. Such an approach risks unfortunate results.

Finally, the theoretical nature of the school (a major criticism of the educational system in Portugal) may lead teachers to address these issues but without relating them to the students' real life. This is particularly evident in the treatment of problems in the area of social cohesion and diversity, which are

analyzed without reference to the growing multicultural characteristics of Portuguese society. It is evident also in (albeit only) episodic suggestions that students analyze and get involved in the resolution of local problems.

Therefore, as Edelstein (1985) mentions, the risk of producing a scholarly knowledge about citizenship without real implications for the student's daily life is genuine. And that is why, even though the major aim of this research is not an in-depth and systematic analysis of realized curriculum, it is worth investigating the perceptions of teachers, students and significant other agents about what is happening in the schools and beyond regarding citizenship issues.

Method

Interviews were conducted in focus groups for the students (a total of six groups with six students each), and individually with all the others interviewees: eight teachers (with more than 10 years of teaching experience, thereby involving teachers who had experienced the curriculum reform), two parents, two experts in teacher training, the leaders of the youth branches of the four major political parties, the leader of the National Council of Youth, two representatives of the most significant minority group organizations (Cape Verde immigrants and Gypsies), and a former Secretary of State for Education who had direct responsibilities in implementing the curricular reform.

Students, teachers and parents were selected from six schools that varied according to the following criteria: geographical location (rural, urban and urban peripheral) and social diversity (the schools were either homogeneous or heterogeneous according to the students' economic and ethnic origin, and their family's experience of emigration). Within each school, the groups were intentionally constituted to include social diversity: the teachers performed a variety of roles (e.g. tutor, coordinators of subject areas, member of the school council); the parents varied in their degree of involvement within the schools' parents' associations.

All interviews were conducted by trained interviewers, who were also familiar with the aims of the civic education study. The interviews were tape-recorded and partially transcribed by the interviewers, according to a content grid that was developed by the research team, following the specifications of the international coordination documents. The synthesis of the data tries to capture common opinions among the interviewees.

Results and discussion

The implemented curriculum

The implemented curriculum refers to what actually happens in the classroom and the school. Contrary to the conclusions of our analysis of the proposed curriculum, the *students* generally did not recognize that they were participating in within-class activities related to citizenship issues, with the excep-

tion of the election of the class delegate. They also did not see this as being subject to evaluation by the teacher. Their analysis of these issues seemed to depend on the special characteristics of the teacher ('Now we address these issues because we have a splendid class teacher who is concerned about our formation and gives us the "subject matter" that will help us to be citizens') or the occurrence of an exceptional event. The students appeared to resent this: 'The Constitution is like a non-existent document because it's not transmitted to people. We are in Grade 9 and they [the teachers] don't speak about it.' Additionally, they expressed doubts about the democratic climate of the school ('Here, the law of the stronger prevails') and complained that the functioning of the class is not always democratic: some teachers are more tolerant than others; the rules differ and students never participate in making the rules. However, they did indicate some school area projects relating to the theme, as well as the opportunity that the school gives students for interaction with older colleagues about these issues.

This student opinion was not very different from that of the teachers, who stressed the importance of civic education and the need for the school to function as a democratic institution, but varied in their appraisal of the effectiveness of the school's efforts in this matter. Some considered that the values of democracy are fundamentally learned in a school that functions in a democratic manner ('since the will of the majority is respected' and students are free to express their opinion). Others reported that students have few opportunities to exercise democratic living within the classroom, and that these issues are only rarely discussed within the various subjects areas. Like the students, teachers also did not consider this issue to be subject to evaluation, especially since there is difficulty in evaluating anything other than knowledge. But they also pointed to projects of the school area and to extracurricular activities that contribute to the students' experience and learning about civic issues (e.g. debates on human rights, exhibitions, the school newspaper).

Comments from the *other interviewees* were along the same lines: parents valued the democratic organization of the school but stressed that it sometimes fails when it comes to putting rhetoric into practice. The specialists in teacher training maintained that the school is becoming a more democratic institution but there is still a lot to be done. The former member of the government held that there are few participatory experiences for students and that few opportunities for addressing these issues come up within the classroom, emphasizing the need for the school to overcome its cognitive bias and promote the development of attitudes. The President of the National Board of Youth thought that the school does not offer incentives for democratic practice and does not motivate the students for discussion, participation and dialogue. The leaders of the major Political Youth Organizations (PYOs) also agreed that the school has an important role to play (mentioning the contribution of subject content and extracurricular activities). Some mentioned their

opposition to the lack of opportunities the school provides for learning about citizenship, especially when it comes to discussion and participation.

Additional sources (Abrantes, 1994; Benavente, 1995; *Público na Escola*) also indicate the relevance of extracurricular activities for the development of students' knowledge, attitudes and capacities in the domain of citizenship and for the improvement of the school climate. These activities are either episodic (e.g. a 'cultural week' with presentation of students' projects and organization of debates, music and theater performances, involving the whole school and/or outsiders) or long-term projects.

Although limited, our vision of the implemented curriculum leads to a paradoxical conclusion: citizenship issues, even though present in the official curriculum and textbooks, are not reported either by students or teachers as being discussed in the classroom. It is only rarely that students analyze what democracy and other issues are and mean inside the classroom. Additionally, all interviewees agreed that there are no occasions for debate, discussion and participation for students and that the school should be more involved in getting students to learn about citizenship, especially through democratic living. In general, the school appears as an institution that has the necessary organizational devices to function democratically, but apparently is unable to do so. This paradox is attributed to the extensiveness of the curriculum, the lack of teacher training and the survival of a traditional conception of the school that overemphasizes cognitive goals and knowledge transmission.

However, both the school area and various extracurricular activities seem to give actual opportunities for addressing civic education themes, even if no national level study enables us to determine the frequency and depth of these projects. It should be kept in mind that the school area was often considered as the most innovative strategy of the curricular reform, with some potential to challenge a typical construct of the learning process that rests mainly on subject matter.

Civic education in other social contexts

Naturally, young people ages 11 to 15 are active participants in other social contexts besides the school. This participation can have a relevant influence on their development in civic knowledge, attitudes and competencies. The data collected so far reveal that the family, the Catholic Sunday School and the Catholic Scouts and the initiatives of NGOs and YPOs and the media also provide meaningful opportunities for civic education.

The *family* was mentioned by both students and parents as a context for discussion of these issues triggered by news or debates on television. However, the teachers believed that families often lack preparation to address them. The textbooks of the Catholic Sunday School mention several issues related to citizenship (human rights, justice, peace, truth, freedom, law). The Catholic Scouts organize activities that aim at learning about community living and

about society's rules, and its structure has a participatory character. Several NGOs have special activities for the youngsters, both in and outside the schools (e.g. citizenship rights, laws, exposure of violations of human rights). The leaders of the YPOs consider that their organizations are quite active in trying to mobilize young people's participation and to pressure the political parties and the government regarding youth policies. Although the students who were interviewed were generally not involved in these YPOs, they considered it important 'to have young people in politics, because they have a more liberal idea; they are not afraid to speak. They should participate more when laws are made.'

The image of the media, mostly television, that emerges from the students' interviews is quite interesting since they considered that television is generally inadequate in addressing these issues for their age group. Some exceptions were mentioned in a curious way by a student from a rural area: 'the program was important because people went there to give their opinions on questions that young people asked. Since in Lisbon parents don't have much time to speak, the program helped a lot.' In the end, it appears that students watch the news and sometimes read a magazine or a newspaper but feel that there should be a special program to teach them about these issues ('like *Sesame Street* for children'). The influence of the media, and its inadequacy for this age group, was mentioned by parents, teachers, specialists in teacher training and the leaders of YPOs. The president of the National Board of Youth and some leaders of the YPOs referred to sensationalism and a tendency towards an immediate and non-neutral presentation as negative aspects, even while acknowledging the role of the media in allowing for a more complex reading of reality and confrontation among different points of view.

On the whole, other social contexts besides the school provide opportunities for young people to develop their knowledge, attitudes and competencies in the domain of citizenship. However, the most striking feature of these out-of-school experiences is the apparent inability of the media, and television in particular, to address these issues in an adequate and therefore useful manner for this age-group. While all interviewees stressed the relevance of the media in learning about citizenship, they also agreed with the discouraged reaction of the students themselves to the existing programs.

Students' representations of citizenship

The representations of citizenship that arose from the student interviews are particularly interesting, because they portray what students consider to be the 'fundamentals' of a democratic regime, the main rights and duties of citizens, the major political institutions and forms of political participation, the dynamics between national identity and European citizenship, the main prejudices faced by disenfranchised groups, the major challenges of the social security systems, and the more relevant local problems, to name only a few.

The emerging picture reveals that students acquire not only basic knowledge but also a clear capacity to reflect upon and sometimes even to critically analyze issues. For instance, they mentioned the right to criticize, a particularly sensitive issue because in non-democratic regimes criticism is frequently considered as betrayal. Moreover, they clearly stated that it is possible to 'criticize the Government, the President, whoever...' and that this is admissible if the person speaks 'without attacking'. Additionally, they expressed doubts about the supposedly democratic functioning of the school and the class and voiced some complaints about the inattention to these issues by their teachers.

In summary, the students showed clearly that they are interested in contemporary social and political problems and have a capacity to consider them with some complexity. However, the fact that the school might be overlooking the naïve theories students have about the social and political domain ('with the exception of today we never speak of these issues'), may result in preserving some potentially dangerous misconceptions about civic issues and political processes (e.g. 'We should never have given away the colonies' or 'What's the use of not throwing garbage away? It's only one less paper on the ground!'). This apparent gap between the intended and the implemented curricula could have perverse effects by maintaining the low level of political culture and participation in the younger generation, even though, at the rhetorical level, social, political and scientific groups stress the need for the school to address civic education.

Conclusions

The most evident conclusion that emerges from this analysis of civic education is that there are intentional efforts, at the level of the planned curriculum, to promote the role of school learning in empowering youngsters for active citizenship in a democratic context. This is particularly relevant in a country that has experienced so much social and political transformation, including a major transition from a dictatorship to a democratic regime and in which the socialization effects on the younger generations, as evaluated by existing research, have not necessarily been beneficial. The need for the school to address these issues and prepare future citizens for their responsibilities and opportunities was (and still is) a point of consensus in Portuguese society and the scientific community.

Therefore, it is a positive to note that this consensus has been translated into policy regulations and official curricula as a result of educational reform. Additionally, even those textbooks published after the reform take account of the 'new' aims of education, although they have a tendency to simplify and sometimes to presuppose that definitions are not necessary, unfortunately, a common tendency in this domain (see Renti, 1996, for a similar conclusion).

This emphasis of the planned curriculum with its extensive content related to democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, economy and local problems is extended to methodological suggestions: both official guidelines and textbooks give various ideas for teaching methodologies that could foster students' participation, as well as discussion and debate of diverse citizenship issues.

However, the leading players in the educational system do not experience this in the daily life of the classroom, except in uncommon situations. The conclusion may, therefore, be that despite the presence of these issues in the official curriculum and in textbooks, and despite suggested methodologies that could be helpful in putting theory into practice, what actually happens in the schools has apparently little to do with what is supposed and intended to happen, either because of lack of time, training or will. Noteworthy exceptions, such as the school area projects and extracurricular activities are frequently episodic and discontinuous experiences, a characteristic that does not ensure their potential for developing students' citizenship concepts, attitudes and competencies (Campos, 1991; Sprinthall, 1991).

Nevertheless, both the Education Act and the curricular reform are acknowledged as producing important changes in this domain, and even if not all the interviewees agreed on the nature of those changes, they tended to concede that there is a growing concern in the school regarding these issues. Some teachers referred to the emergence of more disciplinary problems and the lowering of achievement standards (seen as consequences of mass schooling). Other teachers, together with some parents, emphasized the greater openness of the school and flexibility in the student-teacher relationship, even while stating that more has to be done. Nevertheless, as one of the specialists in teacher training stated, this probably depends more on the local will and commitment of the schools than on the formal recommendations of the central bodies of the Ministry of Education.

The wide consensus that what the school really needs is more space and time for teachers to speak and debate with the students is reinforced by our data about the youngsters' views concerning civic issues. Though there are theoretical foundations concerning young people's naive conceptions of social and political reality (Adelson, 1971; Berti, 1988; Haste & Torney-Purta, 1992; Delval, 1994; Torney-Purta, 1994), it is quite surprising to see how much relevant data can be obtained from the simple strategy of giving students the opportunity to express their own ideas. There emerges the crucial significance of creating, within the school and beyond, spaces for interaction and dialogue in which citizenship issues, instead of being explained *to* the young, would be discussed and analyzed *with* them in the spirit of cooperation and negotiation that characterizes real democracy.

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COHESION AND DIVERSITY IN NATIONAL IDENTITY: CIVIC EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

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The status of civic education in Romanian education

Background: the transition from dictatorship to democracy

It is well known that Romania was among the last countries in which the communist dictatorship collapsed. The dictatorship in this country was one of the hardest in Europe. That is one reason why the overthrow came about only after violence and bloodshed. Since 1990, Romania has lived in a state of transition from a closed totalitarian society to an open democratic one. Romanian society is in the process of democratic reconstruction after 50 years of a dictatorial regime. On one level, there is the transition from the institutions of a totalitarian state (i.e. subordination of the government institutions to one person alone; the existence of a unique party; the political police; and only one admitted ideology) to the institutions of a state of law and a civic society. Then there is the shift, at the level of thinking and behavior, to democratic principles, rules and values, (i.e. from obedience and hypocrisy to dialogue, cooperation, tolerance and honesty).

This process of transformation is taking place in a context that includes:

Romanian democratic traditions: Before World War II, Romania was a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary regime, freedom of the press and a functioning market economy.

Current Western European legal and institutional systems: These may allow Romania to integrate into the European system of values and institutions, leading to rapid modernization and the consolidation of democracy.

In working out its new system, Romania is seeking to take into consideration the standards and requirements of the legal system in the European Union by offering its citizens a legal framework similar to the one in Western Europe. The admission of Romania into the Council of Europe presents the opportunity for civic education to open further to the democratic processes of Western Europe.

There are also obstacles. The restoration of a democratic society has been accompanied by such phenomena as an increase in poverty; a moral crisis; increases in crime and drug abuse, especially among young people; personal stress coming from uncertainty; a dramatic collapse in the quality of life; and dashed expectations. Beginning in 1992, the rate of unemployment leapt from 3 per cent to over 8 per cent. Purchasing power, reduced to real earnings, dropped from a baseline of 100 per cent in 1990 to 66 per cent in 1996 (*Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 1997, pp.168, 189). These factors all present a difficult context for civic education.

Education and citizenship education

The communist regime and the policy of student indoctrination

For Romania, the most important event of the last decade was the fall of the communist regime in December 1989. Officially, civic education was an important element in Romanian education before 1989. Its importance was reflected in several subject matter areas in the school curriculum: citizens' education (in Grade 8), social-political knowledge (Grade 10, i.e. second year of secondary school), educational classes (classmaster's classes), political education as well as classes in geography, the Romanian language and literature, history and philosophy (Grade 12, last grade of high school). The class-time allotted by the schedule to these subject areas was as follows:

- citizen education—one period/class a week
- social-political knowledge—one period/class a week
- classmaster's class—one period a week
- political education—one period every other week.

In regard to geography, the Romanian language and literature and philosophy, there were no topics explicitly focused on political-ideological objectives as such, but these topics inevitably arose and were considered.

- Romanian literature—poems dedicated to the Romanian Communist Party (RCP)
- geography—lessons on the economic development of Romania under the guidance of the RCP
- philosophy—the creative contribution of the RCP to the development of Marxist philosophy.

In these cases, ideological criteria were primary, leading often to ignoring or falsifying the truth.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the communist leaders had in view, among other things, establishing the conviction that the communist system is superior to the capitalist system in every respect and that citizens of the communist state possess beliefs, values and attitudes superior to those held by citizens of the 'capitalist' states. Democracy was a central topic of several chapters and themes but the slant was to demonstrate the superiority of the communist 'democracy' over the democracies of a 'bourgeois' type. The aim of school instruction was to be a reinforcing commentary on statements in party documents. We quote from the *Program of the Communist Party* (1975) for the establishment of a multilateral developed socialist society and the progress of Romania towards communism:

It has been historically confirmed that the socialist democracy is absolutely superior to the capitalist one which merely proclaims formally some democratic rights

but does not provide the material conditions of the required social framework for their fulfilment. The reality of life demonstrates that real democracy cannot stand where there are antagonistic social classes, exploiters and exploited, economic, social and national inequality. (pp.130-31)

A new way of teaching civic education

One of the consequences of the overthrow of communism was to remove the communist ideological component from Romanian education. This has been carried out over several stages. The following acts are most important:

- Classes in civic education, economics, socio-political issues, political economy and philosophy were replaced in the new schedule by classes in 'democratic culture' (February 1990), which represented a sort of introduction to the problems of a democratic political regime.
- Lessons carrying ideological content were taken out of the syllabi and textbooks on Romanian language and literature, history and geography.
- The teachers who taught social-humanistic sciences had an in-service training course.
- Transitory syllabi were employed for the social-humanistic subjects starting with the school year 1990-1991. The syllabi are still experimental and are described in the materials reviewed by our research team.

Generally, however, the educational decision-makers were mainly concerned with eradicating the communist ideology rather than promoting another ideology. A new Law of Education was passed in 1995. Alternative textbooks have been published. The educational reforms in Romania are in full swing.

It is appropriate to mention here that one of the aims of the reform, stipulated by the Law of Education, is to educate young people 'by fostering respect for...human rights and freedoms, a sense of dignity and tolerance, and free exchanges of opinion [and]...by cultivating sensitivity to human problems, ethical-civic and religious values, and nature and the environment' (Articles 4 d, e).

Romanian compulsory education of eight years includes civic education as a main component of the curriculum. As an autonomous subject matter, civic culture/education is included in the terminal years of each four-year cycle of compulsory education: in Grades 3 and 4 (children of 9 to 10 years of age) and Grades 7 and 8 (13 to 14 years of age). In these grades, civic culture is taught for one hour a week, for a total contact time of 36 hours per year. Some topics of civic education are also included in the classes of the classmaster (at the master's choice).

While civic culture is at the core of education for citizenship, it is surrounded by an entire complex of other components that contribute to that education: 'moral-civic education' in Grades 3 and 4 (primary school), 'classmaster' classes, certain chapters relating to the 'history of the Romani-

ans', 'the Romanian language and literature', 'geography' and 'philosophy'. Essential to civic culture are the following: an explanation of fundamental rights, freedoms and duties; a description of the formation, functions and competencies of jurisdictional bodies; and an introduction to the office of the President, legislative branches of government, public administration and the legal system. The categories or concepts around which the content of civics is concentrated are: 'public welfare, national interests, public and patriotic duties, heroism, national unity, Romanian solidarity, national wealth, national patriotism, common goods, etc' (Cosma, 1994, p.83).

The objectives specified in the civic culture syllabus for Grades 7 and 8 are representative:

a) The acquisition of basic knowledge about self and interhuman relations and...their significance for life in society; b) knowledge of rules, laws, rights and civic responsibilities as found in various documents (declarations, conventions) which regulate social relations; c) knowledge of the principles underlying state functions, of global problems affecting mankind in the contemporary age, of the specifics of economic activity in the 20th century all with a view towards a conscious integration into modern democratic society; d) the formation of civic habits: regard for others, for norms, laws, trends, and for labor all with a view to fulfilling a conscious and responsible role in the life of civic society; e) giving models of individual behavior pointing to effective participation in the life of a democratic society in its economic, cultural, and political dimensions.

To illustrate the extent of the information covered in the topics mentioned above, here is a list of issues found under the topic 'State' (Chiritescu et al., 1995):

- What is the State?
- Major characteristics of the State.
- The functions of the State.
- The quality of citizen; identity; modern means of identity.
- The democratic state; types of state; what is democracy; the origins, the division and the limits of power in the democratic state; the interests of the State and interests of the citizen.
- Direct democracy and representational democracy; the power of the majority in the democratic state and its limits.
- The Constitution—the fundamental law in the democratic state; a short history of the constitutions of Romania.
- Romania—a national, sovereign, independent, unitary, indivisible state; general principles behind the structure and functioning of the Romanian State.

- The separation of powers in the State: the Parliament, the President of the Republic, the Government and Justice.

Methods of collecting data

To provide answers to the framing questions in the IEA research on civic education, our team selected two types of data collection:

Content analysis

Our analysis of the curriculum and of educational policy documents included a survey of the curriculum of civic education and the core curriculum, which is the foundation for civic education.

Besides the syllabi and the textbooks of moral-civic education (Grades 3 and 4) and civic culture (Grades 7 and 8), the following textbooks and syllabi were analyzed: reading (Grades 1 to 4); the history of the Romanians (Grade 4); the geography of Romania (Grade 4); the Romanian language and literature (Grades 5 to 8); the history of the Romanians (Grades 7 and 8); and the geography of Romania (Grade 8).

We also looked at papers issued by school authorities on the training of school personnel, and educational writing referring to the weight given to civic education within the reform of Romanian education. Furthermore, we chose to analyze several rules found in the 'Student Regulations for Primary, Secondary and Post-secondary Education' regarding student responsibilities in a free society.

Other documents pertaining to citizenship education included articles and interviews containing views about the general policy regarding formal civic education as expressed by various categories of educational agents (decision-makers, teachers, teacher union representatives and researchers), and found primarily in *Tribuna Invatamantului* (*The Tribune of Education*) and *Revista de Pedagogie* (*Review of Education*).

Content analysis of educational documents included the law of education, syllabi, textbooks and student regulations, and showed that civic education deserves high marks for the delivery of information. Thus, in the syllabi and textbooks, all the important topics for the training of the future citizen are to be found: the concept of democracy; human rights; general elements about democratic, political regimes; civic society; the rights of minorities; the role of mass media in a democratic society; and factors that could undermine a democratic political regime.

Opinions and interviews with educational officials and experts regarding civic education in both non-formal and informal education included the articles of the type found mainly in the periodicals *Dilema*, 22, *Polis* and *Cercetari Sociologice* (*Sociological Investigations*). We also analyzed studies, research papers and documents issued in workshops.

Interviews and questionnaires

We surveyed 40 teachers who teach civic culture, 12 decision-makers representing the school inspectorate, and six research workers in the social sciences. In addition, we surveyed about 1,500 students.

The National Expert Panel

The National Expert Panel met three times. It represented a diverse set of perspectives.

*Focus on specific issues**National identity concepts, minorities and social cohesion*

Students study the issue of national identity in civic culture, the history of the Romanians and the Romanian language and literature. The civic culture textbook for Grade 7 (Stefan et al., 1993) presents a theoretical approach to the problem of the nation. History adds more concrete material, for example, the unification of all Romanians under Michael the Brave in 1600 and the part played by the Romanian language throughout history.

As for the content of civic culture, the textbook stresses the characteristics of our state as 'national, sovereign, independent, unitary and indivisible'. The chapter entitled 'The Nation' in the Grade 7 textbook has the following structure:

- 1) Nation, homeland, patriotism.
- 2) Nationalism, racism, xenophobia; tolerance and the rejection of racism.
- 3) The formation of the Romanian nation.
- 4) National/ethnic minorities in Romania.

Thus, this chapter includes definitions of some key concepts (nation, minority, patriotism, nationalism, racism, xenophobia and so on) as well as a short survey of the formation of the Romanian nation. Mention is made of the minorities who live on the territory of Romania, but no mention is made of the actual inter-ethnic conflicts of the past or of the present.

In the textbook, questions about ethnic groups or about disadvantaged persons/groups are discussed by way of presenting typical situations that trouble human relations and endanger the existence of the State. The textbook also shows that 'there are forces' that act to transfer political power downwards, to 'sub-national groups' or minorities, and other forces which try to push the power towards supranational organizations. Regional, ethnic and religious groups claim their own identity, and national governments 'are in an impossible situation to deal differentially' with each of these groups. The Grade 7 textbook points out that 'They could generate a dramatic intensification of separatist movements, jeopardizing the unity of many national states.'

In the Grade 7 textbook for the official curriculum, the chapter 'Social Groups' emphasizes that there are marked differences between groups as to degree of cohesion; there could be united groups or divided groups. More importantly for the topic under discussion is the subchapter 'The Loss of Personality', a lesson about the potentially destructive influences of the group upon the individual.

In the next chapter, 'Nation' (which was entitled 'Human Communities' in the 1993 edition), materials relating to the framing question are contained in the lesson on 'tolerance and rejection of racism' and (especially) in the lesson on 'the formation and the future of the nation'. It may be significant to point out that, in the earlier version, these two topics were put together under the title 'The Evolution of the Relationship Between National State and National Minorities'.

Among the out of school activities that can promote among students a feeling of belonging to a nation are the following:

Folk shows: These include those broadcast on the radio/ television and those live on stage. They are a rich source of education and knowledge about genuine folklore, specifically the rich folklore of the country or of various ethnic minorities.

Religious festivals: These are occasions for students of 11 to 15 years of age to get well acquainted with folklore, beliefs and symbolisms and to have dialogue towards mutual understanding.

The celebration of the National Day of Romania: This is a moment for remembering and reliving the events of the Great Unification of 1918, when all the territories inhabited by Romanians (some of them recently liberated from foreign domination) joined their motherland by popular choice.

The youth organization 'The Romanian Boy Scouts': This organization offers its members (including students of 11 to 15 years of age) the chance to learn to appreciate natural beauty and to learn about caring for the flora and fauna in the country territory.

In research carried out in 1996, 95 per cent of the teachers teaching civic culture (Grades 7 and 8) considered the topic of national identity useful and necessary in promoting civic culture, even if it emerges only implicitly in a variety of subject matters. However, most teachers surveyed by us generally considered that there is no need to include 'social cohesion and diversity' in the curriculum. The Romanian Constitution stipulates equal rights for all citizens; hence, they seem to argue, in a democratic state, there are no underprivileged minorities. This position has other variants as well. One of them says that the Romanian people as a whole are underprivileged: about 47 per cent of adults are living at the limit of subsistence because of the economic 'transition'.

The experts, research workers, inspectors and professors held the opinion that the problem in this area should be dealt with through reference to Romanian laws, international agreements and the values of democracy and Christian morality. The priests (the Orthodox ones) considered it improper to discriminate but pointed out that one should remember the 'autochthony' of the Romanian people while always remaining in conformity with international legal documents. The journalists, in their turn, proposed including the topic in the official curriculum, though they did not consider it an *accountal* *problem* because it has been an 'eternal problem' throughout the history of Romania. The students who were surveyed showed evidence of being influenced mainly by social perceptions put forward during the old regime.

Briefly, in the future, textbooks will have to solve two fundamental problems. First, they will need to include more current aspects of the Romanian society. Often, the ideas concerning civic culture, social identity and diversity are proposed in an idealistic and academic way. Any tendency to talk about groupings or associations of people reawakens the fear of a collectivist mentality. Second, they will need to change from merely transmitting information and book knowledge to creating possibilities for students to learn about social dynamics from the situations and groups they encounter in everyday life.

The textbooks do not emphasize enough the essentials of the civic behavior: the ability of the citizen to choose among various ways of acting and assume responsibility for what he or she undertakes in public affairs. However, there are some new materials that show promise.

An experimental textbook/guide, worked out by Dakmara Georgescu, a research worker in education, entitled *Education for Human Rights* (1995), contains, among other things, a subchapter on 'The Individual and the Communities: The Right to Identity and Difference'. This subchapter deserves special consideration. In it, articles from 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' are quoted, and students are asked to underline sections that touch on the relationship between individuals and social groups. What emerges is that a democratic society is founded on pluralism, that is, the recognition of the rights of individuals and groups to their identity, which, in turn, implies 'the recognition and acceptance of differences concerning beliefs, convictions and values which they have'.

The same author has worked out for Grades 7 and 8 a set of textbooks published in two separate volumes: one for students and one for teachers, thus breaking a custom of only one textbook volume to be used by both teachers and students. In the students' book for Grade 7, there are several subchapters that touch on social diversity. This textbook refers to 'the problem of social inequality' and the principle of equal opportunity as related to social classes, social hierarchy and mobility.

The use of textbooks like these has given rise to some very different teaching experiences. It seems that the experimental textbook brings an innovative

approach, closer to Western European standards. It is, at the same time, under criticism by some teachers from various points of view: it is considered unilateral; it puts too much stress on human rights; it brings 'politics' into class; it generates a view that is too universal/European; and is an anti-Christian approach and so might give an impetus to misconduct.

The mass media: a rather skinny 'watchdog'

The question of mass media (newspapers, books, radio, television) gets little attention in the official curriculum of the primary and secondary public schools. A guidebook for moral civic education, generally employed as a resource for Grade 4, includes the topic 'I learn throughout all my life'. Here, students are asked to consider information they can get through mass media; to look at the advantages and disadvantages of certain kinds of information; and to evaluate some television broadcasts (children's programs, science programs).

In the subject civic culture, the syllabus for Grade 8 includes a chapter entitled 'Civic Organization in a Democratic Society'. In this chapter, there is a topic called 'Mass-media—the Fourth Power in the State: the Role of the Press'. This lesson consists of a brief description of the types of media and their role in a democracy. The lesson has three main sections:

- 1) *The exceptional importance of media in the USA:* The text points out that the early American President, Thomas Jefferson, considered the press to have such importance for the democratic process that if he had to choose between a system of government without newspapers and newspapers without a system of government, he would choose the latter. Freedom of the press is established in 'the first amendment' of the Constitution. Today, mass media is the third largest sector in the American economy.
- 2) *Types of media:* The textbook divides media into free independent media; media that support individual or group interests or the interests of certain institutions; and media mainly directed towards presenting conflicting ideas;
- 3) *The function of media:* The textbook underlines that mass media is a corollary of the right to know and the right of free expression. That idea is highlighted by quoting article 19 of 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights'. The lesson concludes by saying that mass media is the safeguard of democracy ('the watchdog' of society), but only when it is objective and unbiased.

At the end of the lesson, there are exercises related to student perceptions about the role of the mass media. Students are asked:

- To discuss the image of a professional journalist, ideal or not, and to answer whether he or she would like to become a journalist and why.
- To explain why an American political scientist could say that the USA is the first 'media state' in world history.

- To analyze the statement, 'If bad news is not released, it will just go away.'

We are not aware of any research that would give a representative sample of the use of mass media in the Romanian schools since 1989. We do, however, have some results from pretesting done for the national case study research. These results reflect the opinions of the subjects interviewed by our team: 1,500 students, 40 teachers, six experts and 12 decision-makers.

The general view of these people was that the school should recommend mass media to the students as reliable sources of information about both political life and about other aspects of life. As there are many sources, some politically biased, it is the function of the school to discuss what students should look for in other sources outside the mass media. Our survey also revealed serious concern over children being manipulated by the mass media. Without indicating the criteria for the ranking, the experts and decision-makers considered the following to be, in rank order, the primary sources of information to which students should be directed: radio, television and the press. The experimental Grade 7 Textbook of Dakmara Georgescu devotes a large section to this subject and includes the following topics:

- *Mass-media types*: written, audio-visual. Nowadays, the textbook emphasizes, the multi media complexes are very important, especially when they involve the use of the computer. An exercise is included to check the advantages and disadvantages of various ways of finding and using information.
- *Media functions*: to inform, to advertise, to shape public opinion, to manipulate. The text shows how public opinion is built and the part played by opinion polls. (Examples of questions on opinion polls follow.)
- The responsibility of various information sources.
- *Several exercises and commentaries*: the analysis of a case of manipulation by mass media; discovering some fallacious news issued by the tabloids; the description of some newspapers noting circulation figures and the quality of information sources. The students are asked to: comment on the results of 1994 research regarding 'the average daily time devoted to reading newspapers, books, listening to the radio and watching TV by people of ages 18 and over 50' (the research revealed that 23.2 per cent of the country's population do not read newspapers and magazines); conduct a restricted opinion poll about time allotted to mass media by their school-mates in other grades; and visit a newspaper publishing house followed by an attempt to write a newspaper.

What teachers and students said about mass media

Most teachers stated that they employ and discuss mass media information in their classes. They talked about the role of mass media in a democratic society and were of the opinion that the use of mass media information will not lead

to political propaganda if it is carefully and responsibly used. Some of the teachers felt strongly that the teacher should ensure that the use of mass media information does not lead to political propaganda in schools.

Most of the surveyed students (over 65 per cent) considered it useful to employ mass media information in preparing lessons in civic culture, history and literature. More than half of the students (about 55 per cent) said that they 'were not sure', or 'did not know' whether the mass media offers reliable information. Nearly half of them considered the mass media unreliable. So, while students had positive views about using mass media in doing their homework, they had misgivings about the media's values and objectivity.

In summary, the mass media topic, as it is reflected in the 'official' textbook and the outlook of educational authorities, tends to be idealized. The mass media appears as the 'hero' of democracy. At the same time, among the subjects of our research, the media are considered a mixture of truth and untruth. Only the experimental textbook moves in another direction by stating that learning implies the reorganization of the knowledge acquired by students both at school and from the mass media.

Summary remarks

Explicit versus implicit learning in the civics curriculum

In the wider process of political socialization, teaching civics can be an explicit, overt activity. This occurs when there is an intention to convey and teach political norms and values, for example, when the teacher sets out to teach civic attitudes in class. Teaching civics can also be implicit, or covert. This occurs in life circumstances where there is no intention to convey or teach political norms and values, but they are transmitted nonetheless through imitation, for example, in experiences of patterns of authority in the family or in school that can dispose students toward certain political attitudes. This is a distinction made by Almond and Verba (transl. of 1996, pp.285-90). Teaching civic behavior as part of the process of political socialization can also be formal, as when it is carried out systematically in school, or informal, as when it is not carried out in an organized, systematic way, for instance, in the family or by the mass media. Obviously, these distinctions are not absolute, but relative.

Explicit and formal political socialization is represented by the explicit classroom teaching of civic and political norms and values as well as by giving the rationale for their meaning and importance within the systematic schema of lessons at school. Explicit and informal political socialization is at work when civic norms and values are conveyed in a (quasi) explicit and deliberate way in parents' talks to their children or by radio and TV broadcasts which do not belong to specially formulated programs of civic education.

Implicit and yet formal political socialization takes place in situations such as the following: when an open school climate is consciously created; when non-authoritative, democratic relations between teachers and students are initiated; when the school systematically creates settings in which students can participate in free discussion and debate about disputed aspects of social and political life; when the school creates systematic opportunities for young people to participate in making decisions concerning their personal, school and social life.

Implicit and informal political socialization takes place in situations such as the following: when children casually and informally listen to opinions about politics expressed by parents or other adults who are not intending to convey those opinions to the children; when there are healthy authority relations between adults and children.

Problems of explicit and implicit teaching of civics peculiar to the post-communist transition in Romania

Problems of explicit teaching

The dynamic at work in the transformation of social order in this post-communist transition period is full of difficulties. Those difficulties obviously affect efforts to establish educational policy and a school curriculum. It is not at all easy to avoid either dogmatism or inertia during such a period. In publications such as the educational *Tribune of Education*, teachers, experts and decision-makers continue to debate how to achieve a balance in the curriculum between traditional national values and universal values, and between material and more humanistic values.

Although hold-over ideological flaws in the curriculum were remedied in 1990, there still remain psycho-social-educational drawbacks that influence the teaching of civics. As a result, for example, the current so-called transitional curriculum does not fully achieve an interdisciplinary goal through balancing knowledge and values taught by various subject matters. This failure compromises students' chances of gaining a global, world outlook.

Although the curriculum is crowded, as are the syllabi and textbooks, there are still 'blanks' in the explicit teaching of civics. The curriculum includes 'Moral-Civic Education' in Grades 3 and 4 of the primary school, as well as 'civic culture' in Grades 7 and 8. These courses are heavily loaded with such matters as the Constitution of Romania, citizen's rights, the rights stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the structure and the institutions of the legal state and civic society. At the same time, there are no significant references to the European Charter of Human Rights that might be able to lead the student to believe that something could really be done towards the effective realization of human rights. Also, little emphasis is placed on encouraging political and social participation.

The syllabi and textbooks are adequate in their treatment of national iden-

tity and unifying symbols (events, personalities and documents with the value of unifying symbols), but there is scant reference to the historic, cultural traditions and present concerns of other nations or to concerns of youth in other countries. Desirable future changes get no mention. The formal curriculum does not put enough emphasis on developing communication skills and work habits nor on skills needed for participating in political activities or in social projects generally.

The school syllabi do not allow students enough self-determination in adapting topics to suit their ages levels or to fit the specific features of their local communities. Moreover, the overcrowded syllabi and textbooks do not allow enough time for dialogue; for explaining and understanding fundamental concepts behind such things as rights and norms.

This content overload goes hand in hand with methodological problems: a limited set of techniques are employed in teaching and learning civics. What can result is a discrepancy between the formal (official) curriculum and the effectively achieved curriculum. There is too much abstract knowledge, too little time for solid teaching, and an emphasis on expository techniques to the detriment of student participation. This situation compromises ever achieving the aims of the official curriculum; nor does it encourage critical thinking, creativity, free discourse and cooperation. In the triad of attitude/knowledge/skills, explicit teaching is directed at knowledge while the formation of attitudes is neglected.

There is no special academic training required of those who teach civics, and many teachers are not graduates of higher education. The student evaluation of civics is that it is boring. They say, for example, that they are not given sufficient criteria to judge facts and situations.

Problems of implicit teaching

The interdiction 'not to deal in politics at school', as stipulated by legal regulations, is often interpreted by teachers as a ban on any discussion of political and social problems with students. The school climate and the relationship between teachers and students cannot be called a democratic educational style. Rather, the style vacillates between authoritarian and 'laissez-faire'.

Teachers neither grant their students unconditional positive regard nor appropriately recognize their faults and limits. As there is not yet any official set of school regulations, there are no procedures to regulate how students can complain about injustices at school. Student participation in debates and discussions on political and social issues would be stimulating, but, in practice, these debates are practically forbidden.

Based on the opinions and remarks made by teachers in the educational media, we conclude that student participation in decisions regarding their personal, school and social situations is not encouraged. There is no student representation on the school governing boards; there are only a few student associations, and they play no part in decision-making or even consultations.

Research by Bunescu, Albu and Rogojina (1993) revealed a gap between values promoted by the teachers (those of a 'closed society'—responsibility to collectivism) and the values to which students strive (those of an 'open society'—freedom of expression, initiative). Teachers accuse parents of indifference towards their children's education and of unhelpful attitudes towards school and civic society. That said, parents blame teachers for not showing enough concern for the students' education, including civic education. The students, in turn, declare that neither parents nor teachers represent educational models for them (Bunescu et al., 1995). There are no parent associations and only one person represents parents on the school managing board, and that person has only an informative role. Parents have no role in decision-making about educational issues.

Increasing poverty is creating a situation in which parents often express criticism of government leaders without, however, intending to influence their children. Children hear them, nonetheless, even if casually and informally. The result in the children is an erosion of confidence in the government.

Mass media, generally, do not make a substantial contribution to the teaching of civics. There are no radio or television programs that have, as their purpose, teaching civics and values. The press media, influenced by commercial purposes, is at times a negative force when it promotes uncivil attitudes and behaviors.

Conclusions

It is a valid question to ask whether, in Romania, in the post-communist transition period, civics education can be taught in the full sense of the word. If schools can explicitly teach knowledge and skills related to social and political participation, can they also teach fundamental social attitudes, such as social and personal confidence, and cooperation and solidarity, which are the essential components of civic culture? Formal (school) education might not necessarily produce such attitudes. Certain psycho-individual features, such as lack of self-confidence, or social factors, such as belonging to a marginalized group, can lead to a student's non-participation in social activities, even if there are opportunities for participation in school activities.

An even more complex challenge is to develop, alongside participation skills, an affective and effective commitment towards the democratic political system. That might be achieved by the use, in explicit or implicit teaching, of some unifying symbols, events and personalities as well as by other means that create unity and commitment at the symbolic level. Three things must be developed simultaneously: a feeling of national identity; informed, voluntary compliance with the law; and participation in lawmaking (Almond & Verba, 1996). Bringing together tradition and modernism and relating these to sym-

bols of national and universal traditions constitute a key in the formation of attitudes such as confidence and cooperation.

There are shortcomings in both the formal explicit teaching and the implicit teaching. Those shortcomings contribute to certain problematic behaviors: limited dialogue about controversial social problems; weak participation in decision-making; ineffective training in attitudes of confidence and cooperation; and little participation in common social projects. Among the results are listlessness, civic indifference, deadened creativity and failure to assume rights and responsibility.

The post-communist transition is characterized by 'a culture of interregnum' in which conflicting values, structures and institutions coexist. Some values promoted by communism have been discarded (e.g. obeying the almighty state) and other new values have emerged (e.g. political pluralism and freedom of initiative). Some traditional values banned by communism are enjoying a revival (e.g. religious beliefs) whereas other values have changed in their meaning or importance (e.g. equality and solidarity) (Birzea, 1996, pp.724-25).

At the methodological level in teaching, we can witness an emphasis on the cognitive objectives in neglect of the affective ones—the use of expository techniques. Considered monodisciplinary, civic culture raises some questions regarding the relationship between civic education and moral-spiritual education, between social identity (ethnic, religious, community, national) and the concept of historic evolution. The joining of tradition and modernism, relating to the symbols of the national and universal traditions, stands as a 'key' in the formation of the attitudes of confidence and cooperation—a fundamental fact for civic education; a 'key' that has been in the possession of Romanian education.

In a country like Romania, which is in a post-communist transition, the social cost of transition is great, including an increase in poverty and disagreements about fundamental values. Social trust erodes. Political socialization and teaching civics, both explicit and mainly implicit, take place in unfavorable circumstances. Consequently, in order to revive hope, social trust and solidarity, it is imperative that coherent educational policies and strategies be established and implemented.

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THE CHALLENGE OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE NEW RUSSIA

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Notes:

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Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe the particular characteristics of civic education in the new Russia. This is a complex task for several reasons:

- The Russian State and society are in transition from a totalitarian to an open society, and the necessary legal and institutional infrastructure for the new Russia is not yet in place.
- Contradictions, confusions, and incompleteness exist in the transition to a market economy and in the reorientation of an 'antihumanistic' economy to the interests of mass consumers.
- Changes are occurring in philosophical, sociological and historiographical paradigms as they relate to matters such as civic, economic and ethnic development, understanding of ethnic problems in Russia's history, and the evaluation of federalism.
- Changes are taking place in the schools as to the teaching of history and the social sciences, including the rejection of most of the textbooks in use up to the beginning of the 1990s. There is an absence of new credible textbooks along with corresponding teachers' guides and other needed resources.
- There is a lack of sociological data that would allow confident judgments about matters such as national or ethnic self-identification among youth.

The main changes in civic education during the last 10 years have been the result of developments in the broader society. The collapse of the totalitarian regime, disintegration of the USSR, the formation of the Russian Federation, the start of liberal reforms, formation of civil society and of a legal state all led to a rejection of the old philosophy and methodology in the social sciences. A surge of new facts, events and names came into these subject areas. The old political, civic, ethnic, social ideologies and strategies were discarded. A new Law on Education has changed the educational structure. New textbooks, curricula and materials have been introduced into the schools.

A review of the situation, however, shows that in civic education changes are coming about very slowly and with great difficulty. The factors mentioned above are part of the difficulty, as is the fact that elements of the past continue to linger. For instance, the 'soviet' and 'imperial' mentality of some of those working in the field of education continues to have an influence.

Modern historians and political scientists (Migranian, Afanasiev, Jakovlev and others) suggest that two tendencies or systems of values—modernization and traditionalism—meet and sometimes counteract each other in the spiritual space of the modern Russia. New democratic institutions and values of cultural and religious pluralism are developing, and it is true that people are coming to consider them more and more valuable. But this process conflicts

with the other values: those of traditional institutions, those of the 'old Russian' imperial type, as well as those of the soviet socialistic type.

Some sources of Russian traditionalism can be found in religious traditionalism, which promotes positive features such as collectivism, support and moral principles, although the church is also under criticism for cooperating with the soviet regime and for isolationism. Traditionalist tendencies come also from the values of 19th Century Russian culture, especially its classical literature, which was the only legal alternative to the official ideology in the communistic period. All in all, there is a Russian heritage built on traditions of solidarity, unselfishness and collectivism.

There is still no answer to several questions. Should all traditional institutions be completely changed or eliminated? Is it possible to do this from above by exercise of authority? Which traditional institutions should be saved in spite of the fact that they decelerate modernization? What are the sources of their stability and their stabilizing role in the society? The importance of these questions is evident in widespread discussion on topics like the following: 'state patriotism', 'collectivism-individualism', 'Russian state power', 'Russia's mission in the world'. The interface between these two systems of values can, at times, lead to the slowing of changes in society.

It is necessary to point out that the intensity of change now being experienced by the Russian people is nothing short of overwhelming. The destruction of the totalitarian regime and formation of a democratic society, the adoption of a new constitution, a certain amount of political pluralism and absence of ideological dictate and dogmatism, 'glasnost', and a tremendous number of new means of mass media have literally 'fallen upon' the people of Russia. While overpowering in many ways, all these developments are contributing to some extent to a self-identification process.

An analysis of theoretical and sociological materials leads to the conclusion that a civic and democratic consciousness is still not fully formed and that ideas about civic life in the situation of complicated ethnic circumstances are very vague. The data confirm the views of sociologists, political scientists and teachers that the well-known 'Great Power mania' and the feeling of belonging to 'great-Russians' that existed before the 'perestrojka' are still very much alive (Malkova, 1991; Komarov, 1992; Foorman, 1994; Tishkov, 1995).

The data also show clearly that reactions to current societal and economic changes are very mixed. As the academician Vinogradov has said: 'Russian society is going through a period of painful reflection on its historical ways and basic values.' The people of Russia are trying 'to understand Russia's past and present, and to look into its future with the help of History and Political Science' (1996, p.7).

In these conditions of political and economic instability, the stabilizing role of school as a vehicle promoting civic health is becoming very important. The state system of education, in particular general secondary education aimed

at personal socialization, is becoming an important instrument to bring about a change of mentality and to educate participants in civic society. The creation of civic society and a state built on the rule of law will depend on the level of civic education at school and students' mastery of democratic basics.

Civic education in general secondary education

Civic education in Russia is intended to introduce students to civic life and to give them competence in economic, political, legal, sociological and ethical knowledge. Civic education is provided through a system of school subjects, the main one of which is the social sciences. Research in this field has become very important because of extensive change in the social, political and legal orientation of Russian society.

There are *some positive trends* in social science education at this time. They are connected not only with the changes in ideology and content but also with new and varied teaching methods aimed at personal development and attitudes. In contrast to the educational objectives of the past, which were characterized by hyper-ideologization and classroom regimentation, the new approach puts more emphasis on personality and social development, for example, the role and meaning of person in society and the aims and motives of human activity in the social process.

New courses present different points of view on the social process as well as political, social and economical alternatives. They include facts and alternative interpretations reflecting the best current insights into the topic of human beings in society. There is a significant increase in the proportion of material related to the history of multi-national Russia, to the traditions and culture of its populations, and to current Russian society and the Russian State. Variety among programs and textbooks has enriched the possibilities for comparison and dialogue. A new, broader look at the teaching/learning process and at new educational technologies has brought about more teacher-student cooperation, as well as role-playing exercises, simulations and other student-centered activities.

At the same time, *some difficulties and negative trends* have emerged. For instance, the structure for history education was radically changed at the beginning of the 1990s. All study of history has been confined to the basic school (Grades 5 to 9) with limited time allotted.

The process of deideologization or moving away from the communistic ideology in social studies is sometimes superficial and not based on new scientific paradigms. Past evaluations of events such as revolutions and wars have simply been changed to the opposite (from positive to negative and vice versa). Simplification, one-sidedness, and lack of discussion still occur. The increased volume of facts is still not systematically organized. Much archival and statistical data are still not available or not published.

School social studies are still constrained by content and structures that remain in place from former times when the objectives, ideology and scientific bases were different. This does not allow for a full implementation of modern conceptions about civics and the social sciences. At the same time, any new content requires new pedagogical approaches for which teachers need guidelines and help. Teachers' guides and associated material are often not available, either because publishers do not provide them or because of budgetary restrictions. Also, insufficient attention is paid to teaching methods in pedagogical periodicals.

There is also a change in student assessment and the examination system. Before the 1990s, every school leaver had to pass examinations in social studies. That is no longer true, and this has had a weakening effect on the study and teaching of the subject.

Related to possibilities found in each of the of the social science subjects, the *objectives for an up-to-date education* in the social sciences can be formulated as follows:

- To raise up patriots of Russia who will respect both national and universal values, understand the role of the human person and his or her social activity and civic responsibility for an effective and dynamic development of the country in the changing world.
- To shape convictions about a person's uniqueness, human life as the highest value in the world, nature as an enduring value, and the need to protect the environment.
- To communicate an understanding of humanism, freedom, democracy and social progress; to recognize the role of scientific knowledge and methods for understanding social reality; to be ready to use these methods in the analysis and evaluation of social phenomena; to develop understanding of the legal and moral social regulations necessary for the human community to survive and develop.
- To foster civic spirit, respect for human rights and freedoms, diligence in work, and love of nature and family.
- To portray societal life both in the past as well as in the present in a way that uses the latest knowledge and respects the student's developmental level.
- To form an integrated person adapted to modern society and willing to improve society and the lawful state.
- To respect student rights to freedom of choice and opinion taking into account the variety of world outlooks, approaches, and orientations within humanistic and democratic values.
- To inculcate in students an appreciation for a humanistic education as a value for present and future activities, self-determination and self-realization.

- To develop in students skills to evaluate information critically, to analyze different sources of social ideas, to use knowledge and value orientations in new situations, and to promote and defend their own opinions (RAE, 1997).

Social sciences is taught in the primary, basic (lower secondary) and secondary (upper secondary) schools (Prosveschenie, 1994a, 1994b). It starts in the primary school with the course 'surrounding world'. The teachers can use different textbooks and teaching guides, such as *Your Rights, To Primary School Children about Human Rights*, *Conversations about the History of Motherland* and *Introduction to History*.

In the basic and secondary school, civic education about topics including human rights, humanism, democracy and different forms of governing the country is provided through courses in history, literature and geography. The school curriculum also includes special civics courses such as 'citizenship study', 'human rights', 'policy and rights' and 'rights of a child' (one hour per week). The integrated course 'human being and society' is studied in Grades 8 to 9 and 10 to 11 (two hours per week) (Bogoljubov, 1996a, 1996b; Nikitin, 1993a, 1993b, 1995; Sokolov, 1994a, 1994b, 1995).

Research methods

Official documents should be mentioned first: the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Law on Education, the Provisional State Educational Standards (draft) and Decisions of the Ministry of Education Collegiums. In addition, the following materials were examined:

- textbooks; teacher's guides and other learning materials; curricula; didactic and methodological materials in history, social sciences and civics; articles in the educational journals
- sociological data from teachers and parents as well as student data coming from questionnaires and achievement assessments
- monographs, articles and other publications in scientific journals in history, philosophy and ethnology concerning the problems of ethnic and civic relations in Russia or in the USSR (including Nauka, 1986, 1987; Bromley, 1987; Foorman, 1994; MNMON, 1994; UNION, 1995, 1996).

The sociological surveys and the interviews with the teachers and students were organized especially for the national case study. Sociological studies conducted by the Russian Academy of Sciences and The Russian Academy of Education were also used. Data from sociological surveys carried out among adults were extrapolated to school-aged youths. For the national case study, selected groups of teachers and students were interviewed. All social studies teachers from 23 randomly selected schools in St. Petersburg were interviewed

about curriculum implementation and teaching practice in social sciences. About 400 students, 15 to 16 years of age, from a specially selected school in the Kaliningrad region were involved in the survey related to the case study on local problems.

Research literature was considered as an independent source because the problem of civic education itself and the basic notions within it are the object of contention in contemporary Russia.

The analysis of instructional materials is rather limited because not much has been published for students and teachers in the 1990s.

Summary of the findings with regard to the framing questions

Democracy¹

Democracy is studied in all history and social sciences courses in Russian schools, starting from the primary school and continuing through graduation. The courses 'civics', 'human rights', 'introduction to social studies' and 'human being and society' present knowledge about the world, society, State, social relations and attitudes, laws regulating democratic rights and freedoms, and fundamental human rights.

Democracy is the key concept in all the courses and is spread throughout all the textbooks analyzed. At the same time, many textbooks have a special unit for this topic. Democracy is defined as a people's form of government in which the people are invested with the highest power and carry out governance themselves or through their representatives chosen in a free electoral system. Democracy is presented as highlighting personal freedom and adopting laws to guarantee that freedom.

The textbooks contain a well-constructed system of knowledge about democracy, prepared by a group of authors from the Russian Academy of Education under the leadership of L. N. Bogolubov. Students in Grades 8 to 9 (14- to 15-year-olds) study the following: the political sphere and political relations, political parties and political leaders, citizen and state, nations and international relations, the role of the law in human life, society and state, legal institutions, the Constitution of Russian Federation, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, labor and property, freedom of spirit, human social rights, and political rights. Civic problems are discussed again in the textbook for senior grades (students 16 to 17 years of age). At this time, students become acquainted with the political and legal spheres of contemporary society, such as political activity, the political system and its role in society, legal institutions, political pluralism and parliamentary democracy.

¹ The analysis on the democracy topic was done by Alexander Drahler and David Poltorak.

As a rule, *student activities are used in teaching the democracy* topics. For example, Sokolov (1992) follows this principle, stating that civics lessons should emphasize the children speaking. The main approach of the authors of the course 'human being and society' is to avoid mechanical or dogmatic learning in favor of interactive learning based on student activity and independent work. Some authors think that lectures in moderate quantity are necessary. Working with students' own attitudes is very important. The tasks for this work may vary: to find some common points in different opinions; to single out ideas that a student considers to be the main ones; or to find connections between the principles of a popular science article and moral precepts. Sometimes, role-playing 'business games' are used. As a result of the games, students come to learn to respect another person's opinion, to take into consideration other points of view and to be more tolerant.

Basic knowledge about human rights and freedoms, as Azarov and Bolotina (1994) have proposed, can be brought to children not through teachers' lectures but through a set of questions to students. The teacher can then modify his or her answers and summarize. They also suggest the wide use of the following kinds of work: making different kinds of documents in groups; group problem-solving; debates; watching video films in class and evaluating them in writing; role-playing; making a videotape of a lesson; and so on.

All the approaches outlined above are used by the authors of textbooks and instructional materials in developing activities for social sciences classes. However, the real situation in the classrooms could not be evaluated fully. There is only indirect evidence of a general increase in teacher creativity at school and a growing interest in the new active methods of learning at the in-service training courses.

Due to the change in the ideological paradigm and the transition from a one-sided to a multi-sided approach, it became impossible to use the *system of assessment* previously used. There is no longer one single curriculum and textbook for the entire country.

As is evident, work on developing educational standards for the social sciences must precede the introduction of new content and will determine achievement requirements for students. Researchers are working on detailed specifications for an item bank that will allow them to evaluate student achievement in the cognitive and affective spheres. The content standards are specified in the following performance categories: knowledge (to know, to name, to characterize), interpretation, comparison and evaluation.

In schools at present, the learning outcomes for social studies are assessed by the individual teacher on the basis of teacher-made tests focused on student knowledge. There are no national examinations in the social studies. But regions or a school itself may create such an examination as compulsory for the region or a school at the end of the basic or secondary grades (Grades 9 and 11). Alternatively, a student may choose the examination in social

studies as the choice-exam. The tests may include multiple-choice items as well as free response items or essay questions.

An essential supplement to classroom work is *extracurricular activity*. Among its most common forms are different kinds of debates held in schools with various political representatives or with state or social leaders; competitions in compositions or creative works; and civic Olympiads. Most often, such activities are held under the aegis of organizations dedicated to the protection of rights or social organizations either Russian (Civil Society Fund) or international (UNESCO — 'Debate' program). In many schools, students participate in creating school documents or regulations and in school self-government bodies (school councils).

Social studies and civics teachers receive their professional training in pedagogical universities and institutes. In most of these educational establishments, where the period of study is five years, this training takes place in faculties of history. Those who complete the work in these faculties receive a professional designation as 'history and social studies teacher'.

During their education, future teachers take the Social Sciences course for 32 weeks (once a week), take part in elective courses (16 hours) and work in school for five weeks. Given the important changes that have taken place in civics during recent years, many experts think that the time allocated for social studies is not sufficient.

In-service training is carried out by institutes located in regions or republics. There are 96 of them in Russia. The number of lecture, seminar and practice hours proposed for teachers fluctuates from 72 to 146 hours. Ten to 15 years ago the content of in-service training courses for teachers was developed by the Ministry of Education. It was obligatory, every five years, for teachers to be sent to such institutes. But now the rules and procedures for in-service training are different. Schools, depending on their needs and finances, send their teachers to such institutions. Each institute prepares its own program of lectures and seminars for teachers, some of them taking into consideration local or regional needs.

The institutes offer lectures by authors of textbooks as well as by experts in economics, law and politics. The authors L. Bogoljubov, L. Ivanova, Y. Sokolov, A. Nikitin and others conduct the lectures, seminars and role-playing in accordance with the framework of their courses. Summer seminars for teachers are becoming traditional.

The mass media and especially the pedagogical press also help civics teachers improve their qualifications by publishing a great variety of teaching and learning materials (Poltorak, 1989). The supplement 'Citizenship Education' in the newspaper *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (*Teachers Newspaper*) has been published weekly since 1996. This newspaper offers recommendations about how to work with the text of the new official documents, publishes chapters from the new textbooks, presents problems and tasks for student activities

and assessment, and publishes materials on the foreign experience in civics education along with urgent information about human rights issues.

*National Identity*²

The issue of national identity is controversial. As many Russian historians and political scientists assert, Russia at this time has not yet become a real nation state. It took other countries many centuries to complete that process. Modern Russia is experiencing all the difficulties and contradictions inherent in the process. The concept of a 'civil nation' is just emerging in Russian philosophy and political science. Many historians, philosophers and especially politicians retain the old ('Marxist') conception of the nation and view of ethnic problems within that perspective (for a discussion of this problem see Kordzihina, 1995; Tishkov, 1995).

The process of constructing a civil nation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th Century was left unfinished. The Russian ethnic dimension dominated. All non-Russians were defined as 'innorodtsy' (people from different ethnic groups) by law.

'Socialist nations and nationalities' were proclaimed in the Soviet Union. Soviet ideology and politics spread and excluded ethnic loyalties through a system of official registration of 'nationality' and through 'territorialization' on the 'ethnic' federalism principle. The concept of a new community was introduced, that of 'the soviet people'. This concept was rejected with the formation of the new Russia. The USSR's disintegration precipitated an increase of regional nationalism among the non-Russian people. Former stereotypes, cultural symbols and values of the soviet era still continue in some quarters. To overcome the imperial and soviet legacy, old symbols and values will have to be replaced by new ones.

Historians note that ethno-nationalism compensates to some degree for the lack of democracy and generalized civil loyalties in today's Russia. The majority of historians think that ethno-nationalism will diminish only after an improvement in social conditions and when there is a framework of cultural pluralism along with an acceptance of the principle of 'unity and variety'.

The ethnic situation in Russia is considered by most politicians, philosophers and historians to be very difficult. The imperial and soviet legacy cannot be abolished by decrees. It has left many contradictions in the life of the country, such as intolerance and xenophobia, armed conflicts and separatist attempts. In working on these ethno-national problems, Russian politicians and scientists raise the idea of building a multi-cultural nation on the base of a double and not mutually exclusive identity among the country's citizens: ethnically-cultural and State-civic. That is considered to be the most promising and constructive formula for the new Russia. This formula implies gradual de-

² The analysis on the topic of national identification was done by Galina Klokova.

ethnization of the State and de-etatization of ethnicity without denying the rights of ethno-territorial autonomies. It implies also respect and support for individual rights and interests, including those that are based on the feeling of belonging to special cultures or ethnic groups. Russia is not a 'national State' of ethnic Russians, just as no region of the Russian Federation should be the exclusive property of any ethnic group.

It seems that such an approach is an important condition for Russia's movement towards a civic society and a democratic state in which human rights are observed and ethnic variety is preserved. This approach forms the basis of the document *Conception of National Politics in the Russian Federation* (1992); it is found also in the text of the Russian Federation Constitution, which broadens and guarantees the republic's rights without defining them as 'national states' but only as 'states'.

At present, the feeling of being a Russian citizen appears strong among different ethnic groups and different national representatives. In 1993, research conducted on self-identification in 10 regions found the following: 6 per cent identified themselves as 'a soviet person'; 48 per cent as 'a Russia's citizen'; 14 per cent as 'a representative of one's nationality'; and 31 per cent as 'I don't know who I am'. Civil identity predominates in all groups, including social and professional groups (up to 58 per cent among scientists, managers and commercial enterprises workers) (Komarov, 1992). Furthermore, data from 1997 research confirmed the conclusion of the academician Valerie Tishkov that being 'Russian' is considered the most acceptable and comfortable form of identity for millions of citizens, especially of mixed ethnic origins. The interviews were carried out among different segments of the population, including youth and teenagers. The results corresponded on the whole to those of the given population group (Tishkov, 1995).

A sense of national identity among students comes largely out of history courses. These courses not only introduce new facts but also give basically new understandings of Russia's history, for example, fundamental courses about the inevitable collapse of the Russian Empire and Bolshevik accession to power; the essence of Bolshevik ideology and the attitude of the masses toward Bolshevik slogans and policy; the world socialist revolution and the regime established in the 1920s; the essence of the USSR's totalitarian system; and the role of the Party and the State in the 1930s to the 1950s. Such complicated phenomena as bolshevism, Trotskyism, Stalinism, cult of personality, totalitarianism, GULAG, Chitin, the famine of the 1930s, the genocide of peasants, the disintegration and many other events of our country's painful past are described in the new textbooks. Their authors break with the past and stand for the creation of a new Russia, a free, prosperous and open society, carrying out reforms and ensuring all persons' free development.

Some historical topics require probing that is deeper than what can be presented in these textbooks. These topics include: life of peoples in Tsarist

Russia and in the USA; the fate of believers and churches of different confessions in the 20th Century; history of peoples' cultures in Russia; peculiarities of the soviet people's mentality; and the history of dissidence in the USSR. In general, the authors of textbooks note that the history of the country in the 20th Century demonstrates the futility and danger of any hysterical patriotism, especially if it is based on humiliating other peoples or on contempt and envy of other countries.

At the same time, the authors do not give answers to important questions that could help students in their search for national and ethnic identity. 'Why did the disintegration of the USSR and the emergence of ethnic problems in the 1980s and 1990s come about so unexpectedly?' 'What, besides such pivots as Party and State, ensured the USSR's existence for such a long time: habit of living together, ethnic closeness, economic factors, memory of the Great Patriotic War?' 'Was there anything real in the "friendship of peoples" or was there only a slogan designed to promote unity?'

The following general values receive little attention in textbooks, especially in those used in the senior grades: respect for other nations and ethnic groups; protection of human rights and of personal dignity and freedom; aspirations for peace and consensual processes; security for one's family, dwelling and country; and protection of the natural environment. When they are treated, it is usually limited to citing examples from the lives of well known persons.

Another important school influence on the student's sense of national identity comes from teaching in the social sciences, which, in accordance with the existing basic curriculum, envisages the following courses: civics (Grades 5 to 9); bases of law (Grades 8 to 9); human being and society (Grades 8 to 9); and introduction to social science (Grades 10 to 11). In addition, such courses as bases of philosophy, sociology and political science, politics and law, bases of ethics and aesthetics, bases of modern civilization and introduction to economics are offered to students as optional electives in schools that have in-depth programs with humanistic orientations. All these courses present characteristics of the political, social, ethnic and economic structures in Russia.

In the civics course, the textbooks in use since the early 1990s present problems of a citizen's personal life, his activity and behavior, love for the people and responsibility to the Fatherland (Sokolov, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). Special attention is paid to motives of a person's social behavior: his or her altruism, nobility; pride in one's own country and aspiration to see it free, just, developed and civilized. A sense of national identity emerges from detailed descriptions of certain rights and freedoms: the right to work, freedom of movement, right to personal property, confidentiality in communications. These rights are especially important for teenagers because of the feeling of self-respect and civil honor being formed at that age.

Since 1995, the textbook *Politics and Law*, written by Nikitin, has been used in Grade 9. This book gives a broad description of different aspects of

contemporary Russian society. The political system of Russia is characterized as a democratic, federated, legal state with a republican form of government, and as a society that is presently in a period of transition from totalitarianism to democracy. The textbook mentions that the formation of civil society in Russia is still in progress and notes political apathy among the citizenry as well as lack of experience in political activities. The author emphasizes that, in accordance with the Constitution, the sole source of power in Russia is its multi-national people. The people are the only bearers of sovereignty; they ensure the country's independence.

Genocide, discrimination and ethnic minority problems are discussed in detail. Special attention is paid not only to ethnic genocide during soviet times but also to spiritual genocide, to the destruction of ethnic historical memory. Such material is very important for senior students' sense of national identity.

In 1996, new social science textbooks for secondary school, edited by Bogolubov and Labeznikova and approved by the Ministry of Education, were introduced. Considerable space in the textbook for Grades 8 to 9, *Introduction to the Social Sciences*, is given to the section 'Citizen and State', where the following problems are discussed: law, the Constitution, the President's and the Parliament's rights; and connection between a person and the State or the society. The authors emphasize a person's legal responsibility, his or her degree of freedom, his or her need for order and justice and the influence of these on a citizen's behavioral norms. In presenting the Constitution, the textbook explains a Russian citizen's main human values: belief in goodness and justice; remembrance of the past and one's ancestors; love and respect for the Fatherland; and respect for human rights, as well as for the world community and the documents adopted by that community.

Special attention is paid in the textbook to ethnic relations in the country. It describes a nation's right to self-determination and the rightful sense of pride in a cultural past and traditions. The textbook stresses that any citizen may determine his or her national membership based on his or her self-consciousness arising out of language, traditions and customs, culture and experience.

The textbook *Human Being and Society* for Grades 10 to 11 discusses a person's political status, rights and freedoms at a rather theoretical level. It also presents the need to overcome negative aspects of the heritage of the past. A rather large section relates to nationalistic problems in the USSR and to ethnic difficulties in Russia today: the growth of ethnic self-consciousness among the Russian population; causes of the USSR's disintegration; acuteness of the old and new national or ethnic conflicts; centrifugal and centripetal tendencies in the USSR life; policy of national violence and propagation of chauvinism; and national and cultural autonomy, including the development of language, culture, religion and traditions. The authors emphasize that the solution to Russia's ethnic problems lies in the economic integration

of peoples, in promoting social and cultural dignity and in respecting the rights and demands of all Russia's citizens.

The authors write about the role of national and ethnic pressures in the past. They note people's wounded ethnic feelings, which led them to shut themselves in their ethnic surroundings in an attempt to defend themselves against oppression. This led to the formation of 'an image of the enemy', xenophobia and an ideology of nationalism and chauvinism (Klokova, 1998).

Social cohesion and social differences

The analysis of the school curriculum and social sciences textbooks as well as results of the research conducted specially for the national case study in 23 schools in St Peterburg in 1996-1997 showed that schools pay little attention to the problems of social cohesion and social differences. Some materials about these topics are included in history courses connected to the dynamics of social class. Some topics about gender, national and ethnic differences as well as materials on points of difference rooted in confessional division of the society at different stages of its development and in the different regions of the world are also considered.

Despite great variety in the social sciences curricula and corresponding textbooks, as well as in supplementary materials, the integrated course on the human being and society is the only course that deals in much depth with this topic. Its concentric structure allows for the study of sociological material first, at Grades 8 to 9, and then for a more in-depth discussion in Grades 10 to 11. In accordance with this curriculum, 14- to 15-year-olds discuss such questions as interpersonal relations, small groups, collectivity, society as a collective of collectives, large human groups (classes, nations, social strata of society and 'estates') and international relations. This range of questions does not include an explicit consideration of 'interpersonal relations and social differences'. Nevertheless, some elementary notions about them are developed indirectly.

From the textbook *Human Being and Society* 14- to 15-year-olds learn that groups are formations with which people unite, and that they have certain features. A family, a school class, a company of friends are all called a small group. A group member's 'status' determines his or her rights, responsibilities and privileges. A collective is a small group, a human community united by their joint activity and a common aim. There are also large groups of people having a set of common features. Classes, social strata and 'estates' are examples of large social communities.

The course on human being and society for Grades 10 to 11 includes the following topics: 'Social Structure of Society', 'Nations and National Relations' and 'Tendencies Toward the Development of Social Relations in our Country'. When considering these topics, students cover such issues as 'structure of society' (as a complex of interconnected and interacting social groups

and social institutions), 'different kinds of social groups', 'reasons for social-structural changes', 'the role of social transferences in the life of society and the condition of social structures in contemporary Russian society', 'modern changes in social structures' and 'perspectives on the development of social relations in the country'. The concept of social cohesion is examined only in the textbook corresponding to this curriculum.

In presenting social structures, the textbook considers large and stable social communities: socio-demographical ones (youth, women, elderly peoples); socio-ethnic ones (nations, nationalities); and social class communities (classes, social groups and strata).

It should also be noted that the curriculum and the textbooks themselves are overloaded with theoretical material, influencing the teacher's presentation in the classroom. Much less attention is paid to the actual life experience of students as a basis for opening up the topics to be studied. This conclusion is supported by the teacher interviews. They emphasized that the lack of special guides or instructional materials for teachers who would like to pay more attention to the topic of social cohesion and social differences causes them to limit the study of this topic and to avoid discussions that might require, for example, sociological data not in their possession.

Local problems

In the schools of the USSR and later in the schools of the Russian Federation, great attention has been paid to studies of local lore. Local lore included, first of all, studying history. At the present, studying the history of one's native land (village, town, district, Republic) is required by the Law on Education, the Educational Standards and the Basic Curriculum. A special program in the history of the native region has been worked out in practically all regions, and corresponding learning materials have been published. For example, in most of the Moscow schools, the course 'Moskovedenje' ('study about Moscow') is widely used in Grades 5 to 9. The syllabus and the teacher's guide *History of Fatherland* is in use.

Initial information about the local scene is given to children at the primary school level. In Grades 3 to 4, they study the 'surrounding world'. The teacher tells the students about their native land and about the people inhabiting it, being sure to point out monuments. It is recommended that teachers pay attention to the children's interests: to tell them, for example, about the origins of the names of their towns and villages and about the origins of emblems.

The geography curriculum for Grades 5 to 6 recommends discussions with students about the peculiarities of nature in their native area, about mineral resources and about the need to protect the natural environment there. Teachers usually follow these recommendations. This is indicated by the increased use of regional materials, such as environmental data and abstracts from local

newspapers in classroom learning activities.

However, it is rather difficult to include problems specific to certain districts and towns in social sciences textbooks. Supplementary teaching materials and teachers' guides are published in some regions. These materials reflect the practice in civic education of using examples that concern solutions to specific local problems. These teaching materials are published in the form of separate modules to the textbook *Civics* (by J. V. Sokolov) in Tver, Brjansk, Rostov, Moscow, Ekaterinburg and Kaliningrad. Examples of solutions for specific local problems are given in these teachers' guides as well as information about where and how the teacher can get additional materials. To determine the level of awareness and the attitude of teenagers concerning local problems as well as their participation in solving them, a special case study in the Kaliningrad Region was conducted.

To determine which local problems and which activities of the local government were most interesting and important for 15- to 16-year-olds, a special survey was conducted. The analysis of student responses showed that their principal interests were solving environmental problems in their towns and district; doing something about infractions against the law; preservation of cultural memorials; and taking measures against AIDS and drug abuse.

Questionnaire results showed a high level of student sensitivity about their rights at school and about perceived violations of those rights. Some students suggested measures for improving the situation: pay more attention to personal contacts between students and teacher; extend the out-of-class period and out-of-school activities; disseminate the Declaration of the Rights of the Child among students, teachers, and parents; and establish confidential communications.

Various fora are used to give students the opportunity to gather and analyze information about local problems: conferences, seminars, debates, role playing, panels and 'round tables'. A good example of such activities is the conference 'Children's Rights and Juvenile Delinquency in the Kaliningrad Region' developed at a school in that region. In preparing for the conference, students had to analyze problems of children's rights and juvenile delinquency, to give an evaluation of the existing situation and to work out suggestions for possible improvements. Students visited an infant home, a children's home, an orphanage, a commission in charge of such affairs, teenagers clubs 'Flame' and 'Antey', the 'confidential telephone' service, and the Health Department at the Central District Administration.

Federalism and regionalism in civic education

One of the pressing issues in social studies education is the articulation between the federal and regional policies as they come together in the reality of the local school. To understand the issue, one must consider the structural innovations introduced at the beginning of the 1990s.

As a result of those innovations, there are now three strands in the overall curriculum of schools: federal, ethnic-regional and local school components. The federal strand, in accordance with the Law on Education, guarantees the unity of school education all over the country and directs programs of study that treat world and national values: the Russian language (as a state language), mathematics, informatics, physics and astronomy, and chemistry. The ethnic-regional strand provides for the special educational needs and interests of different ethnic groups and regions. This strand directs programs of study that treat ethnic and regional features such as culture, language, history and geography. Some subject matter domains or subjects are covered both in federal and ethnic-regional components (history and social studies, arts, biology, physical culture, crafts). The local school strand provides for specific needs in the local institution, for example, setting the proportion of compulsory as compared to optional courses of study and initiating school activities.

The combination of all three strands provides both a core unity and differentiated individuality in the national educational scene. In accordance with the Provisional Educational Standards, no more than 40 per cent of school time should be allotted to the compulsory federal component. The main part of the ethnic-regional component goes to mother tongues and native literature. The remaining time is spread over history and social sciences, geography and biology.

Since the formation of the Russian Federation, broad authority in the field of education has been given to regions. This has led to new ways of approaching the teaching of the regional component in the social sciences, including history. There are undoubtedly many positive aspects of this new experience.

First of all, the content of ethnic and regional history has been essentially broadened. In the 1990s, new history curricula on the national republics, districts and territories as well as administrative regions in Russia have been worked out. New textbooks on the history of national and ethnic territories have been published.

In most regions, curricula include not only separate courses in the history of a given region, but also optional (or special) courses describing the history of culture, arts, religion, life and activities of famous countrymen and women, wars of liberation and military history. New publications are offering special courses in the history of the closest neighboring regions and its inhabitants seen in the context of its geopolitical position at different periods. There is evidence of rising student interest in their ethnic history. These observations are supported by some sociological studies as well as by some indirect observations such as higher passing scores for those entering history departments of universities and higher circulation figures for teenage publications in history, economics and philosophy.

At the same time, there is a lack of ethnic-national and regional socio-cultural elements in the federal courses. Such material has been significantly

reduced in today's textbooks although not in the educational standards for social sciences. By contrast, in the 1980s, the course in national history included compulsory sections about the history of different nations within the country. Today's textbooks have become more and more like books about the Russian people, Russian statehood and Russian culture. Textbook authors explain this situation by saying that ethnic-regional history is studied in the framework of the regional component of education. This argument is weak because Russian civilization has developed precisely as a multi-ethnic one. The multi-ethnic base and reality have been an important factor in the formation of the Russian State, and later of the Russian Empire and the USSR. Not to be knowledgeable about the history of this country as a multi-national and multi-ethnic country is to have a distorted image of it and to be deprived of the means to understand many phenomena of the past as well as of contemporary life.

Multi-cultural approaches are rarely used in textbooks for the social sciences. There are individual teachers, of course, who try to include material about the ethnic culture, traditions, ethics, local power and management in their teaching, but this practice is rare.

Articulation between the federal and the ethnic-regional components of social science education is not yet sufficiently worked out. There is still work to be done about commonalities and differences in the two components and their specific functions and aims. Publications concerning the regional components of education sometimes do not meet modern scientific and methodological standards. That situation is due in part to the fact that the question of articulation among the three strands in the educational enterprise is still unclear. How this issue is resolved will establish an important base for developing a multi-cultural approach in education.

Conclusions

When speaking about the future of civic education in Russia, it is important to define what we mean by civic education. Some time ago, civic education was considered by many Russian teachers as a synonym for education in certain aspects of the law. Recently, a broader understanding of this concept is becoming common. Its essence is to give students access to civic culture. Compared with other countries, only recently, in the 1990s, has Russia begun to elaborate the concept 'civic culture'. The concept of civic culture was widely used by the American political scientists Almond and Verba (1963), but they took a narrow view of the concept, confining it to the political content of 'civic culture'. Russian researchers L. Bogoljubov and A. Solovjev take the view that civic culture is broader than merely political life and extends to overall civil life in society. In today's Russian literature, the notion 'civic cul-

ture' is closely connected with such categories as civil society, the latter being understood as including the sphere of the private activity of citizens, a complex of non-state relations and institutions that express various values, interests and needs of members of society, who are considered to be relatively independent.

In Russia today, to narrow civic culture to political phenomena is considered by many political scientists as a relic of the totalitarian past. Rather, 'civic culture' includes not only an interrelation between citizens and the State, but also that important element of human relations in a civil society, the basis of which is formed by economically independent citizens. This leads to the conclusion that economic, political, legal, sociological and ethnic knowledge are necessary components of civic culture and, therefore, of civic education.

Civic culture reflects the system of civic relations and rights in a state that operates under the rule of law and reflects the differences between civil society and the State. It involves mechanisms for resolution in conditions of economical, social and political conflicts. And it combines the experience of world civilization with national traditions.

Civic culture covers the political, legal, economical and spiritual-moral cultures that mark mass consciousness and behavior. It is considered to be the consequence of and, at the same time, the precondition for the development of civil society and the State under the rule of law. Consequently, the development of civic culture becomes the priority goal of the modern school. It is obvious that school is not the only place where civic education takes place but that it is also of singular importance in this regard, especially now during the transition period.

From this point of view, the course 'civics' should be an integrated course that includes knowledge from various social sciences. That leads to a question about the difference between the course 'civics' and the course 'social sciences'. While accepting the view that civic education is not limited to political and legal studies, the Russian school might proceed to develop courses that integrate economic and political, sociological and legal, ethic and psychological knowledge regardless of what name was given to the course (Bogoljubov, 1997).

Unless civic education reflects the experience of students, the best case scenario is that students will develop a detached body of knowledge that will co-exist in parallel to what they learn outside of school. In the worst case scenario, students will reject the knowledge given to them at school because it will be seen as having no value for their personal lives.

In reality, the personal experience of students reflects many contradictions: those that exist in society as a whole, in the lifestyle of their families, in the youth subculture and in their peer relations. It includes a mixture of sound information on one hand and rumors, conjectures, illusions and false information on the other. Many facts from their lives are incomprehensible, while

some problems seem to be solved rather easily. All these influences together with the impressionability, categorical judgments and opposition to adults characteristic of their age group create the complex condition of the learners that often defy even the best teacher efforts.

The processes of modern society can be understood only through the systematic study of the social sciences. If, through civic education, the social sciences are going to be taught effectively to students, these important conclusions should be taken into account:

- Civic education will be effective only if it takes into account the personal experience of students.
- The instructional process in the social sciences should involve gaining understandings of personal experience using the social sciences as a base.

The creation and implementation of successful civic education programs in Russia is a complex undertaking. If it succeeds, it will put students in a position of self-realization, ready to make informed free choices in the political, economic and personal domains of their lives. That, in turn, will contribute to the development of civic society and the wellbeing of the State in modern Russia.

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CITIZENSHIP IN VIEW OF PUBLIC CONTROVERSY IN SLOVENIA: SOME REFLECTIONS

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Notes:

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The following reflections are derived from a broader theoretical effort in Slovenia to define the relationship between recent social changes and education, and to contribute to a description of several dimensions of the problem of education for democracy. The text presents an analysis of public discourse and disagreements highlighting differences between the western democracies and so-called new democracies.

The definition of citizenship education

Do we know what we really mean by citizenship education? Although there are plenty of answers and definitions, most point to the fact that we are talking more about a problem than about a definite concept. This proves to be true in any given national or cultural context, at least in contemporary Europe, both in the western and so-called post-communist countries. When citizenship education is discussed as a concept, it seems to result in harsh disagreements that are characterized by an obvious and probably unavoidable political or ideological tone. It appears that citizenship education is becoming a matter of intensified public interest in these times when dynamic social changes are confronting educational systems. In Slovenia, a country where change in the political system has been accompanied by a decisive leap to independence, the educational system has become one of the critical areas in which the emerging form of society is seeking to produce a new definition of itself.

The political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s brought a turn in regard to democratic values and new rules of social behavior. Independence and sovereignty brought changes in the understanding of the cultural determinants which affect a public sense of identity. These identity problems are complex and involve the understanding of an individual's self in a network of social relationships as well as the ideologically based understanding of national or ethnic identity. Many individuals who had adapted to the former socialist system have trouble understanding new rules of a capitalist economy, which already has introduced widening social differences, insecurity and unemployment. A strengthened ideology of national or ethnic identity manifests itself in a number of political discourses of more or less right wing parties (moderate and some more extreme). In the Slovenian case, this emphasizes the fact that our nation is small in numbers and therefore threatened. In some more extreme articulations (for example, in proclamations by the Slovenia National Party), many hostile attitudes against non-Slovenian populations emerge. However, such manifestations are still relatively infrequent and even the most extremist political groups claim that they seek to 'protect the interests of the Slovenian people' within the limits of the law.

These factors, as they are operating in Slovenia, make Slovenia different

from most other new democracies in this area of the world. Contributing to that difference is the fact that Slovenia is economically ahead of other former socialist countries. Already in the period when Slovenia was part of Yugoslavia there was a socialist brand of market economy and a degree of participation in public affairs in the framework of a comprehensive self-management system. Free travel and relatively free flow of information from abroad contributed to a more realistic public awareness of notions like democracy, consumer society and capitalism. Of course, in considering basics such as the ideology of a single party system or limitations on private property, Slovenia is experiencing social displacements similar to those in most other new democracies, although due to its particular circumstances the ensuing political conflicts and backlashes of the old mentality are much less intense.

Behind many demands and expectations concerning citizenship education there is a search for a formula that would synchronize the many structural discrepancies, contradictions, impasses and dilemmas brought about by social change. In brief, we refer to a wide range of phenomena in Slovenia in the economic and political system confirmed by sociological research and especially by surveys of public opinion. These are responsive in part to change in the economic system in Slovenia since it became an independent state, especially the loss of markets in the former Yugoslavia and the decay of certain industries. Young people who were trained for jobs in these industries are now anticipating an uncertain future.

The negative aspects of many of these changes are (as has been the case many times in periods of bourgeois history) most obvious among those of the younger generation. Together with the economic changes there have been changes in values. Public opinion, which at the end of the 1980s was dominated by liberal, counter-egalitarian and pointedly pluralistic views is becoming more and more marked by a new wave of egalitarian tendencies and an emphasis on values related to 'blood and soil'. Since the middle class is the dominant social group in Slovenia, it is typical that its view and values very much influence education. But of course these views and values are not homogeneous and are split along the lines of traditional or conservative and progressive or liberal tendencies. It is interesting to note that both tendencies in their many varieties express dissatisfaction with the school system.

If these changes are not yet sufficiently clear to be fully recognized, they are at least widely anticipated. It is possible, of course, that the observed negativism among youth has mainly to do with perceptions of a given system of values in a given political culture. But it is obvious that these perceptions are closely related to demands on the school to solve the enigma of youth's future by responding to their present problems. These demands do not affect citizenship education in isolation, but also the broader aims of school that should, in addition to transmitting knowledge and skills, also form personalities, propagate traditions, produce flexible workers and reduce the incidence

of negative social events. The intensity and controversy in public discussion reflects a wide spectrum of social movements and ideological differences. Political decision-makers are becoming involved in these confrontations. Within a democratic and pluralist model we may find that different perceptions and conceptions of citizenship education are tied to different understandings of democracy and its functioning. This may especially be the case in countries such as Slovenia where the democratic system is under construction. From this it follows that aims, goals, roles and functions of citizenship education imply new relationships among the social actors represented in the democratic system.

At the same time, these controversies may become the issues around which a consensus can be formed. The recognition of the need for consensus highlights the views and positions of different social groups. Curriculum reform was scheduled for completion during 1998. So far the debate among reformers shows mainly that the differing views on the function of citizenship education are concentrated on the social sciences curriculum for students in the higher grades of the elementary school (corresponding to the last two or three years of lower secondary school in many other European countries, that is 12 to 14 years of age). There are serious disagreements on how this part of the curriculum should be structured: should it, for example, be based on the concepts of pluralism and multi-culturalism? One approach advocates solid civic learning (facts about the political and legal system, information on human rights and citizens' rights) and open debate on values. A contrasting approach advocates the primacy of curriculum centered on Christian religion and personality development within a rather strict Catholic moral pattern, stressing spirituality as a kind of defence against ruthless capitalism and liberalism. Of course any attempt to include personality touches upon a range of other dimensions from aesthetics to psychology. This view was clearly represented in January 1995 during a symposium which was organized by a group calling itself 'Citizens' Forum for a Human School' (Ocvirk, 1995). The final outcome with respect to these two approaches, as it will ultimately be influenced by public discourse, may be determined by which political position or party is dominant and its notions about what youth needs to be prepared for the future.

Generally speaking, citizenship education is more a common denominator spanning many ideas than a definite concept. It should constitute the foundation of schooling on the one hand and treat problems experienced by a wide range of social agents, such as parents and representatives of institutions, on the other. All of them eventually locate the source of the problems of youth and of society within the school, which is criticized for not fulfilling its proper task. These assumptions concerning the Slovenian public debate are not really based on empirical or scientific research. Rather, they exist in the public space where civil and political society exchange their deliberations (and are perhaps

as old as obligatory schooling). However, even if the issue is longstanding, this does not detract from the fact that it is intensified by recent changes concerning democracy and education.

So how can citizenship education be defined in a way to answer these manifold demands and expectations and in a way to translate it into the political and legal framework of the school? An image of the citizen may emerge from legislation and the consultation of experts and official government bodies, though it is likely to be highly abstract. Considering that obligatory schooling is a given in most countries, at least a minimal period of schooling is woven into the very idea of a citizen. Citizens recognize one another as former students, and their schooling is an integral part of their socialization process. Whatever role one plays in the society, he or she is supposed to be at least basically literate. This represents a social bond (which can be illustrated by both scholarly studies and popular works of fiction).

It is school that qualifies us to be citizens, as well as for other roles (especially vocation). The school may also participate in the less positive or marginal forms of antisocial behaviour; if nothing else, school is the place where children who are having difficulty adapting to society are first recognized. Although in many countries definitions of citizenship education and its position within the whole curriculum vary, citizenship education generally becomes an objective for reform when there are broader efforts to improve the school's curriculum. Slovenia is not an exception in this respect, especially since a comprehensive school reform is in progress.

The problem may be in the definition of citizenship education. Its function and aims seem to be rather abstract and vague. Considering that a period of schooling is practically essential for citizenship, we could erect a consistent definition of what is needed for a citizen's education only if we could consistently define the school itself and its aims. But we have learned that such a definition is possible only within a narrow ideological context. And we have learned as well from the experience of schooling in former socialist countries that the success of any broad definition of schooling and its aims is very limited in the long range. An open definition of schooling and particularly of citizenship education may be an indicator of the impossibility of a final consensus regarding what the 'best school' might be and what aims it might pursue. On the other hand, it seems that the demands and expectations for citizenship education (requiring a school to perform in a certain manner and make a certain impact) indicate hope that the school may succeed in making a substantial contribution to solving the problems brought about by social change.

Educational differences between older and newer democracies

In the intersection between positive sociological and legal or political discourse, school or education appear as part of a broader system. Such discourse permits an articulation of consensus and disagreement, and may in some cases represent an instance of domination over social relationships. This domination (in the German sense of 'herrschaft') may be founded either on a monist or authoritarian ruler or on mechanisms of democratic decision-making. Neither of these political models can be realised in a pure form. In short, there is no dictatorship that is able totally to uproot tendencies and desires for a democracy; likewise there is no democracy that is able to eradicate leanings towards a dictatorship with monopolies of power. Although one might be tempted to take a pessimistic view, let us look at an optimistic theory (even with some scepticism). Francis Fukuyama asserts that world history has reached a point of universality so that it has become impossible even to assume alternatives to a liberal democracy (Fukuyama, 1992). This diagnosis of a 'state of world history', which Fukuyama has co-opted from Hegel (or Kojève's interpretation of Hegel), became possible due to events during which the political alternative to liberal democracy and the economic alternative to capitalism collapsed. Whether the power of events, namely the collapse of socialism, can really replace an in-depth examination of concepts of education remains in question.

For our purposes here it may be sufficient to focus on the assertion that is legitimated, though not really proven, by Fukuyama's discourse. It seems irrelevant to search for any forms of mechanisms of social organizations which may be 'better than liberal democracy'. Social changes are cumulative, as well as being a consequence of economic growth, technological leaps forward in connection with the far reaching advancement of the media and information systems, and last, but not least, of that phenomenon of post-war history that has been labeled by several theories as the explosion of education. Any examination of causes would be incomplete without taking into account a wide spectrum of political movements and cultural responses manifested in events at the end of the 1960s that marked a changed constitution of agents of social change. Whatever may be the cause, all these social changes pose qualitatively new problems and require subtler mechanisms of organisation than those often considered. Essentially, these mechanisms continue to constitute democracy which, although more complex, remains an indispensable framework for the very existence of post-modern society. Fukuyama gives us a reason to believe that democracy in a social context, however changed, may enable the realization of subtler mechanisms in the development of social bonds:

The desire for recognition may at first appear to be an unfamiliar concept, but it is as old as the tradition of Western political philosophy, and constitutes a thoroughly familiar part of the human personality. It was first described by Plato... when he noted that there were three parts of the soul... Much of human behaviour can be explained as a combination of the first two parts, desire and reason: desire induces men to seek things outside themselves, while reason or calculation shows them the best way to get them. But in addition human beings seek recognition of their own worth, or the people, things, or principles that they invest with worth. The propensity to invest the self with a certain value, and to demand recognition for that value, is what in today's popular language we call 'self-esteem.' The propensity to feel self-esteem arises out of the (third part) of the soul called thymos ('spiritedness'). (Fukuyama, 1992, pp.xvi/xvii)

Fukuyama consistently stresses that a level of universal history was reached by liberal democracy, but he at the same time remains faithful to the tradition of old and new liberalism, which claims freedom and equality to be two values that may never totally be balanced. Equality is more than just equality before the law. The imperative of freedom rules out a literal equalization of people in the economic respect or in their associated social roles. The working of thymos that may be realised within a democracy is then a source of conflicts:

The existence of a moral dimension in the human personality that constantly evaluates both the self and others does not, however, mean that there will be any agreement on the substantive content of morality. In a world of thymotic moral selves, they will be constantly disagreeing and arguing and growing angry with one another over a host of questions, large and small. Hence thymos is, even in its most humble manifestations, the starting point for human conflict. (Fukuyama, 1992, pp.181-82)

Fukuyama's presentation of his thesis continues to note that the human need for recognition and a sense of moral worthiness (thymos) can be seen as operative not only at the individual but also the collective level. Any discussion of the contours of citizenship education must take into account both levels. However, contemporary realities call for a special distinction to be made. Although both western democracies and so called 'new democracies' confront the problems of defining citizenship in light of global changes, there are significant differences between the two situations. In the western democracies, at least in principle, social inequality does not usually generate major confrontations (except in unusual cases) and it is more or less a matter of channeled and controlled conflict. However, 'new democracies'—the so-called societies in transition—are in the process of generating large new social and economic inequalities. Schools are the main social instrument for a transfer of self-esteem and recognition (thymos) from the individual to the collective level. Especially in times of complex social change and even social crisis, a clash of educational approaches and the contradictory demands of social groups

is likely. Since the legal framework is much more stable in the western democracies, such a clash is much less radical and remains manageable. In the 'new democracies' the rules of the game are not yet clearly formulated (or, when they are, they aren't deeply respected since they are not integrated into the political culture). In such settings the demands and expectations of frustrated social groups do not easily result in a commonly accepted concept of citizenship education.

In some countries, this process may be more brutal than in others. Considering the fact that in some places these developments are associated with the early stages of capitalism it is quite understandable that an endangered majority seeks the articulation of its discontent in the dimension of morality or, in Fukuyama's words, in the realm of *thymos*. It is obviously much harder to form a consensus on citizenship education in such circumstances. In Slovenia, there are indications that such problems exist, but research on their extent and meaning is badly needed. It is unfortunately the case in societies where the social situation is unstable that social science research is of low priority or even ignored.

In Slovenia, however, there is at least a minimum consensus on a definition of citizenship education, that is, it is supposed to teach individuals to comprehend social complexities, to make them able to participate in the democratic system (including the capability to stand up individually for human and political rights and to educate him or her to treat differences in a tolerant manner). This should mean that individuals will manifest their self-esteem by respecting others and those who are different. Surely these aims of citizenship education form only a broad pragmatic framework which has the possibility to shape some degree of consensus. In Slovenia, however, this definition of citizenship is threatened by suspicions about hidden intentions or agendas on the part of political groups. Growing social inequality induces new ideologies built on moral anger, offering a set of patterns of religious or ethnic identity for the wounded mass self-esteem. Within this kind of ideology there are negative messages directed against corrupt individuals or those who attempt to climb above the rest of society. Whatever the realities, the equalitarian tendency often consists of anti-communism and nationalism, which comprise the platform of some right wing political parties in Slovenia.

At the present moment, the new democracies, including Slovenia, are compelled to reform their school systems (and to a much greater extent than in the western democracies). This makes education especially vulnerable to political confrontations. The domain of citizenship education in the framework of free speech and civil initiative is likely to be targeted by a range of groups and institutions (e.g. the church for its possible use as an instrument of moral redemption). A common denominator in these social agents is that they usually call for renewal of values dating from the time before socialism, which usually includes religious traditions, rural ideals and patriarchal viewpoints.

These representations belong in some respects to a fantasy-like utopia and often are formulated within the framework of nationalist ideology. This phenomenon exists in Slovenia, where a survey of values among secondary school students demonstrated a quite sharp turn towards feelings of superiority about Slovenia today with little regard for the previous generation and its contributions at the time of the massive democratic changes at the end of the 1980s.

One part of the debate in Slovenia on citizenship education is therefore centered around the problems of mediating liberal-democratic values. The other part, however, is centered around the problem of defining democracy itself. Although the West is by no means truly free from strong traditionalism or racism, established constitutional and institutional structures impose boundaries within which generally accepted values can be discussed. Thus it is easier to direct attention to problems concerning the capacity of schools to function democratically within a democracy. The dialogue in new democracies is different in that advocates of certain educational concepts also offer their own definitions of democracy that exclude other definitions. This happened to be particularly apparent in the Ocvirk symposium (1995) mentioned above. Its participants have continued to take part in the public debate and they have their representatives in the intermediary decision-making bodies (such as the National Curriculum Council) created to devise and implement changes in the curriculum. In this dialogue there is frequently reference to the background of the socialist past. Positions in the dialogue on democratic education expose the fact that there is little understanding of these issues between opposing parties, however. In the case of Slovenia, advocates of the Catholic concept of education make exclusivity claims; in other words that their stance is the only one according with the cultural tradition of the nation and the only one with a proper spiritual component. Simultaneously they reduce all other non-Catholic approaches to some derivation of communism. This is probably a quite widespread attitude in former socialist countries, where we regularly hold the view that persons 'corrupted in the times of socialism must be replaced'. Ironically, we may suddenly, in the current debate come across the same kinds of concepts and blueprints for action that were promulgated by the socialist ideologists who intended to transform persons into socialists. Now the ideological label has been changed and, at least for the time being, there is no monolithic apparatus of state coercion behind such discourse. However, it is easy to see that this educational approach to a complete transformation of the individual constitutes the core of a political ambition to homogenise society, but with a different final aim than in the past.

The media problem

An on-going discussion on citizenship education is, to a great extent, cast in terms of the capability of schools to form socially and morally qualified people. Within so-called new democracies such discussions echo bygone ideological controversies. In a sense, a kind of ideological cold war continues within former socialist countries. Not only are some of the positive aspects of representations of society characteristic of socialism getting lost in the process, but unfortunately so too are the elements of solidarity and liberal values that spontaneously thrived in the movement of civil societies against the one-party systems in the 1980s.

The discussion regarding citizenship education on both sides of what was once called the Iron Curtain is comparable up to a point, especially where the economy is concerned. In both areas, demands for restructuring the economy have complex social consequences, but they differ due to the different starting points. In any case, education confronts new tasks in the need to improve social literacy so that the populace will be able to take part in ever more demanding and complicated democratic communication and decision-making. Schools simply cannot respond satisfactorily to the complex demands concerning the changed syntax of social relationships required in forming citizens, since the school is no longer what it was before the structural changes in society. This new position of the school within society has been described as a 'transition from the grapho-sphere to the video-sphere' (Debray, 1994, p.24); that is to say that the educational process cannot work if it still attempts to maintain its methods as those of verbal and authoritarian persuasion. Conversely, new approaches based on dialogue and other new strategies that transform schooling into a kind of permanent experiment, cannot guarantee the desired outcome either.

The media society, one of the labels that has been applied to describe the changed world, has become a fact. It is, in a sense, a form of post-industrial social organisation. On the level of praxis, all the dark anticipation (e.g. by Orwell) of the media society as an example of ultimate manipulation and total domination have proved to be mistaken. On the contrary, the media thrive on pluralism, and liberal democracy appears to be the social system more conducive to their operation. Whether this means that the media may cause a breakthrough of democracy in areas where it has not existed (as the collapse of socialism may have illustrated) is a complicated question. In any case, it is difficult to deny that the media shape contemporary society by sustaining a mass culture and consumer oriented economy. This affects the school as an institution, where the communication process is organised. School cannot avoid confrontation with the mass media, taking into account effects on students even before they enter school and a continuing influence during the school years (sometimes in parallel, sometime in diverse directions). The rep-

representations of images of social events day after day in the media trigger public responses which are sometimes addressed to the school. In Slovenia, the growth of sensationalist reporting which amplifies social conflicts and political disagreements and also offers many formerly restricted items (such as pornography) may create 'moral panics', especially when they may influence children.

Keith Tester, in his book *Media, Culture and Morality* discussed Cohen's concept of 'moral panic'. This refers to what happens when an episode, a person or a group of persons becomes defined among a broad public as a threat to social values and interests. Cohen illustrated this with cases of media representations of hippies, Hell's Angels, mods and rockers. Here is how Tester critically evaluates the notion of moral panics:

It should be clear that when he talks about the role of the media in moral panics, Cohen is more generally talking about how it is that some activities are labelled as deviant when others are not. What all of this concern with deviance and images of deviance means is that in many ways Cohen's analysis of moral panics is rather depoliticised. Cohen pays little or no attention to the possibility that moral panics might have something to do with broader social, political and economic facts rather than simply the nature and meaning of deviance (broad and important though deviance is). (Tester, 1994, p.84)

The concept of moral panics is a relevant point in the present context of social changes. The media, to a great extent, express the altered state of social affairs. Media presentations, representations and programmes are an exhilarating phenomenon in their own right. Moral panic found within the media may reflect a mass de-sublimation (in the Freudian sense). The ground for this may be found in the complex frustrations and uncertainties of the economic situation and status of individuals and certain social groups and classes. During or following these moral panics, many demands and expectations are directed towards school, since schooling is a common experience and practically anyone feels authorized to give an opinion on what schools should do.

Within new democracies, where the separation between the past and future is obviously much sharper than in the West, a moral panic as a mass phenomenon is often met by a formulation for redemption phrased in a conservative or at least highly traditional manner. This formula confronts projections that spring up from the more liberal sections of the public and sometimes also from the ranks of educators, who are more aware of the capacities of the educational system. No unified pictures of the world can be produced within education; consequently, no firm morality can be generated. New educational approaches and methods substantiate such observation. Behind the walls of schools it is increasingly obvious that education can only provide more or less effective transmission of knowledge, shift emphases, organize communication, and become involved in the scenario of a 'game' that increasingly becomes the pattern of civilised life within a society influenced by

its own advanced technology. For decades the scenario consisted of roles in an educational universe that remained unchanged. A professor talked and the students listened as part of a developed set of roles. But many things changed quickly. Although the roles began to diversify, these positions survived (Porcher, 1994).

Citizenship education, as an element of curriculum within countries recently defined in organisations such as the Council of Europe as encompassing a culture of education, cannot avoid these issues. It might function as a game comprised of citizens' roles, one which is impossible without the consent of those participating in and accepting certain rules of the game. At this point in Slovenia these rules of the game are being sharply disputed, since some pressure groups (which try to align themselves with political parties that have the power to influence the legal framework of schooling) insist on their own formulations of concepts and do not want to look for compromises. Often with the support of powerful traditional institutions, such groups firmly believe that there exists only a single truth and take the pluralism of ideas as an 'unacceptable relativism' (Ocvirk, 1995). From the other point of view, associated with the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport, a basic scheme of citizenship education should be a kind of 'learning game' of democracy, and the outcome of this game should be morality as a free choice of relations to the other, the different and the new. In this way self-recognition and morality are preserved (thymos) and conflicts are solved instead of reliance on a situation where there are constant calls for both educational technique and pedagogical self-reflection.

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ABANDONING THE MYTH OF EXCEPTIONALITY: ON CIVIC EDUCATION IN SWITZERLAND

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The current background of civic education in Switzerland

'La Suisse n'existe pas'—Switzerland does not exist. This was the slogan of the Swiss contribution to the World Fair in Seville (1992). The slogan provoked an animated debate in Switzerland. But whatever one's personal opinion, it embodied the current, and very pressing, preoccupation of a country which is able to look back on more than 700 years of history: how does the nation see itself? Switzerland has been permitted to admire itself as a small, alpine, rich, neutral, multi-cultural, democratic and scandal-free country. This positive self-image, which was further confirmed by feedback from abroad, has today at least in part given way to a noticeable feeling of insecurity. It is not necessary to go as far as certain commentators and speak of a 'national crisis', but the point can certainly be made that many Swiss citizens are not able to speak of their country in such glowing terms as might have been possible 15 years ago. This is due to many things. Economically, the country is worse off now than it has been for decades. The rate of unemployment has risen above 5 per cent, having remained below 1 per cent for the last few decades. While this rate of unemployment may seem low in comparison with the European average, it is nevertheless a novel state of affairs for Switzerland. Since the economic forecasts are not good, Switzerland has also had to give up its supposedly favored economic status. A further area of insecurity which is primarily economic in nature is the question of Swiss membership in the European Union, a hotly debated issue, which also very clearly demonstrates the differences that exist among the various parts of the country.

Switzerland's insecurity has political as well as economic roots. Since the end of the 1980s, several scandal-ridden events have been uncovered. The one receiving the greatest amount of international attention concerns the role Switzerland played in the Second World War, and more particularly the officially sanctioned policy towards Jewish refugees and their personal assets. Swiss political institutions and certain financial corporations find themselves, for the first time and quite unequivocally, to be the target of harsh international moral criticism.

A further source of insecurity for Switzerland is the relationship between the different regions of the country, especially the tensions existing between the French-speaking part (19.2 per cent of the total population) and the Swiss German-speaking part (63.7 per cent). These tensions have often been ignored, but also sometimes over-dramatized. They are aggravated by the unfavorable economic situation and the resulting wealth distribution.

While it is appropriate to mention these problems in connection with civic education (Dubs, 1991; Frischknecht, 1991; Rickenbacher, 1991), it would be a mistake to think that Switzerland is beset by insecurity. On the contrary, Switzerland has certain peculiarities which have contributed to her political, economic and cultural stability, a stability which may not appear to be self-

evident in a small country (population 7 million) which sports four national languages (Swiss German, French, Italian, Romansh), a very high proportion of foreigners compared to the European average (19 per cent) and great cultural diversity. Switzerland's internal freedom and stability rest upon its political institutions. These are organized in such a way that every function of the State is subject to maximum direct control by the citizens. Three basic and interrelated elements of the Swiss Confederation are fundamental to its very existence: federalism, direct democracy, and perpetual neutrality in foreign affairs (Dürrenmatt, 1978, p.15; Tschäni, 1978).

Let us take a closer look at the first two factors. The historian Dürrenmatt writes about Swiss federalism:

It is not the result of a deliberately contrived concept, but rather a direct outgrowth of the nation's history. The individual cities and rural areas, which refused to bow to the domination of powerful noble dynasties, wanted to retain their independence in such matters as the administration of justice, finances, tax collection etc., even when they formed an alliance with others of their own kind. Thus, in the First Article of Confederation of 1291, the members of the newly-formed group declared that they would 'tolerate no foreign judges to wield authority over them'. In the course of history it became clear that, because of differences in languages, religion and traditions among the various cities and regions, peaceful development could only be assured if each continued to make its own decisions as far as possible. (p.16)

As a consequence, the members of the Confederation have always rejected an overly powerful central government. The Constitution of 1848 (revised in 1874) recognized the cantons ('states') as one of the two major components of the Confederation, the other being the people themselves. Every fundamental political decision would have to meet the approval of both a majority of the individual voters and of the cantons as a whole. Federalism also has a strong impact on the education system.

The second factor, direct democracy (sometimes referred to as 'semi-direct', cf. Tschäni, 1978), also helps us understand the status of civic education in Switzerland.

Any changes in the Constitution must be approved by a majority of cantons and voters; any law must be put to a popular vote as soon as 50,000 enfranchised citizens demand it by signing a petition to that effect (the Right of Referendum); 100,000 voters may bring a suggested constitutional amendment to a popular vote (Right of Initiative). (Dürrenmatt, 1978, pp.16-17)

These rights have an important bearing on civic education; these democratic institutions, which exist on a communal, cantonal and federal level, require that the citizens remain well-informed about public affairs. Direct democracy requires knowledgeable, interested and politically active citizens who are prepared to accept responsibilities as well as liberties (Fenner, 1996).

This is, of course, a very lofty ideal, which is not realized, as empirical studies have shown (e.g. Klöti & Risi, 1991). The fact that most adolescents do not consider the political dimension as having any great importance has a bearing on this issue (Fend, 1991, 1994; Rickenbacher, 1991).

Civic education in Swiss schools¹

General remarks

Due to Switzerland's strong federalist structure, the Swiss educational system is manifold and varied. This holds true even for the same linguistic regions. An analysis of the civic education curricula in Switzerland must take into consideration the fact that there is no nationwide coordination of curriculum matters. Civic education topics are treated in different subjects under different headings. Nevertheless, there are some similarities: for instance, the fact that most cantons deal with matters such as the functioning of the State (parliament, government and the judiciary) as part of the subject 'history'. Additionally, some cantons have joint curricula (especially smaller cantons such as Freiburg, Schwyz, Luzern, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Uri), whereas other cantons (such as Zurich, Basel, Bern, which tend to have the larger populations) have their own curricula. Within these curricula, teachers have considerable freedom both in their choice of topics and the decision as to how much to focus on specific issues.

Civic education topics treated in other subject areas

Many relevant topics are dealt with within the framework of the subject of history. Some topics form important parts of the curricula of other subjects, such as religion, language and literature (e.g. discussions on civic and moral issues brought up by German, French, Italian or English literature), and especially social studies (a rather inadequate approximation for the German term 'Lebenskunde'). Some curricula explicitly focus on the coordination of history and geography with regard to civic education topics, for example, the relationship between the industrialized countries and the so-called third world countries, the role and rights of women as seen from a global perspective, ecological issues, or the history and geography of the United States. This coordination of topics or projects that are 'subject-overlapping' may be guided by one teacher only, or by several teachers, depending on the school type, but also on the didactic orientation recommended by the curriculum (Moser-Lécho, 1996). Within the subjects history and geography some topics are

¹ The pronounced federalism present in Swiss education renders it very difficult to make valid assertions about Swiss civic education (even giving their due to all the relevant authors). Add to this the different languages, which are a great asset to the country, but which constituted a considerable hindrance to the compilation of this report.

labeled 'politics', usually general aspects of democratic institutions (e.g. the separation of powers), or current events in daily political life. Many topics in the curricula (together with corresponding achievement goals) are accompanied by references to the contents of other subjects and educational materials from non-governmental organizations outside the school (e.g. from Amnesty International, when discussing human rights).

Many socio-moral topics relevant to civic education are treated in the subject 'Lebenskunde' (social studies): questions of prejudice and discrimination; pluralism and individualism; lifestyle and personality; drugs; conflict and conflict resolution procedures; obligation towards the community; and friendship, love and sex. Nevertheless, there is no obligation to treat all the topics listed in the curriculum; rather, the teacher can choose topics according to his or her own preference, within certain general limits. How teachers choose the topics and how they translate them into classroom activities is not very well understood. The students' activities and performance in such discussion classes ('Lebenskunde') are not graded. The disadvantage may be that neither students nor teachers take them very seriously.

In the subject area of religion, within which important questions relevant to civic education might also be discussed, the teachers in certain cantons are members of religious organizations and teach only one lesson per week. Many students do not seem to take either the subject or the teacher very seriously.

No curriculum requirements and loose coordination

Indications are that civic education in the Swiss school system is not a central issue. Exceptions to this generalization can be found. Once again, a major feature of Switzerland is its strong federalist structures at all political levels and the strong federalist convictions of many Swiss. This provides various advantages for different parts of the country, but strong federalist structures can also sometimes seem disadvantageous with regard to issues that are important and relevant for the country as a whole. Ironically, at compulsory school (Grades 1 to 9), only one subject is included throughout the country, gymnastics. This situation has historical roots in the close connection between physical education and universal military service, which is compulsory for all male Swiss citizens. That civic education topics are not required and that coordination of these topics is loose is illustrated by the following: (i) no common curriculum exists, and (ii) teachers have considerable freedom in deciding which civic education topics to include and how to approach them. This is also the case for topics within the moral domain. It is not the case for topics dealt with in history.

In short, civic education in the curricula of the Swiss compulsory school system is not well defined. A large variety of issues and topics are covered, and many opportunities are available to prepare students to become responsible and autonomous citizens, both socially and cognitively.

Civic education and the subject area 'history'

A consensus appears to exist regarding the view that historical knowledge (and historical consciousness, cf. Giesecke, 1993) is crucial for civic education and its goal of understanding the present, both politically and otherwise. However, it would be an error to conclude that one interpretation of history predominates in the classroom. Nevertheless, there does exist an 'implicit core curriculum' which includes historical events and processes, such as the 'Development and Formation of Switzerland' (the Eidgenossenschaft) and its relationship with other European historical and cultural eras, processes and events: for example, the Renaissance, Absolutism, the Reformation (at Grade 7), the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, Imperialism (Grade 8), and the First World War, the Russian Revolution, Fascism and the Second World War, and the Third World problem (at Grade 9).

In some cantons (such as Uri, Schwyz, Nidwalden and Obwalden, Zug, and the Swiss German-speaking parts of Fribourg and Valais), the subject of 'history' is referred to as 'history and politics'. In Grade 7 (13-year old students), history and politics is usually taught for one lesson a week (meaning 45 minutes a week), and in Grades 8 and 9 (14- and 15-year-old students) for two lessons a week. Generally, the history segment of the subject takes about two thirds of this time, and the politics segment one third.

Curriculum goals: historical and civic consciousness

It is often said that the present can be properly understood only if people acquire an understanding of the history of their country and their culture. This view is also referred to in the introduction to some history and politics curricula (e.g. *Lehrplan Geschichte und Politik für die Orientierungsschule Deutschfreiburgs*, 1991, p.3). Consequently, the history of the Swiss nation plays a very important role in the subject as a whole. A belief that is widely held, for example, is that the strong federalist structure of the country can be understood only as the result of historical and political processes which lasted for several centuries. This seems to be accepted not only by experts and educational policy-makers but also by the public in general.

It is often postulated that a consciousness of history develops important insights into the manner in which specific ways of life have developed and been subject to evolutionary change (ibid., p.5). When the subject is properly taught, the expectations regarding outcomes of such teaching are very high. The curriculum states (under 'directive goals') that students (ages 13 to 15) should be able to judge the future consequences of political decision-making; they should be motivated by moral considerations to make a positive contribution towards ensuring the liberal and social status of the national community, and fulfil their civic duties; they should look after their rights and interests in a way which also expresses solidarity with others; they should be willing to solve conflicts by democratic means; they should be politically active; and

they should recognize manipulation and misuse of power in society, politics and the media, and resist it (ibid., p.5). It would seem evident that such noble aims are not likely to be attained by 15-year-olds as a result of civic education instruction; they should rather be thought of as idealized goals. However, one could argue as well that such idealizations also pose potential dangers for democracy (Sartori, 1992; Müller, 1995; Müller & Friedrich, 1996).

For Grades 7 to 9, the curriculum of most cantons prescribes a few compulsory topics. These are, for instance, 'The Community—the Building Block of the State' (Grade 7), 'How Does our State Function?' (Grade 8) and 'The Role of Women Seen From a Global Perspective' (Grade 9). Another important aspect is the explicit goal and directive of the curriculum to include 'current political actualities' or 'current political events'. In a study by school inspectors of the Kanton of Lucerne, Messmer (1996) seems to show that most teachers devote much effort to simulating elections, for instance, and to discussing problems and decision-making processes at all levels, from the local community and the canton to the country and its international affairs.

The number and variety of textbooks (and other pedagogical tools such as simulations and 'map exercises') that are available and are indeed used is enormous. The curriculum does not prescribe what kind of textbooks should be used. Rather, the curriculum expresses the opinion that teachers should use the textbook as the starting point for a more or less lively discussion about questions of public and political interest.

Civic education and public discussions on historical events

The question of how historical issues are treated at school seems to be quite important for Swiss self-understanding, and generates controversy about which historical issues should be at the core of civic education. Historical events and the politics of Switzerland during the Second World War should be given particular emphasis. How was it possible that Switzerland was the only country in Middle Europe (fortunately) not to be pulled into the war, whereas in all neighboring countries so many people had to fight and die? It seems very difficult to find an answer to this question, which is now, after 50 years, extremely relevant politically as discussions of the so-called Nazi gold and the Swiss banks show. Controversy arises regarding the question of whether the political and military role of Switzerland during World War Two is treated 'objectively' and 'appropriately' or not. The experts consulted for this study also gave evidence of this controversy. We asked, 'Are there events in national history about which most people cannot be proud, and of which they may even feel ashamed? Are they discussed in class, or are they largely ignored?' The answers varied greatly. However, most of the experts agreed that many relevant topics under the theme 'Switzerland and the Second World War' (such as economic 'collaboration' with the Nazi regime and especially the treatment and rejection of Jewish refugees from Germany and other coun-

tries) are not treated as thoroughly (including their moral dimension) as they should be.

The function of teachers in dealing with civic education is not usually controversial. Since the status of civic education is rather low compared to other subjects, there seems to be indifference with regard to questions such as how to teach and what to teach in civic education classes. Experts agree that this was not the case 20 years ago, a situation due in particular to the 'Cold War'. The question of dealing with political issues at all, how to deal with them at school, and whether the teacher was allowed to present his or her opinion, was very controversial at that time, and led in some cases to serious consequences for the teachers (Saner, 1976). Nowadays, there no longer seems to exist much interest in these topics. One might conclude that this new attitude is one of tolerance, but it may more likely be one of indifference.

The fact that the subject of history is not very controversial might have to do with the descriptive nature of history classes. Teachers view their duty as providing information about historical facts, and describing historically relevant situations. According to our experts, teachers are not usually motivated to provide interpretive history courses. On one hand, this might be desirable, since in such circumstances manipulative modes of instruction might result. On the other hand, some experts see it as a danger; by providing merely descriptions of history and politics, students are not really taught that political systems can be changed, and this might result in students having few 'political self-efficacy beliefs'. The curriculum as such is not to blame. It strongly advocates the fostering of political self-efficacy beliefs and supports the idea that students should be given the sense that things can be changed. The fact is that the majority of adolescents do not have a desire to change things (Klöti & Risi, 1991), and it must be emphasized again and again that young people are not particularly interested in history and politics (Gruber, 1987; Fend, 1991, 1994; Meyer, 1991; Rickenbacher, 1991).

Different didactic traditions

Quakernack (1991) provides an informative description of civic education in Switzerland highlighting the importance of the historical origins of different didactic approaches to civic education. Let us look at four such approaches, which roughly represent the spectrum of civic education as it has existed in Swiss schools since the 1980s. These approaches are modernized versions of classical civic education didactics. In the 1970s and 1980s, concepts were developed which gave a major role to the educational aim of the 'ability to criticize' (Quakernack, 1991, pp.106-10).

The first didactic approach to civic education is oriented towards social studies and the social sciences. Although the need for integrating civic education and social studies and relating these to broader developmental processes was formulated much earlier by Piaget (1932), a wider discussion of this view

only became possible in the 1970s. Civic education was seen as a valid aid in understanding the situation of society and coping with social problems. In the Swiss German-speaking part of Switzerland, various instructional units (of both innovative and participative character) were put in place, and several empirical studies on the relevant political interests of students were conducted (e.g. by Moser, Kost & Holdener, 1978; Moser & Sieber, 1980; Vontobel, 1980; Vontobel & Künzler, 1984; and others; see Quakernack, 1991, pp.111-13). Vontobel especially (together with different co-authors) became known in this part of the country for the development of a number of books dedicated to the social studies-oriented approach to civic education (Vontobel et al., 1984ff; Vontobel, 1996). Quakernack highlights four characteristics of this didactic approach: (i) for Switzerland, it was a rather new approach to civic education; (ii) it was postulated that, in principle, any relevant topic could be dealt with by students of all ages and maturity levels; (iii) there was a strong focus on participatory modes of civic education classes (or social studies classes); and (iv) the importance of social learning was adequately acknowledged in parts of the curriculum of Swiss German-speaking Switzerland.

The second approach to civic education to be considered can be called the politico-economic approach. In this regard, the extensive publication record of Dubs (e.g. 1971, 1982, 1985) stands out. Quakernack (1991) shows that the influence of this research is felt in Swiss French political didactics, too (p.113). The essence of this approach concerns the integration into civic education of questions and topics of economics. Dubs advocates the active participation of the school in the basic economic education of students, which has become an absolute necessity in complex and economically determined societies. An important and relatively new teaching aid which in many ways derives from this approach is 'Politszene Schweiz' (Fenner, Hadorn & Strahm, 1993; cf. also Strahm, 1992b), which is quite well regarded and widely used.

A third approach which has had an effect on the whole of Switzerland, but especially on the French-speaking part of the country, is internationally oriented civic education (Quakernack, 1991, pp.114-15). This aimed at replacing nationally oriented civic education with a didactic concept developed along lines important to the European and international context. Quakernack sees this approach also as an expression of the political culture of French-speaking Switzerland, which is more turned towards the outside. International understanding and related concepts (e.g. the problems faced by developing countries, or education in human rights) have been and still are at the centre of this approach. In pursuit of the goal of greater international understanding specific efforts emerged within and through organizations such as the Swiss UNESCO-Commission (CNS-UNESCO, 1981), the 'Schule für eine Welt' (UNICEF, 1982) or the 'service école tiers monde' (Pradervand, 1983). This approach, which was intensified in the 1980s, can still easily be identified as

important for the French-speaking part of Switzerland. In *La Culture Démocratique* (1995), published by UNESCO, Meyer-Bisch for instance entitled his report on Switzerland 'Suisse: de l'école cantonale à l'école mondiale' ('Switzerland: from the cantonal school to the world-wide school'). According to Quakernack (1991, p.115), the relevant UN resolutions and recommendations are being implemented in French-speaking Switzerland in an almost exemplary way. It is not surprising therefore that, as a topic of discussion, Europe as a whole stands very much in the foreground in that part of Switzerland (e.g. Tschoumy, 1991; Dubois, 1992; Rey-von Allmen, 1992-96; also Buffet & Tschoumy, 1995), although it is no longer the exclusive concern of the Romandie (Strahm, 1992a; Oggenfuss & Tschoumy, 1993).

The fourth didactic approach is equally rooted in the 1970s, and should really be placed above the three other approaches to civic education we have already discussed—the linking of civic education and student participation. But as Quakernack rightly points out, Switzerland has not been submerged by a 'great participatory wave'. According to him, one reason for this is that there already exists a tradition of student participation within the process of 'civic education' (p.116), a tradition which reaches quite far back in time. Even though the connection and interdependence of civic education and participatory methods have been postulated time and time again, there is obviously a large gap between reality and ideal (Klöti & Risi, 1991; Reinhardt, 1996).

In conclusion, we can see that the situation of Swiss civic education is still strongly influenced by the four approaches, which differ both thematically and didactically. However, these brief descriptions cannot do justice to the complex reality of all the different aspects of civic education, including the people involved, teaching aids and institutions. Generally, elements of all four kinds of didactic approach are present in the more recent literature and in the new teaching aids dealing with civic education.

The research methods of the national case study

Unfortunately, Switzerland joined the IEA project late, which meant that not all the work of the first research phase could be included in this report and various aspects of the research could not be completed. For this report two data sources were primarily used: oral and written interviews of experts and a literature analysis concerning empirical investigations and the current debate. In addition, further data collection is being undertaken as part of five masters theses, using comparative curriculum analyses, textbook analyses and inquiries on students' political views and their comprehension of democracy.

Our questionnaire, which contained open as well as multiple-choice questions, was completed by 19 experts (only one is female). They answered ques-

tions (very comprehensively) concerning the first four International Core Framing Questions. We conducted more detailed interviews with six experts. Thirteen of the 19 experts are German speakers, and six speak French. (Time and translation constraints forced us to by-pass experts from the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland.) Most of these experts work at universities or in teacher training. Some of them are very actively involved in politics and /or journalism. The political party allegiance of the experts is approximately evenly distributed. The collaboration and debate generated by them will continue to be of interest to us in the coming years, during which we also intend to organize two public conferences. The documents which were submitted to the International Data Base also included references to major results from empirical and conceptual studies on civic education in Switzerland.

Summary of the findings

The questionnaire comprised four parts (three of them representing the International Core Framing Questions): (i) a general evaluation of the situation of civic education in the country; (ii) concepts of democracy / understanding of democracy; (iii) national identity and sense of belonging; and (iv) social cohesion and social diversity. In what follows, we will provide a brief description of the main opinions and answers given by the experts.

General evaluation

In contrast to most of the more specific questions, the first two general questions revealed a surprising consensus. Our first question was: 'Please state the main aims which, according to you, civic education should reach.' The answers given by the experts concurred to a high degree, which is not surprising given the very general nature of the question. The statements of the experts can be divided into two formal groups: aims that refer to skills, and aims which are content oriented. Typical skills which the experts regarded as important were: (i) the ability to actively participate in democratic decision-making procedures and the ability to form one's own opinion; (ii) the realization that everybody is (and should be) concerned with politics; (iii) the attitude that individuals can make a difference (i.e. the development of political self-efficacy beliefs); (iv) a global view of politics and political problems, an interest in political affairs in general and a willingness to understand the problems of society; and (v) the readiness to act towards minority and disenfranchised groups according to the principles of solidarity and tolerance. The contents generally seen as important were: (i) historical consciousness and an ability to link the past, the present and the future; (ii) an awareness of the possibilities and limits of political action and political change, in particular, understanding Swiss federalism and the possibilities of direct democracy;

(iii) an understanding of the intimate connections between politics, culture, economics and international relations, and an awareness of the 'mechanisms' of society in general; and (iv) references to current political and social topics (such as multi-culturalism and ecological and environmental concerns).

In addition to their agreement on the basic aims of civic education, the experts also agreed that a democratic school culture is of great importance in accomplishing those aims. Thus the second question, 'Which elements of the "democratic form of life" ought to be taught and practiced at school?' received quite homogeneous answers. It appears evident that the experts regarded the discursive activity of civic education classes and within the school as a social network as very important. In regard to the communicative aspects, the experts stressed the culture of discourse, open debates on controversial issues, rational argumentation, participation of students in school decisions at all levels (as far as possible), transparent structures of asymmetric rights and obligations and the willingness to cooperate and to find compromises. As part of these communicative and participative aspects, the experts stressed the advantages of introducing school projects on civic education topics, establishing structures for decision-making procedures regarding any school matters, and undertaking projects such as students' newspapers. All these recommendations were seen as important tools for the process of 'democratic socialization' and were accompanied by the strong conviction that the aims of tolerance, reflexivity, acceptance and solidarity can only be learned by actually practicing them, and not by instruction alone. Almost all the experts were in favor of participative modes of school development.

The fourth question, however, showed that the experts had very different ideas about the abilities of students in this area. The question was: 'How great an understanding of public life can 14- and 15-year-old pupils have?' The answers varied widely. Some thought that at that age, students can understand topics which refer to school, traffic and their local community (because they are directly concerned by these matters), but not for those concerning international politics and economics. Some thought that the possibilities to motivate the students are rather few and far between. To the contrary, others thought that students understand everything as well as most adults would. Klöti and Risi showed in their empirical study (1991) that young people are much more interested in global topics than in local matters.

Concepts of democracy/understanding of democracy

The results of our survey of experts on the subject area 'concepts of democracy/ understanding of democracy' are neither very dramatic nor very encouraging. On the whole, the experts deemed this topic to be more or less satisfactorily taught in Swiss schools (so far as they were familiar with it). However, there were great differences of opinion and surprising results in some sub-areas. For instance, it is remarkable that concepts which are impor-

tant for promoting the understanding of democracy, for example, the question of pluralism and tolerance, issues of participation and the search for consensus, even the concept of federalism and certain crucial social rights, tend to be neglected at school. At the same time, most experts believed that a rather idealized picture of democracy is being taught at school, and that this is not fully satisfactory, especially since the opportunities for participation at school as a form of democratic practice and education are only being exploited in a very limited way.

However, the assessment of the experts, which was on the whole critical, can be qualified, since they also believed that students are being at least occasionally encouraged at school to analyze problematic aspects of democracy. They also thought that students acquire at least an average level of trust in the democratic government and form of life, and a similar level of trust in political self-efficacy beliefs. They also admitted that teachers do discuss current political problems and events with their students (just as it is required of them by the curriculum). On the whole, what does attract criticism is the fact that teaching in this area is a little too biased towards the acquisition of knowledge, and that important learning experiences, especially ones requiring participation, are less frequently employed.

In addition to this general summary, two further results warrant greater discussion. The first concerns this question: 'In your view, what degree of importance is given at school to the following elements of a democratic society, judging by the amount of attention given to them in the classroom?' The experts were asked to evaluate the amount of attention given to 31 issues relevant to democratic societies. We divided the issues into two groups: those which the experts thought received a lot of attention, and those which they thought revealed little or even no attention. According to the experts, the following issues are given a lot of attention: democratic institutions, majority rule, direct democracy, parliamentary democracy, rights and responsibilities in general, executive power, human rights, international organizations, freedom of the press, separation of powers, power distribution, neutrality, election or voting procedures, right to draw up initiatives and petitions, conscription, immigration issues and issues relating to asylum seekers. On the other hand, the issues which were thought to get only little or even no attention at all were pluralism and tolerance, participation, rational discussion, social justice, shaping of public opinion, protection of minorities, federalism, search for consensus, equal rights for women, labor relations, right to strike, religious freedom, right to work and right to education. The results are interesting because many of the issues that stand for Switzerland's self-image of its democracy, such as federalism, participation, pluralism and tolerance or the protection of minorities, were thought to get only little or even almost no attention. It is equally interesting that the issue of equal rights for women is in this group. This is surprising, since many cantons have established the issue of

women's rights as a compulsory element of the curriculum (at Grade 9). It is also interesting to see that communicative aspects of democratic education, such as 'rational discussion', the 'search for consensus' and the 'shaping of public opinion' were considered to get only little attention, even though these aspects are regarded as fundamental.

The second question regarding this subject area was: 'Which important notions of education in democracy should in your eyes be given greater emphasis at school?' The answers can be divided into three sets. One set of improvements suggested by the experts is very content-oriented, a second refers to methods and actions, and the third set focuses on the skills which are to be given greater emphasis within civic education at school. The content-oriented suggestions were as follows: the experts thought that it would be very desirable and even necessary to focus more on equal rights for men and women; some mentioned the rights of children, social justice issues, international relations in politics and economics, and the procedural aspects of democracy.

The experts also offered suggestions regarding the didactic method and action: some thought that a more action-oriented approach to democratic education should become a reality in schools. The school should, as much as possible, be a place where the process of democratic decision-making is applied to topics that students (and teachers) are concerned with (this is not a new insight, of course: cf. Dewey, 1916; Oser & Althof, 1992). There was also the suggestion that practical studies like mini exchange programs should be made possible, a suggestion which was expressed also by some experts in the oral interviews when problematic aspects of the relationship between the different linguistic groups were discussed. The experts thought that exchange programs could be very important tools in improving the understanding between the linguistic groups in the different parts of the country.

A further important result concerns the estimated 'average understanding of democracy acquired at school by 14- and 15-year-old pupils'. Most experts thought that the knowledge of politics which students acquire is only superficial, but they also thought that students understand the meaning of direct democracy, have a sense of what Swiss federalism is, and understand and accept the majority rule. However, the experts also believed that this knowledge is rather abstract and theoretical, and that it does not foster students' interest and engagement in politics. Some experts also thought that the students have a very naive and idealized conception of the relationship between politics and power, especially in the economic realm. Many experts apparently do not believe that the students acquire a deeper or broader sense of 'democratic practice'.

National identity and sense of belonging

The subject area of 'national identity and sense of belonging' yielded much more heterogeneous results than the first subject area on the understanding of democracy. Above all, the experts were not too sure what exactly the term 'national identity' means. Some experts considered this notion not only to be out-dated but also possibly dangerous, while others thought it should be possible to speak of a national identity without automatically making a connection with nationalistic intentions. Although the idea of a national identity is thought of as having a certain importance, it is very difficult even for experts to define what exactly it could consist of. However, the experts seemed to agree that historical consciousness, in the sense of self-reflective confrontation with the history of the country, is important. This formal definition, however, is countered by great gaps in terms of real content; it is not even clear which symbols of Swiss nationhood (as well as events and personalities) are really of unequivocal importance. The days of unquestioning acceptance of the tradition of history appear to be over, especially considering the recent and shameful discoveries or rediscoveries concerning Switzerland's role during the Second World War.

The prevailing insecurity concerning both the status of Switzerland in the international context and its self-image, a situation which is being widely acknowledged, is also apparent in the views of the experts on the political, economic and socio-cultural role of this country, and where the country could find a source of more or less acceptable national pride. The question was: 'Does the political, economic and socio-cultural role of Switzerland in the European or the globally international context get adequately discussed at school? Please give reasons for your opinion and mention any misgivings or recommendations you might have.' The answers the experts gave regarding the political role are varied, but they do have some common features. One is the topic of neutrality. Some experts said that in civic education classes, international political issues are still too bound up with the idea of neutrality. Many experts thought that the notion of neutrality is principally approached by teachers and textbooks from the viewpoint of past history with little regard for its current function and the problems it raises. Several experts thought that many teachers have a rather poor knowledge and understanding of the issue and, as a consequence, topics like the political relationship existing between Switzerland and the European Union on the one hand, and the United Nations on the other, are dealt with at a very superficial level. They also said that the students are much more concerned with the European Union than with the notion of neutrality (which is often used as an argument against membership of the European Union). Some experts also claimed that many teachers are not really aware of the fundamental change which has taken place in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. And some experts focused on Switzerland's role today, which they considered to be too passive. Finally, some

experts thought that the lack of time and motivation of many teachers simply does not allow for a more in-depth treatment and understanding of these topics.

In regard to Switzerland's economic role in the international context as a civic education topic, various perspectives and critiques were expressed. Some experts said that the country's economic role is very much under-estimated among the public as well as in schools. Others thought that the role is very much over-estimated, but they were referring to economic problems. They claimed that the Swiss have too positive an opinion of their international economic relationships. One expert thought that this topic is very much neglected. On the other hand, there was quite a strong consensus about the issue of economic relationships between Switzerland and the Third World. The complicated connections between the First and Third Worlds are very much an issue in courses in geography and history, but also in social studies. There is no doubt that the work of Rudolf Strahm (1985) helped to introduce this issue and to foster an understanding of this problem in schools. It is noteworthy that teachers are in general very aware and concerned about Third World issues and the role of the First World. Some experts expressed their regret that the role of Switzerland as a model for multiculturalism and multilingualism has declined during the last few decades. The same was true, to different degrees according to different experts, with regard to the international organizations located in Switzerland, many of them, such as the Red Cross, founded in Switzerland. The general conclusion most of the 19 experts came to is that the role of Switzerland is not fully presented in schools.

Social cohesion and social diversity

The same considerations seem to apply to this subject area as to the two other areas. On the one hand, the experts judged the situation to be more or less satisfactory. On the other hand, it was surprising to hear about all the things that are apparently going wrong. For instance, the situation of various minorities is only by coincidence the topic of civic education in class, according to some experts. In particular, the problems of linguistic minorities and the difficulties existing between the linguistic groups in Switzerland are treated in an unsatisfactory way, even though this topic is a constant feature in the media.

There was a tendency to regard social cohesion as being under threat. While mentioning a range of problems, many experts perceived two main dangers: the increasing gap between rich and poor (sometimes referred to as the 'Americanization' of society), and the waning sense of national identity or mutual understanding. In recent years, it has become apparent that Switzerland has had to abandon its exclusive position and to face very much the same economic problems as the other European countries. The harsher economic situation has led to increasing pressure being exerted on the social system as a whole, and the school system in particular. Many of the experts thought that

the gap between rich and poor, and between the well educated and the poorly educated, is already too wide, and they were afraid of a further increase in these differences in the future. In addition, the experts included in their assessment the increasing lack of understanding between the various linguistic groups (also a consequence of the harsher economic situation). Some also thought that trilingualism should be an aim of compulsory education: each student should know at least two national languages plus English, or three national languages without English.

A further aspect of crucial importance for social cohesion, namely respect and tolerance as a social value, was the subject of another question: 'Do you think that attitudes of respect and tolerance between the different social groups of the country are encouraged in a satisfactory way at school?' As was to be expected from the answers given to previous questions, the experts in general thought that attitudes of respect and tolerance between the different social groups are encouraged neither in a totally satisfactory way nor in a totally unsatisfactory way, but rather somewhere in between.

Finally, we asked the experts about the encouragement at school of a 'pluralistic mind set' (Zimmerli, 1994), which seems to be a central requirement in today's social and cultural situation: 'In your opinion, do the pupils acquire sufficient emotional, cognitive and social abilities at school to equip them for life in a pluralistic society, with all its possibilities and dangers?' About one third of the experts thought that schools do a satisfactory job in this regard; two thirds did not think they do. Some in the latter group said that their judgment is based simply on impressions; others claimed that certain social abilities, which could be explicitly taught at school, are not being presented but that this lack is being compensated by the implicit learning possibilities the school as a social environment can provide. There was also the criticism that teachers usually do not differentiate between society and community. Some experts from the first group mentioned that it would expect too much for the school to be the main influence in getting students to achieve these goals, and that school often cannot compensate for students missing out on experiences at home.

*Switzerland—(still) a model of multilingualism and
multiculturalism? The relationship between the language
groups as a topic of civic education*

The historical background and the current situation

Even though Switzerland is not (yet) a member of the European Union, it is occasionally cited as a 'model' for multi-cultural coexistence and a Europe of cultural diversity; in other words, it is often seen as a country in which different cultural and linguistic groups live together peacefully compared for in-

stance to Belgium or Canada. Switzerland's multilingualism can indeed be seen as an important source of its political federalism (Dürrenmatt, 1978).² The historian Altermatt comments: 'Switzerland defined itself both in 1798 and in 1848 as a multinational state made up of different peoples, and recognized multilingualism as a fundamental principle' (1996, p.7, transl. P.T.S.). The basic rule of Switzerland's linguistic order determines, among other things, that there shall not be a single national language, and that the protection of the different languages will depend on territorial entities. According to Altermatt, these and other principles were the reason why, unlike other European countries, there has never been any linguistic homogenization in the history of Switzerland. 'On the contrary, the political protection of the linguistic minorities gained in importance in the 20th century' (1996, p.8; transl. P.T.S.).

But in spite of these 'encouraging' signs, the relationship between the different linguistic groups of Switzerland is unstable and fragile, especially in times of economic recession and political insecurity. Altermatt identifies several historical phases since 1800 in the relationship between the Swiss German- and French-speaking regions of Switzerland. While plurilingualism was still viewed as a hindrance to national unity by political theorists in the 19th Century, politicians and intellectuals in this century started to elevate plurilingualism into one of the central tenets of the State. This led to the development between 1920 and 1945 of a multi-national consciousness in Switzerland, distancing the country from the nationalistic ideologies of National Socialism and fascism (p.9). According to Altermatt, a 'well-disposed indifference' was the predominant attitude between the two linguistic groups from 1945 to 1970, since the language question had been pushed into the background by the Cold War, economic growth and wealth, and the consolidation of the welfare state. Since the end of the 1970s, the friendly climate between the Swiss German and the French sector has changed, leading to occasional clashes. In the 1970s, ethno-nationalist thinking became more predominant. According to Altermatt, it is regrettable to see that Switzerland today is in a situation similar to the one Belgium was in at the beginning of the century: 'The linguistic groups are drifting apart. Linguistic regionalism is without doubt increasing, and it is pushing the political borders of the cantons and the ideological divisions of classical party politics into the background,' writes Altermatt in the same source.

The danger of covering up or repressing other politically important differences in the thinking and perceptions of many citizens, and especially young people, by a simplistic and divisive use of linguistic differences has become

² In 1996, the statistical distribution of the official languages was: Swiss German, 63.7 per cent; French, 19.2 per cent; Italian, 8.9 per cent; Rumansh, 0.6 per cent. However, if all languages spoken in Switzerland are included, then Rumansh is superseded by the following languages: Spanish, Serbocroat, Portuguese and English.

more pressing than it has been for a long time in Switzerland. It corresponds to a 'latent ethnification of the consciousness' of citizens. The linguistic groups make each other the scapegoats of a communication problem which is still under-estimated by many, particularly in the Swiss German-speaking part of the country.

There are many reasons for the existence of this communication problem, but few people are prepared to face up to one of the main reasons, the lack of knowledge of foreign languages among the Swiss population (with regard to a second or even a third national language). This deficiency applies to all the linguistic groups, but it is often only recognized as a real problem along the borders of the different linguistic regions. It appears that diversity and unity can only coexist when there exists an elementary ability to communicate. Thus the ability to speak other languages becomes an essential aspect of civic education in a multi-cultural and federal country which does not have one unifying language. It is communication and co-ordination, not greater pressure towards equality and assimilation, which will create the necessary level of unity between the groups.

What is the role of civic education in this situation?

As mentioned above, the communication problem between the different linguistic groups of Switzerland does not appear to be a topic of discussion in Swiss classrooms. In addition, it must be pointed out that, according to many experts, certain important preconditions which are essential to any adequate discussion of this relevant problem area are also being disregarded. In particular, concepts and cultural achievements such as federalism, participation, pluralism and the protection of minorities are hardly discussed at all in civic education classes. It is regrettable to have to point out that the problems of the linguistic minorities in the Swiss German part of Switzerland are also hardly ever discussed in civic education lessons.

The experts also felt that the overall climate has recently changed in a rather unfavorable way, and that enormous efforts will have to be made in Switzerland if the country wants to continue to be seen as a 'multi-cultural model country'. These efforts will have to be directed in particular towards the linguistic and social abilities of students and citizens. On the whole, the experts seemed to agree that minority problems are not sufficiently acknowledged in Switzerland, and that the education system does not take enough of an active role in this field.

A summary of the answers to two other questions will provide examples. 'In your opinion, are existing tensions between different parts of the country or population (e.g. linguistic regions) a subject for discussion at school?' Differences and problems between the different parts and regions of the country, and especially difficulties regarding language, are topics which were perceived to be touched upon in schools. However, the treatment of these topics, ac-

According to opinions expressed in oral interviews, very much depends on the geographical location (canton) and on the linguistic group. There are some cantons which have two official languages (like Berne, Fribourg, Valais: Swiss German and French; or Grison: Swiss German and Romansh). In these cantons it is much more likely that these topics will be discussed in class. The same is also true in general for the cantons of the French- and Italian-speaking parts (because these are the language minorities in Switzerland, at least as far as the 'official' national languages are concerned). However, it seems that these issues are more likely to be ignored in some of the Swiss German cantons (especially those further away from the French- or Italian-speaking parts): Geneva seems a very long way away from Zurich or St. Gall. In general, it is the minorities themselves who deal with this issue, because they actually experience most of the problems. One lucky coincidence regarding the cultural and geographical situation of Switzerland results from the fact that the language borders are not the same as the confessional borders, and that economic differences do not coincide clearly with the different linguistic regions, nor with the confessional territories. If that had been the case, the conflict between the different linguistic regions would surely have been much more intense.

The other question was: 'Which tensions of more or less immediate interest between different parts of the country or population do you consider of importance? Should these hidden and/or open conflicts be extensively discussed at school?' As expected, most experts named the tensions between the official language groups. However, other important tensions are often mixed up with the linguistic problem, and receive little individual attention in the public debate. About a third of the experts mentioned the differences and tensions existing between urban and rural areas. These differences become obvious when we look at the results of votes and elections. It is clear, for instance, that Switzerland is not yet a member of the European Union because of the unequivocal rejection of this possibility by voters in the rural areas, especially in the Swiss German sector. Another difference that is a point of public debate is the economic weight of the area surrounding Zurich compared to other cities and cantons, and the predominance of Swiss German managers in some firms and organizations in the French- and Italian-speaking parts of the country. In these regions, the notion of 'Germanization' is seen as representing a threat to their culture, their language and their political power. However, most experts considered this threat as exaggerated, and that attention to it could have the negative effect of increasing the tensions between the linguistic regions and undermining mutual understanding (sometimes referred to as 'Belgiumization', cf. Altermatt, 1996). Some experts also mentioned the potential for tension between older and younger generations, especially with regard to the financing of the social security system, and some experts mentioned the problems between Swiss citizens and foreigners.

In short, almost all the experts agreed that the language issue is of the greatest relevance. Most also agreed on the need for student exchange programs between the different linguistic regions. Unfortunately, even in areas where this would seem to be quite easily put into practice, as for instance in bilingual cities such as Freiburg/Fribourg or Biel/Bienne, there is very little exchange. The reasons for that may be that too much bureaucratic and organizational effort is required.

Regrettably, we have to conclude that the role civic education could play in the improvement of communication between the different parts of the country seems barely recognized. This may be due to the tendency to underestimate the problem, and to the fact that the ability to speak a foreign language is simply not sufficiently widespread in all regions and among all the people involved, including teachers (even though all Swiss students start to learn a first foreign language at the latest in their fifth year at school). It seems that the role of linguistic diversity in Switzerland is being over-idealized, and that the problem of increased need for linguistic abilities is not sufficiently recognized. Considering these deficiencies, one has to ask whether Switzerland really can see itself as a model of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Conclusions

The idea that civic education at school is of the greatest importance in preparing young people for that political and social life form which we call 'democratic' is certainly not new. But in different historical and cultural contexts, the task has to be approached in different ways (Carr, 1995; Koch, 1995). Since the concept of democracy cannot be defined either unequivocally or by consensus (Benn, 1967; Sartori, 1992; Schmidt, 1995), and since this concept requires flexibility of interpretation (Luhmann, 1986), it must follow that no agreement could ever really be reached as to the best form for civic education to take. There seems, however, to be a certain consensus that this relationship is particularly difficult in the context of late modernity. Banks, for instance, writes: 'In a postmodern world characterized by competing interests, a lack of civility, and enormous diversity, democracy is an extraordinarily ambitious and difficult ideal' (1996, p.xi).

Despite the proclaimed central importance of civic education for the democratic life form (Müller, 1995), it is difficult to avoid the fact that there sometimes exists an extremely wide gap between the reality of civic education in instruction and the ideals of the curriculum. This is obviously also true in Switzerland, which can boast of a relatively long democratic tradition and history, a history however which also has some dark episodes, as for instance the role of Switzerland (or of Swiss politics) in the Second World War, or the late introduction of equal voting rights for women.

The question of how this divergence between the aspirations and the reality of civic education should be evaluated remains unanswered. Our investigations and analyses showed that the aims and the assessment of school cannot be determined by consensus. A divergence between the aims and the reality, between theory and practical application, can probably be said to be a defining characteristic of civic education. On the whole, this divergence does not generate an excessive amount of complaint from Swiss experts.

As for the Swiss situation in civic education, it appears that there are deficiencies which can be rather clearly defined, the linguistic problem being the one highlighted. This problem is a concrete example of the more general difficulty inherent in every democratic life form: the problem of how to deal with differences or the problem of the relationship between majorities and minorities. If the basic principle of a functioning democracy is to expressly acknowledge differences and pluralism, then civic education in such a system should reflect this and orient itself along these lines. Switzerland does not seem to have fully put this into practice as yet. However justified it may be to highlight these deficiencies in general, in individual schools and with particular teachers outstanding work is being done in the field of civic education today.

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CHALLENGES TO CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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Notes:

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Aims and context for civic education in the United States

Civic educators in the United States have traditionally told the young that theirs is a nation committed to liberty, justice and equality; that they live in a pluralistic democracy where citizens of diverse backgrounds share a common set of civic values enshrined in the Constitution; and that their country's strength is nurtured by the complementary nature of democracy and capitalism. As we approach a new millennium, the IEA Civic Education Project provides an opportunity to examine the current nature of civic education. It has been almost three decades since the United States last participated in an IEA study of civic education, and much has happened since that time.

At the global level, increased interdependence in economic, political, cultural and communication systems have implications for citizenship education. The end of the Cold War, increased concerns about trans-national issues, such as environmental degradation, terrorism and the spread of AIDS, and changes associated with 'the information age' have contributed to current thinking about what young citizens need to know and be able to do.

Domestically, several important political changes since the last IEA study have implications for civic education. Starting with the events surrounding Watergate, the public has become increasingly sceptical of politicians. There has been a continued decline in voter turnout, and an increasing concern about a diminished civil society (Putnam, 1995). On a more positive note, these have also been years in which women have been elected to public office in larger numbers than in the past, particularly at the local and state levels.

Demographic changes have taken place in the United States population. Increased immigration, changing birthrates among subgroups, and an increased gap between rich and poor have affected education. The majority of children in the schools of 25 of the 30 largest cities are people of color, many of whom are living in poverty (Orfield, Bachmeier, James & Eitle, 1997).

The revolution in communications technology has affected virtually every aspect of society from banking to school scheduling. Where some parents used to worry about the effects of television on their children, now they are concerned about pornography on the Internet and hate speech on listener-call-in radio programs. Where once school officials debated policies related to dress codes and student newspapers, now in some schools administrators enforce policies on cell phones or pagers and use metal detectors to prevent weapons being brought to school.

Education has been the focus of public attention for much of this period. In 1983, a much publicized report declared the United States 'a nation at risk' if dramatic improvements were not made in the educational system. In the 1990s, Congressional leaders and Presidents Bush and Clinton have called for high quality 'national standards' for core curriculum areas. As part of an effort called 'Goals 2000', the Congress funded the development of volun-

tary national standards in 10 curriculum areas; the standards in history, geography, and civics and government have particular relevance to civic education (Center for Civic Education, 1994; Geography Education Standards Project, 1994; National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Additionally, the National Council for the Social Studies (1994), the professional association of social studies educators, developed *Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* and, most recently, the National Council on Economic Education (1997) developed national standards in economics. Many of the states refer to these national initiatives in developing their state curriculum standards.

Over this period, there has also been much debate about how to balance the needs to teach for national unity and an appreciation of cultural diversity in the nation. On the one hand, many see 'multicultural education' as essential to teaching adequately about our pluralistic society and to teaching diverse students effectively (Ladson-Billings, 1992; Banks & Banks, 1993). On the other hand, multicultural education has been strongly criticized by individuals on both the right and the left of the political spectrum as either going too far or not far enough (Asante, 1991; Schlesinger, 1991). Debates over the national standards for United States history were particularly acrimonious. Conservative critics argued that emphasis should be placed on a common history rooted in European culture while liberal critics argued for the inclusion of multiple perspectives on the nation's history (National Expert Panel, 1998).

There has been concern, too, about violence and standards of behavior in the schools and society and the need for greater attention to character education (Likona, 1991). As the 'character education' movement spread to local schools across the country, the National Council for the Social Studies (1997) published a position statement that argued social studies teachers have a responsibility to refocus their classrooms on the teaching of character and civic virtue. Alongside that is the call for 'service learning' to instill in youth a commitment to the common welfare and a desire to contribute to the improvement of society (Garman, 1995; Wade, 1997). In response to such a call, American youth are participating in community service activities in record numbers (Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1997; Nolin, Chaney, Chapman & Chandler, 1997).

Finally, in recent years there have been calls for greater attention specifically to civic education (The National Commission on Civic Renewal, 1998). The American Political Science Association formed a task force on civic education, and a series of White House conferences culminated in recommendations to improve civic education in the United States (Branson, 1998).

These factors and others have changed the context in which civic education occurs. The goals of the current study are to determine what our youth are learning about the political and social world and what various actors in society believe they ought to be learning.

Civic education and the schools

In all countries, civic education occurs in and outside of school. However, in the United States, the school's role is particularly important. In the early days of the republic, Thomas Jefferson wrote of the need to educate citizens for democracy. As the system of public education in the country grew, citizenship education was given a central place in the curriculum. Since the 1890s, the school subject called 'social studies' has been designated to play a key role in citizenship preparation. Whether one defined social studies as 'the social sciences simplified for pedagogical reasons', or as an integrated subject that drew on history and the social sciences to help students deal with social problems, or as the transmission of the nation's heritage, the subject bears a particular responsibility for preparing young people for their role as citizens in a democracy (Hertzberg, 1981). For that reason, this case study of civic education in the United States gives primary attention to social studies. Other aspects of the curriculum and the general school ethos, as well as out-of-school experiences, complement that focus.

Within this context, answers to the questions posed in the IEA project frame the case study: What are 14- to 15-year-olds expected to learn in four domains: (i) democracy, political institutions, and rights and responsibilities of citizens; (ii) national identity; (iii) social diversity and cohesion; and (iv) the connection between the political and economic systems.

Research methods

To develop this case study, we collected data from six sources: a survey of the 50 states, a content analysis of textbooks, information from organizations involved in civic education, focus group interviews of students ages 14 to 15, focus group interviews of Grades 8 and 9 social studies teachers, and interviews with experts in the particular domains being investigated (Hahn, Dilworth, Hughes & Sen, 1998). Additionally, we drew on a survey of relevant literature (Hahn, Dilworth & Hughes, 1998) and on the insights of the members of the National Expert Panel (1998).

State survey

In the United States, states and local districts are responsible for schools. Consequently, there is much variety in curricular policy among the 50 states and over 15,000 school districts. For that reason, we sent surveys to the 50 state social studies coordinators or their equivalents and ultimately received responses from individuals in 48 states who were knowledgeable about statewide influences on social studies and civic education. The questionnaire asked about statewide policies that might impact on civic education, such as

requirements for particular courses for high school graduation, textbook adoption and competency testing. Because civic education policies are made at the local school district level, we also asked the coordinators to estimate whether a majority of school districts in their state taught particular courses in Grades 6 to 12 and, if so, at what grade. Additionally, we asked about organizations that were active in providing materials or influencing policy in social studies, about perceived obstacles to effective social studies and about anticipated changes in social studies.

Interest groups and other organizations

Because a case study of civic education in the United States would not be complete without descriptions of the work of the many organizations involved in these matters, we developed an annotated bibliography of organizations (see National Expert Panel, 1998). To gather information for that bibliography and to obtain information for the case study, we sent a questionnaire to approximately 100 organizations. We asked people to tell us if their organization provided in-service training for teachers, student material or other services to support civic education. Furthermore, we asked if their organization had a perspective on the teaching of the four domains that were the focus of our study. We complemented the survey data with information from telephone interviews, the *Encyclopedia of Associations* 95 (Schwartz & Turner, 1994), organizational Web sites on the Internet and brochures.

Textbook analysis

In the United States, it is a challenge to identify the most widely used textbooks. There is no official textbook and no agency that keeps track of the numbers of textbooks sold. About half of the states have textbook adoption policies. (All of the southern states have such policies while none of the northeastern states do.) Even in states with an adoption policy, once a state committee has adopted several textbooks that state funds could be used to purchase, it is left to personnel in each school district, or even each school, to choose the books. To identify widely used textbooks for the subjects and grade levels of interest to us, we triangulated information from several different sources.³ Two specialists in social studies at the University of Minnesota conducted the content analysis of the textbooks focusing on the four domains and sub-domains (Avery & Miller, 1998).

³ First, we asked social studies coordinators if their states had an adoption policy; to provide us with a list of the adopted texts for social studies. We identified the civics and United States history textbooks for Grades 7 to 9 that appeared on the greatest number of lists, paying particular attention to the ones that were used in the states with the largest populations (California, Texas). We also asked three experts in civics and United States history teaching to name the books that they thought were the most widely used in the country. From a textbook advisory group we obtained a 'short list' of widely used books. Finally, we selected the three books for United States history and the three books for civics/government for Grades 7 to 9 that appeared on the greatest number of these lists.

Student and teacher focus groups

We conducted two focus groups with Grades 8 and 9 students (approximately 14 years old) who attended four different schools in the metropolitan Atlanta area and two with students of the same age in two different communities in Texas. We conducted three focus groups with middle and high school teachers in the metropolitan Atlanta area, one in the Seattle area and one in the Minneapolis area. We deliberately included in our groups students and teachers from both urban and suburban schools and from schools with differing racial and ethnic compositions. Focus groups contained from five to eight individuals and met for about two hours. Researchers in social studies education conducted the interviews using semi-structured interview protocols focused on the four domains of the study. The purpose of these focus groups was to identify a range of meanings, experiences and perceptions that relate to civic education and to develop plausible hypotheses for testing with representative samples of students, schools and teachers in Phase 2 of the IEA Study.

Individual interviews

Finally, we conducted several interviews with individuals. Three scholars were interviewed who are nationally known for their writing on citizenship education, history education and economics education. In addition to being knowledgeable about research related to the domains of the study, these scholars had experience conducting in-service education for teachers. We also interviewed a state social studies specialist and coordinators of state networks in law-related and economics education.

Perspectives on the core international framing questions

As we drew on the varied data sources described above, the *Review of Literature* and the knowledge of members of our National Expert Panel, a general picture of civic education in the United States emerged. Each of the next sections begins with a discussion of the general context and recent debates in the United States on the issues in question, then summarizes findings from data collected by project staff (Hahn, Dilworth, Hughes & Sen, 1998).

Democracy, political institutions and rights and responsibilities of citizens

There is a broad consensus in the country that it is a responsibility of the schools to teach about democracy and to prepare students to be effective democratic citizens (Elam, Rose & Gallup, 1996). Nevertheless, there is considerable variation as to how that is done. Because the curriculum of the schools is set at the local level within parameters set at the state level, there is

variation from one state to the next and among school districts within a state about what is taught, and when and how. Even when teachers in the same school follow a common written curriculum, the way in which it is delivered often varies.

In many elementary classes, students are taught about democracy when the class establishes class rules or votes to do something by choosing from among several alternatives. In the elementary grades, students often learn about famous presidents, and sometimes they learn about local government services when they study communities. Although most direct instruction about democracy, political institutions and rights and responsibilities of citizens usually does not occur before middle or high school, some elementary classes or schools have had special citizenship programs. Recently, some schools have developed programs under titles such as 'character education' or 'learning through community service'. Many states have law-related education networks that encourage schools to teach about legal concepts and procedures. The Center for Civic Education has developed materials in their We the People Program that are widely used.

Moreover, in most school districts, children study some American history—often in the fifth grade—during which they are taught about the founding of political institutions in the United States. Earlier researchers found that approximately 75 per cent of high school graduates had taken at least one semester course in government (National Center for Education Statistics, 1997). However, that tended to be in Grades 11 or 12. Looking specifically at Grades 7 to 9, one researcher found that fewer than 40 per cent of students were enrolled in civics courses (Eckenrod, 1987).

Courses

In our state survey we asked the 50 state social studies specialists (or their equivalents) if there was a statewide requirement that United States government/civics/citizenship be taught in Grades 6 to 12. Respondents from 36 states said there was such a requirement in their state. Several noted that although civics, government or citizenship were not specifically mandated, there was a state mandate for two or three years of high school social studies and, within that, or in addition to that, some school districts mandated a course in civics or government; in others it was simply a tradition that most students took one such course. Additionally, in four states there was a mandate that the United States Constitution be taught, but it was left up to districts to decide in which grade they would do that.

We also asked the state social studies specialists at which grades, between 6 and 12, they estimated that the majority of the districts in their state taught particular courses. In examining responses to questions about Domain I, we were interested in courses on state government, United States Government, United States history and civics or citizenship—those courses in which stu-

dents are most likely to receive direct instruction about political processes and institutions. Respondents from 45 states estimated the majority of school districts in their state taught United States Government or civics sometime between Grades 6 and 12. Additionally, respondents from 34 states said the majority of districts in their state taught state and local government, often in courses combined with either state history or United States Government. Furthermore, respondents from 16 states estimated that courses in law, including topics such as civil and criminal law and consumer law, were taught in a majority of districts; activities in these courses include analyzing cases and having police or lawyers as speakers.

As for the grades at which students are most likely to be enrolled in civics, government or law courses, respondents from 32 states estimated that the majority of districts teach United States Government at Grade 12 and 20 specified Grade 9. In some cases, several grade levels were identified by the same person, for example, if he or she thought the majority of districts in the state taught civics as a required course in Grade 9 and government as a Grade 12 elective. Seventeen respondents said that state and local government tended to be taught in Grade 8, 13 said Grade 9 and 13 said Grade 12. The most frequently cited grade for teaching courses dealing with law was Grade 12.

Overall, it appears that by ages 14 to 15, students in the majority of districts in 20 states will have had the opportunity to take a course in civics or government in Grade 9, whereas students in only 10 states are likely to have had such a course in Grade 8. Furthermore, students in a majority of districts in 17 states may have had instruction in state and local government in Grade 8; in 13 states it would have been in Grade 9. This means that students in many districts across the country will not have had formal instruction about local, state and/or national government by the time they are 14 to 15 years old, the target age for the IEA study. A sizeable number, however, are likely to have had such instruction. Furthermore, most students will have learned about democracy, political institutions and rights and responsibilities of citizens in a course in United States history before they are 14 or 15 years old. Indeed, respondents from 32 states estimated that the majority of districts in their state taught United States history in Grade 8.

In summary, most, but not all, students will have had some formal instruction related to democracy, political institutions and rights and responsibilities of citizens by the time they are 14 or 15 years old. That is an important consideration because past researchers have found that the students in the United States who are the most knowledgeable about government and politics have had courses in civics or government (Patrick & Hoge, 1991; Niemi & Junn, 1998). However, the mere fact that students took a course in civics and government does not tell us what or how they were taught. One indication of the content to which they may have been exposed can come from an examination of the most widely used textbooks for Grades 7 to 9.

Textbooks

For students who take a course in civics or United States history in Grades 7 to 9, the content and sequencing of topics is similar across the country; that is, to the extent that textbooks can be taken as indicative of what is actually taught in the classes where they are used, different books convey almost identical messages (Avery & Miller, 1998).

The three widely used civics textbooks examined for this project emphasize the structure and function of national, state and local levels of government. All three books begin with a discussion of representative democracy and introduce the United States Constitution as the foundation for government. They then move through the three branches of government: Congress, the presidency and the courts.

The United States history books describe the development of democracy from English antecedents through colonization, to the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, to the present. The history texts, like the civics texts, all define federalism and describe the functions of the three branches of government.

In the textbooks, individual rights play a prominent role; general references to the citizen's responsibilities are much less frequent. Additionally, the textbooks teach about the two major current political parties, as well as about their historical forerunners. None of the texts, however, discuss advantages and disadvantages of a multi-party system. To determine whether the messages in the textbooks are actually those that are conveyed to students, in our focus groups we asked teachers what they taught and students what they learned.

Perspectives

When asked to consider the term 'democracy', the 13- to 14-year-old students in our focus groups said 'the form of government that we have', 'freedom' and 'electing people to represent us'. Although one student distinguished a democracy from a monarchy, no student in our focus groups mentioned parliamentary or social democracies. The Grades 8 and 9 students in our focus groups said they learned in their social studies classes about the branches and levels of government; a few used the terms 'executive', 'legislative' and 'judicial branches', and 'local, state and national levels', whereas others just cited 'the people who make the laws', 'courts and trials', and 'the President, governor and mayors'. Most of the students reported learning about the United States Constitution and its amendments, especially the Bill of Rights. Several stated they had learned about 'checks and balances' and some history behind the Constitution, such as the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. In regard to citizens' rights and responsibilities, most students mentioned voting either as a right that people in some 'other countries don't have' or as a responsibility. They mentioned jury duty and, in case of war, serving in the military as re-

sponsibilities. Students noted that rights included the right 'to have whatever religion you want, to free speech and to bear arms'. They recognized, however, that Americans disagree about the meaning of the latter right.

Most of the teachers said they taught the distinction between direct and representative democracies. One said that he emphasized that 'in a democracy, power derives from the people'. Teachers said they compared democracy to communism, socialism, dictatorships and monarchies or to a specific country's form of government. Additionally, several Grades 7 and 8 teachers said that when they were teaching world regions, they would make comparisons between another country's form of government and that of the United States. One Grade 8 teacher said she compared the United States' form of democracy to parliamentary forms. Several teachers noted that they tried to point out not only the strengths but also the difficulties associated with democracy, such as its being inefficient and time consuming. Teachers also noted examples of departures from the ideal of democracy as when women could not vote and when Native Americans were put on reservations.

Middle school teachers who did not explicitly teach civics or citizenship said they sometimes taught about political institutions and processes in the context of discussing current events with 6th and 7th graders. For example, one teacher said that if her class was talking about a specific proposal for legislation she would explain 'how a bill becomes a law'. Many non-civics teachers said they had taught lessons related to this domain when they discussed the presidential elections with their students. Furthermore, teachers of Grade 8 state and United States history courses said they gave attention to colonial history and constitutional principles.

Teachers of Grade 9 civics or citizenship said their course began with the background to American democracy, including ancient Greece, the ideas of John Locke, the Magna Carta, the colonial period and the Articles of Confederation. All the teachers spent much time on the United States Constitution, including the Bill of Rights. All the civics teachers taught the three branches of government and several taught important Supreme Court cases.

Several of the teachers in our focus groups said that their students had great interest in citizens' rights. That led one teacher to spend more time on rights than on other topics; it led another to talk about responsibilities that were associated with the Bill of Rights. Several teachers deliberately emphasized 'one person can make a difference and you don't have to wait until you are 18 to become active citizens'.

Taken together, data from the textbook analysis and student and teacher focus groups suggest that when students have courses in United States history and civics, the topics differ very little from one classroom to the next. Moreover, it appears that content in this domain is often presented as uncontested, for example, when teachers draw students' attention more to vocabulary and facts than to controversial historical and contemporary issues.

Despite the calls of many social studies educators since the 1940s for issues-centered instruction (Evans & Saxe, 1996), and despite evidence that students are more likely to develop knowledge about and an interest in the political arena if they have the opportunity to discuss controversial issues in a supportive classroom environment (Hahn, 1998; Niemi & Junn, 1998), we found little evidence in our focus groups of such an approach being widely used. Although students are told democracy rests on freedom of thought and that society values the 'free marketplace of ideas', and although much professional literature says that, to develop democratic citizens, social studies instruction should emphasize inquiry, critical thinking and discussion of controversial issues, such inquiry and discussion did not appear to be prevalent in many of the schools from which our focus group participants came. Similar findings have been reported by others who have studied social studies classes in the United States (Goodlad, 1984; McNeil, 1986).

Experiences

Students learn about democracy and the citizen's role not only from what is said but also from co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. The most common experiences are mock elections. All the students in our focus groups said that they participated in mock presidential elections in 1996. They also said that by electing peers to leadership activities in the band, club and student government they learned about democracy and citizens' rights and responsibilities.

Middle schools sometimes have specific activities to develop responsibility in young citizens. In one district, the middle school teachers selected a 'Citizen of the Month' at each school and there were programs in conflict resolution and peer mediation, whereby students learn to resolve conflicts non-violently. At one school, there was also a service learning program: student volunteers worked in homes for the elderly or in homeless shelters to learn 'good citizenship'.

Interestingly, three middle school teachers in different urban schools with largely African-American populations commented that it was difficult to teach about democracy and freely expressing an opinion when the atmosphere of the school worked against that. They said that, although they encouraged their students to speak out, many of their colleagues told students to be quiet, listen and take notes or work on drill sheets at their seats. Furthermore, the students had to be quiet in the halls, and a 'quiet lunch' policy was enforced. A teacher in another part of the country also expressed similar concern when she taught in one urban school: 'There was no sense of responsibility put on the kids other than to be in class and to be on time. What the administrators in our building were most concerned about was order, and the last thing they wanted was for kids to speak out on issues.'

In contrast, other teachers described ways in which their students were

learning to be active participating citizens. In one middle school, students, each year, undertook a different project to connect them with government institutions, such as when one class made all the arrangements to paint warning signs on storm drains. At another school, during an election campaign, students were given the option to interview voters at the polls, work for a political party or invite candidates to speak at the school.

At some schools, students participate in state and nationally sponsored experiential programs, such as mock trials, Kids Voting, Lobby Day, Close Up and other programs that introduce young people to legislative and judicial processes. Two programs sponsored by the Center for Civic Education have involved more than 26 million students at all levels nationwide (Branson, 1998). 'We the People...The Citizen and the Constitution' engages students in mock legislative hearings on constitutional issues. Project Citizen teaches middle school students to identify, research and pose solutions to local problems. Participating students present portfolios of their particular projects in local, state and national competitions. In recent years, many schools and individual teachers have also encouraged students to get involved in community service activities (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1997; Nolin et al., 1997).

In summary, only a small percentage of the 14- to 15-year-old students in the United States are likely to have taken a specific course such as civics that is designed to teach them about political institutions and processes. However, many will have had courses in United States history, state history or integrated social studies in which they will have acquired information related to democracy, political institutions and citizens' roles. Regardless of the state or school district in which they live, students who took courses under similar titles are likely to have been exposed to similar information. However, much of the learning that is relevant to this domain occurs through the non-formal and hidden curriculum as well as experiences outside the classroom. In that, there is clearly much variation from one school to another, and even from one class to another in the same school: some students participate in student government, extracurricular activities, special programs such as those sponsored by the Center for Civic Education and community service projects, but many students do not. For example, the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) revealed that 52 per cent of the 12th graders said they had never participated in mock elections, councils or trials (National Assessment, 1990). Similarly, while some students are in classes in which they are encouraged to discuss public policy issues and in schools in which they have input to decision-making, other students are not. As we look at what students are learning about national identity, these themes appear again.

National identity

Students acquire a sense of national identity from many out-of-school experiences, but schools also make a contribution. From the time they enter school in the first grade, children in the United States are made aware of national identity through celebrations of holidays, literature and history lessons. Additionally, a large flag hangs on a pole in front of most schools and smaller flags often hang on the wall at the front of classrooms; a morning flag salute is common but not universal at the elementary and middle school levels.

To understand 14- to 15-year-olds' sense of national identity, we asked students in the focus groups what it meant to them to be an American. In all four groups, students said 'freedom' and 'being free'. One explained, 'We have a lot more freedom to express our beliefs than [people in] other countries.' Several Hispanic students in Texas noted that being an American meant being a citizen or legal resident as opposed to 'not legal'. In that group, as well as the others, students expressed pride in being Americans at the same time as they described ways in which the totality of the nation's history has not lived up to the ideal of freedom and equality for all.

The history education expert whom we interviewed reported that in her studies of students in Grades 5 and 8, there was a clear belief in 'American exceptionalism'; students perceive the United States to be different from and better than other countries. Furthermore, she noted students organize their understanding of what it means to be an American around the Bill of Rights, and they see the nation's history as a story of progress that includes the struggles for women's rights and civil rights as bringing the country closer to achieving its ideals.

We heard similar themes in the focus groups. Students said they associated being an American with democracy, various political institutions and rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Because the development of national identity is related to one's identification with the nation's history, the following discussion focuses on history teaching and learning.

Courses

All the social studies specialists who responded to our survey of the states reported that United States history is taught in the majority of school districts in their state. Most of them said it is taught in Grade 11 when students are typically 16 or 17 years old. Grade 8 (13- to 14-year-olds) was the second most common grade to teach United States history, with some reporting that it was taught earlier.

United States history is the social studies course for which there is most likely to be a statewide mandate, with 85 per cent of the respondents to our survey reporting that students were required to take such a course. Because it is often a requirement for high school graduation, many students take the course in high school—after they are 15 years old.

Textbooks

Because national identity is formed, in part, through a connection to a nation's 'story' (its birth, celebrations, struggles, heroes and villains), the story passed on to students in their textbooks is of particular relevance. Across the civics and history books examined, there is a common story of significant events, people and documents (Avery & Miller, 1998). Events related to the country's founding and to armed conflicts dominate the history books and, to a lesser extent, the civics books. The United States Constitution is the document at the center of the country's narrative. All six of the widely used civics and history textbooks include a copy of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

The people most frequently mentioned in the textbooks, with only a few notable exceptions such as Martin Luther King Jr, are Euro-American males who have held political offices. Over half the individuals mentioned were Presidents of the United States. Not surprisingly, many of the people presented in the textbooks seem to be the ones who are most remembered by students and teachers.

Perspectives

Most United States history courses are organized and taught chronologically (Jenness, 1990). Topics covered in the classes of teachers and students in our groups included the colonial period, the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War, the War with Mexico and the Civil War. As one Texas student replied when asked about big historical events, 'the Civil War, Civil War, Civil War'. In many school districts, students study about United States history up to the Civil War in Grade 5 and/or Grades 8 or 9. In year 11, the emphasis is on the period from the Civil War to the present. Perhaps it is because we did not interview students over age 15 that we did not hear much about the 20th Century.

Students identified a number of national heroes they had studied in school, including presidents (Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Nixon and Carter), military leaders (Generals Lee and Grant from the Civil War period and General Colin Powell, the contemporary hero from the Gulf War), and civil rights leaders (Harriet Tubman, Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Rosa Parks). Benjamin Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt were also mentioned. There seems to be a mixed signal about criticism aimed at national leaders. On the one hand, students are told that leaders are not infallible or above criticism; on the other, there seems to be little critical assessment of contemporary leaders and issues. When one student in a focus group referred to Nixon as a flawed leader, the other students in the group said they remembered learning about the Watergate scandal. One of the teachers said she tries to teach both the positive and negative sides of United States history: 'I think it is very important to show that negative things happened but things are changing or have been changing.'

Students in the United States associate a number of core documents with their nation's heritage: The Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and Martin Luther King Jr's 'I Have a Dream' speech. Teachers in our focus groups confirmed the importance placed on the Constitution, particularly in civics classes. One teacher explained that she taught the Constitution in depth: 'By the time I'm through with them, they can cite chapter and verse of all articles and sections of the Constitution.'

Also related to national identity are student perceptions of allies and enemies. The students in our focus groups mentioned England, Germany and Japan as countries that were once enemies but are now allies. Similarly, a few students mentioned that France and Spain had once been enemies of the United States but now are friends. Iraq was the only country that students cited as a contemporary enemy.

In referring to events in the nation's past, students frequently used terms such as 'we', 'us' or 'our'. Clearly, they identified with the narrative they were told in their history books, even when they knew that their own personal ancestors were not part of the dominant group at the time of the particular event to which they referred. This interesting trend has also been found by other researchers (Barton & Levstik, 1998).

Social cohesion and social diversity

The third area investigated is what students are expected to learn about those belonging to groups that are seen as set apart or 'disenfranchised', for example, by ethnicity, race, immigrant status, mother tongue, social class, religion or gender. Related to this is what students are expected to learn about discrimination and how instances of past oppression or discrimination are dealt with in civic education.

Courses

Although some school districts offer specific courses, 73 per cent of the state social studies specialists surveyed said that ethnic studies was infused into other courses. If the experiences of people in our focus groups are typical, the greatest integration of ethnic studies content and multiple perspectives is in United States history courses.

Textbooks

In earlier periods, social studies textbooks were often criticized for giving insufficient attention to minorities and women, but through the 1980s researchers found the books were becoming more inclusive (Patrick & Hoge, 1991). Our detailed analysis further explores this issue (Avery & Miller, 1998).

The United States is depicted in all of the civics and United States history textbooks examined as a 'nation of immigrants'. The civics texts describe the country's immigration policies, including graphic representations of the natu-

ralization process. The history texts present an historical overview of waves of immigration, with some discussion of why immigrants came to the United States and continue to arrive.

The history texts describe the earliest immigrants as those who arrived in the Americas across the Bering Straits and then present information on early civilizations on the continent. The history texts describe later immigrants' experiences during different periods of history. Every history book discusses slavery, attending to the living conditions, religion, education, artwork and music of slave culture.

The ethnic minorities mentioned are generally cited for their roles as advocates for political rights. Very few Hispanics or individuals with Asian ancestry are cited. Women receive substantially less coverage than men, particularly in the civics textbooks. Furthermore, although the disparity between men and women in the political realm is noted, there is little discussion of the implications. Women are discussed more often in the history texts than in the civics texts, although comparatively few women are mentioned when compared to the number of men. Very few women of color are described in either the civics or history textbooks.

Perspectives

Since the 1960s, some writers have argued that social studies curriculum and instruction should be more inclusive of diverse perspectives. In recent years, some people have argued that the pendulum has swung too far in emphasizing diversity at the expense of unity (See Hahn, Dilworth & Hughes, 1998; National Expert Panel, 1998). In the midst of the debates, there has been little empirical research on what students are actually learning about cultural diversity and social cohesion, so we turned to our focus groups for insights. Most teachers and students in our groups reported that United States history courses included information on the treatment of Native Americans and of blacks under slavery and segregation, as well as of the Civil Rights movement. Fewer mentioned some attention to Hispanics and Asian Americans in United States history courses. One teacher in the Northwest explained:

We usually start with our state history and discuss the people who populate our region. We look at the Native Americans...If we are talking about the building of railroads, we discuss the arrival of the Chinese. When we talk about the expansion of our farmlands, we discuss the Japanese arrival and involvement with the expansion. We talk about the arrival of African Americans in our region.

Several teachers said that, in their history classes, they talked about discrimination against women in colonial America and about the suffragist movement. Teachers also reported discussing discrimination against religious minorities and immigrants. The students in our focus groups mentioned these matters in general terms only. In one focus group in Texas, which contained

several Mexican-American students, students also cited discrimination against Mexicans. In addition to receiving instruction in the context of United States history, students in the various focus groups mentioned lessons about discrimination in conjunction with Martin Luther King Jr's birthday and with Black History Month. These findings are similar to those obtained by a history education expert we interviewed. She said that in her research on students' historical understanding, by the end of Grade 8 'all of the kids knew there was prejudice' and that 'race, class and gender were problematic' in the history of the United States.

None of the students in our focus groups mentioned particular extra-curricular activities that contributed, except indirectly, to their knowledge about diverse groups. Most students reported learning about different groups simply from socializing with students at their school who were members of a cultural or racial group different from their own. This was especially true for students who attended schools in which members of ethnic 'minority' groups made up a substantial part of the student population. These personal experiences taught young people about diversity in the contemporary context, while their history lessons taught them about cultural diversity in the past.

Overall, it seems that, unlike adults who have fiercely debated the national unity versus cultural diversity choice, young people appear to feel that unity and diversity exist simultaneously in their country. They describe contributions by diverse groups to the history of the nation. They cite inequities of the past and the present at the same time that they refer to 'our' country.

Connections between the economic and political systems

To many people in the United States, democracy and a market economy are intertwined and economic literacy is an important component of citizenship education. For that reason, we were interested in what students were expected to learn about the connection between the economic and political systems.

Courses

It appears that students before the ages of 14 to 15 are most likely to learn about any connection between economic principles and the government in elementary school social studies or in United States history, state studies or world studies at the middle school level. Relatively few 14- to 15-year-olds will have had a separate economics course. In the survey, social studies specialists in only 10 states estimated that the majority of districts in their state taught economics courses at Grade 9. However, respondents from 25 states estimated that an economics course is taught at Grade 12. In 16 of those states, economics is a requirement for high school graduation.

Textbooks

All three of the civics textbooks analyzed describe the economic system in the United States in terms of a free market system. Students are given information on the relationship of government to business and labor. The texts, both implicitly and explicitly, tend to support government provision of basic services, such as police, fire services and garbage removal. One textbook quoted Abraham Lincoln: 'The legitimate object of government is to do for people what needs to be done but which they cannot by individual effort do at all or do so well for themselves.' The authors continued with the statement that Lincoln knew that government could grow too large and spend too much money. However, the three civics textbooks did describe the agencies of the executive branch of government that attempt to ameliorate the effects of unemployment, illness, homelessness and natural disasters.

Capitalism and communism are contrasted in all three of the civics textbooks. Capitalism is explained as a system in which all members of society make economic decisions. Communism was portrayed as leaving the citizen with few choices. There was little examination of poverty or unequal distribution of resources in the United States, and possible weaknesses in a capitalist economy were not addressed.

Perspectives

When focus group students were asked what democracy meant to them, many contrasted it with communism or socialism. However, when asked if they thought there was a connection between the economic and political system and what they had learned about that, students tended to say that they did not know. Furthermore, when asked if they had discussed whether the government ought to provide social benefits to people, a few students replied that such an issue had not been raised in any of their classes.

Only one of the teachers said that she tried to bring 'a lot' of economics into her civics class. Middle school teachers in another focus group complained that they rarely had an opportunity to teach economics. For the most part, teachers in our focus groups said that they taught about democracy and the economy without making a conscious attempt to connect the two. In the school districts that offer economics courses in Grade 9, taught by specialist teachers, more deliberate attention may be given to the connection.

Experiences

A few of the teachers in our focus groups mentioned that their schools had student stores and Junior Achievement programs in which students learned about business and economics. Students were more likely to mention out-of-school than in-school activities from which they learned about economic principles and government. Most students said they learned about different taxes from buying things and from their parents, as well as from teachers.

Overall, with the exception of a few school districts, 14- to 15-year-olds

are not likely to have received concentrated instruction in economic concepts and principles. Rather, they may have acquired some general knowledge about the relationship between the economic system and government indirectly from their school, family and everyday experience in the wider society.

Similar influences on all four domains

The International Planning Committee posed questions about instructional activities, assessment and teacher preparation. In the United States, those factors influence civic education similarly whether one is looking at the teaching of political concepts, national identity, social cohesion and diversity or the connection between economics and politics. (Information gathered about out-of-school influences including the media and the many interest groups active in this field is contained in the longer project reports.)

Instructional activities

On the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress, 90 per cent of 8th graders reported being asked to read material in their social studies or civics textbooks either daily or weekly (National Assessment, 1990). In addition, 83 per cent of 8th graders said they discussed what they read daily or weekly and 68 per cent said they discussed current events daily or weekly. In contrast, only 13 per cent reported working on group projects at least weekly.

Although some students in our focus groups reported that, in their classes, they 'mostly read out of the book' and did not do other activities, the majority of students we interviewed said that they did some activities, such as projects and simulations, in their social studies classes. Students in one group mentioned many engaging experiential activities that one teacher used to stimulate reflection and discussion. Additionally, several of the teachers in our focus groups described activities they used that took students outside the classroom. In the focus group transcripts, the variation in the amount of instructional activities to which a student might be exposed from one teacher to the next and from one school to the next was striking.

Students and teachers alike mentioned the use of current events, notebooks, discussions, debates, position papers and research projects. Simulations or role-playing exercises were a commonly mentioned activity. For example, several teachers and students described simulations of the constitutional convention, elections and the legislative process. In learning about discrimination, some classes had experienced a simulation in which the teacher 'discriminated' against some of the students based on an arbitrary criteria, such as eye color, and from that experience the class went on to study prejudice or segregation in the United States. In learning about the economy, some classes had simulated a mini-society complete with stores and other businesses. At the middle school and high school levels, many students had participated in the Stock Market Game, sponsored by the state affiliates of the National Council

on Economic Education. However, not all classes use a wide range of activities. One teacher explained why he and his colleagues in an urban high school serving African-American students did not engage students in a variety of activities and his concern for the consequences,

Although they want us to be more creative, we do the traditional things—lectures and have students answer questions in the text... We've got to do whatever we can to get students to read the textbook, and answering questions is one way to guarantee that we can have a conversation about what they've read. The students are not reading it at home, so we end up having to do it in the classroom, which none of us likes. Number one, we'd rather be doing other things and, number two, our students are falling behind. If somebody else's students are reading at home and then doing [activities] in the classroom, they're getting more than ours are. But we've got to play with the cards that we're dealt.

It appears from our interviews and from other recent studies of social studies classes in the United States (Hahn, 1991, 1998) that classes and schools differ widely as to how much variety there is in instructional activities. Some teachers provide much variety; others very little. Most students seem to be in classes that fall between the two extremes, with frequent teacher talk and student recitation related to the textbook and, periodically, a simulation, written project or discussion of a current issue. Listening to the teachers and students in the focus groups, we wondered if classes in which there is special concern with basic skill development are likely to experience fewer engaging instructional activities than those in which there is less emphasis on basic skills, such as reading comprehension.

Assessment

In the United States, there is no national examination that all students take. However, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) periodically assesses the knowledge of students in a representative sample of schools in the country. Researchers analyzing assessments conducted in the 1970s and 1980s concluded that American youth had a general, but not detailed, understanding of government and political processes (Hahn, Dilworth & Hughes, 1998). The results from the 1998 assessment in civics and government, based on the National Standards for Civics and Government, will be available in late 1999 and will provide a great deal of information about these issues. The 1994 history assessment did not specifically address students' sense of national identity nor knowledge of social cohesion and diversity. Individuals associated with the National Council on Economic Education have periodically assessed students' economic literacy, but not with a specific focus on their understanding of connections between economic principles and government (Schug & Walstad, 1991).

However, there are statewide assessments in social studies. Indeed, they

are required in 25 states, according to respondents to our survey. Moreover, most said that the major change they saw on the horizon in their state was the development of new content standards with corresponding assessments.

According to participants in our focus groups, most assessment is done at the classroom level through chapter and unit tests and examinations at the end of a course. Most of these tests tend to be multiple choice and short answer, with a few essays. They tend to be either teacher-developed or teacher-adapted from published tests that accompany the textbook. To determine what students are learning, teachers reported evaluating projects, homework and class participation to complement test results. A few teachers encourage students to present their newly acquired knowledge in diverse forms, such as a play, song or video presentation. Others said they try to use 'authentic assessment' by asking their students to present their knowledge in ways that they might use in the future, such as in the form of a letter to the editor of a local newspaper or a petition to a local council.

Teacher preparation

Teachers of students 14- to 15-years-old are certified to teach at the elementary (Grades 1 to 8), middle (Grades 4 to 8) or secondary (Grades 7 to 12) levels. The amount of history or social studies content varies accordingly. For example, the National Council for the Social Studies (1997) recommends that elementary teacher preparation programs should include no less than 15 per cent subject matter content in history and the social sciences. Programs for middle school teachers should include no less than 30 per cent content in history and the social sciences. Secondary social studies teachers are expected to have both more depth and breadth in the social sciences and history. Additionally, middle and secondary school teachers seeking licensure in social studies must demonstrate that they possess the knowledge, capabilities and dispositions to organize and provide instruction at the appropriate school level for the 10 thematic standards in the *Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* (1994). Those include civic ideals and practice.

Researchers have found that, in fact, most elementary teachers majored in education and had only a few courses in history, government and the behavioral sciences; secondary social studies teachers tend to have majored in history while studying at a college or university. Social studies teachers at all levels have had little, if any, preparation in economics, and middle grade teachers also have had little formal training in government and politics (Hahn, Dilworth & Hughes, 1998). That was true of the teachers in our focus groups. Had we interviewed teachers of high school government and economics, rather than Grades 8 and 9 civics and history, we might have found more teachers with political science or economics majors.

When we asked the teachers in our focus groups what preparation they had to teach the four domains, they cited personal experiences rather than

courses they had taken in degree programs. With regard to teaching about democracy, institutions and rights and responsibilities, teachers cited their work in state and local politics, years in the military and jobs in business as being most relevant. When asked what had prepared them to teach national history, one teacher cited her undergraduate major in history whereas another said that, since childhood, he had been an ardent reader of history. Similarly, teachers said that their best preparation for teaching about social cohesion and diversity had been their own personal experiences with diverse groups. Although these particular teachers found personal experiences most valuable, the research that is available indicates that subject matter preparation is important for effective instruction in social studies (Wilson & Wineburg, 1988).

Several in-service opportunities are available to enhance teaching about these four domains. In particular, the Center for Civic Education and numerous law-related education programs offer teacher workshops. Teacher institutes related to teaching history are often supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Some local school districts with diverse populations offer in-service workshops on multicultural education, and programs for teaching about the Holocaust help teachers to teach about prejudice and discrimination. One teacher noted: 'Our whole pre-planning this year was devoted to issues of race in the classroom...Last year we had a day of inservice devoted to issues of gender discrimination. I would say the in-service opportunities [in our school district] are probably greater in this category than in all others.'

Probably the most extensive network of in-service programs for social studies teachers is that of the National Council on Economic Education and its state affiliates. Although the programs are designed to teach about economics broadly, in the process they help teachers to teach about the connection between economics and the political system. Despite the fact that these many, varied opportunities for in-service teacher training are available, only two teachers in our focus groups mentioned that they had personally participated in such programs.

Challenges

In our state survey, we asked social studies specialists to identify the primary obstacles to effective social studies instruction in their states. From a list of eight possibilities, budget constraints and a crowded curriculum were cited most frequently by the state level personnel. The second most frequently cited obstacles were shortage of materials and inadequate teacher content knowledge.

Although a few teachers in our focus groups mentioned lack of resources as an obstacle, and one said that setting priorities in a crowded curriculum was

a challenge, others raised different issues. Several mentioned that teaching students who spoke little English or who had poor reading skills was a daily challenge. A few said that inadequate teacher preparation and fear of controversy posed problems in teaching about diversity. Others said that it was a challenge trying to teach about democracy and encourage students to express their opinions when school policies are aimed at 'keeping kids silent and powerless'. One added: 'I think it's a hard job to teach kids about democracy and citizenship because you don't get results until much later, and the civics teacher alone isn't going to do it. It's got to be the whole building. It's got to be every teacher. Right now, I don't think that happens.'

Finally, as most states are revising content standards and developing new tests, some of which will assess what students know in the area of civic education, it struck us that the need is less to regularize what students are taught than to look at how they are taught. As we listened to students and teachers from different schools in the focus groups, it sounded to us as if students in urban schools, serving families from lower socio-economic levels, may be less likely to experience varied instructional strategies and democratic school environments than students in schools serving higher socio-economic groups. Consequently, their learning about democracy, national identity and diversity are likely to be quite different. It remains for Phase 2 to test that hypothesis and others with a nationally representative sample of students.

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Appendix 1 Selected Policy Questions Related to Phase 1

To provide continuity between Phase One and Phase Two, 15 policy questions were developed in early 1994 to be addressed during both phases. Some deal with the organization of programs, some focus on students, and some on teachers. These questions also served as the basis of the review of literature required from each country. Of the questions, the following are especially important for Phase One.

1) What is the status of citizenship education as an explicit goal for schools?

In some countries it is assumed that other agencies should deal with the goal of civic education (e.g. the parents or youth organizations or religious organizations). There are also differences in the status of the subject matter; civic goals may be thought of as important for schools but as less critical than goals in other areas (e.g. science and mathematics).

2) What are the priorities within formal education programs that attempt to provide preparation for citizenship?

Some educators have argued for a strong political or governmental emphasis; others for including economics, or for inculcating more general moral and social values, or for drawing civic virtues from the study of history. There is also diversity in whether the goals are primarily cognitive, attitudinal or behavioral in nature.

3) How are programs of civic education organized?

There is considerable diversity in the extent to which citizenship education is addressed through subjects, such as history or literature, through more interdisciplinary programs, such as social studies or social science, through courses focused on conduct, such as moral or character education, or through specific courses in citizenship or civic education. There is further variation in the amount of time devoted to providing instruction related to these goals and in the extent to which the school or the community is thought of as an arena in which the student should study and practice citizenship skills.

4) To what extent is formal education addressing civic identity development in students, including national identity, sub-national identities and supra-national identities?

In those societies that have recently become independent or have experienced boundary changes, national identity is an especially important component of citizenship...How are the various sub-national identities, for example, of diverse ethnic or linguistic groups, recognized and depicted in teaching programs? To what extent are students being informed about supranational units or identities?

5) *To what extent is civic education intended to contribute to the resolution of inter-group conflicts and tensions?*

Many societies are experiencing volatile internal tensions, for example, between ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, often related to increased immigration. What role are programs of civic education trying to play in improving this situation and which types of programs have special potential?

6) *To what extent is there agreement among nations about appropriate criteria for excellence and the nature of exemplary practice in civic education programs?*

Some countries are debating how one might set educational standards in this area for best practice and for outcomes. Knowledge of domestic political institutions and traditions is one possible focus. Low levels of youth alienation or high levels of interest in local political participation might be others, for example.

Some policy-relevant questions focus on teachers and teaching and on schools:

11) *How do teachers view citizenship education?*

It has been argued that the everyday practices teachers use in dealing with their students and the classroom climates which they encourage are at least as effective in civic education as any explicit teaching of facts or beliefs. Some teachers may feel constrained in this subject area, either by standards expressed in the curriculum or tests students must pass, by the opinions of parents, or by the explicit goals of national or religious unity.

15) *What images of the civic society are provided in curriculum materials and texts?*

The views of the ideal and the reality in civic education may be found in an explicit way in the text and learning materials...Sometimes, these messages are inconsistent with some civic goals. For example, although tolerance of diverse groups may be a goal, the contribution of some groups or their histories may not be recognized in the texts.

The second volume reporting on Phase One will contain chapters addressing these questions across nations. Phase Two will address the full set of policy questions.

***Appendix 2 Excerpts From IEA Civic Education
Guidelines sent to Country Teams: 18 Case Study
Framing Questions***

These 18 questions formed the central part of the Guidelines for the Case Study and the Proposal issued in April 1995.

1) What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 from study of the nation's history or literature (or the arts) as a guide to understanding their country, their government and the rights and obligations of citizenship?

What are the texts, role models, historical events and ideas that are widely believed to be an important orienting force for all citizens to know about—for example, constitutional principles; national liberators; decisive wars, revolutions or uprisings; national traumas or periods of oppression. Who are the heroes and role models thought to be worthy of national pride, and how are they presented to students?

2) What are young people expected or likely to have acquired as a sense of national identity or national loyalty by age 14 or 15?

To what degree are loyalty or sense of belonging to the nation, to its various communities and to its traditions and institutions thought to be important to develop among young people? What attitudes are students expected to develop toward the institutions of government, authorities and office-holders?...How much and what kinds of criticism or scepticism about monarchs or national leaders are thought to be appropriate? What, if any, symbols (such as the national flag) are thought particularly important for students to respect?

3) What are 14- or 15-year-olds expected or likely to have learned about relations between their country and other countries?

Which countries or groups of countries do they learn about as past, present or future threats, and what is the nature of these threats? Which countries are allies? What are young people likely to learn about the nature and appropriateness of the role their country has played and continues to play in global and regional spheres of influence? What supranational structures or international organizations are thought to be important enough to have a place in the young person's awareness or loyalty? How important is it in this country to speak of young people acquiring 'a global perspective', or an 'international outlook', and how are those terms interpreted?

4) What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about the role of the military and the police as guardians of the nation's security?

Is military service mandatory (for both genders)? Is it viewed as a normal and important part of preparation for adulthood and citizenship?... Under what conditions is the young person expected or likely to learn to be compliant and not to question these authorities (trusting in fair treatment), as opposed to learning ways to deal with perceived misuse of power by the military or police? Are there likely to be differences in the ways in which individuals of different social classes or ethnic groups view these authorities?

5) What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about those belonging to 'minority groups' or other groups which see themselves as disadvantaged or disenfranchised (as defined by ethnicity, race, immigrant status or other characteristics) in relation to the rights and obligations of citizenship? What groups, if any, are viewed as most subject to discrimination? What can be said about the social identities advocated for young people from minority groups, on a continuum ranging from assimilation to pluralism?... How are instances of past discrimination or oppression to be dealt with? Are attitudes and behaviors of respect and tolerance toward some or all of these groups encouraged explicitly or implicitly, and how?

6) What are young people in their role as citizens expected or likely to have acquired with regard to the understanding of religion or the acquisition of religious-based values by age 14 or 15?

What is expected of young people from families who do not share the dominant religion(s) or moral beliefs? Is the treatment of religious minorities or non-believers an issue in citizenship education?

7) What are young people expected or likely to have learned concerning the use of a particular official language or languages within the nation by age 14 or 15? Are young people expected to respect the use of languages other than the national language(s)? What are they expected to learn about whether and when individuals should be able to use other languages in public settings (including schools and businesses) and in private settings such as the home?

8) What are young people by age 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about whether the rights and obligations of citizenship differ (in law or in fact) according to gender?

Are young people taught that men and women have different rights and responsibilities of citizenship? If differences exist between men and women in the society in actual levels of political participation or if there are very few women in positions of national leadership, are these matters discussed as problems or issues with young people, or are they largely ignored?

9) *What are young people of age 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about the rights of the family relative to the State?*

To what extent is the young person to be taught that the rights of the family supersede those of the state and to what extent is he/she taught that they are subordinate?

10) *To what extent are young people expected or likely to have learned by 14 or 15 that economic principles (such as free market principles vs. state intervention and control over the provision of goods and services) are connected with government or political issues?*

Are young people to be taught that it is the State's responsibility to give protection from such threats as unemployment, illness, homelessness, or hunger, or are they to be taught that these are private matters which are not the responsibility of the State? If youth unemployment is high, is this dealt with as a political issue in school?

11) *If 'democracy' is a central concept, what does it mean within the national context and what are young people expected or likely to learn about it by age 14 or 15?*

Is the concept presented primarily in an idealized form? Is the practice of democratic values included every day in the school or community (e.g. the right to appeal decisions thought to be unjust, or to participate in decision-making in schools or classrooms)? With what alternatives (e.g. totalitarianism, authoritarianism...) is this conception of democracy contrasted? Are young people expected or likely to learn mainly about one particular conception of democracy (e.g. about representative democracy with its emphasis on leaders chosen through contested elections; or about more participatory or direct forms of democracy; or about substantive views of democracy in which economic and social equality are argued to be of great importance)?

12) *If 'human rights' are a central concept, how are they defined and what do they mean, and what are young people expected to have learned about them by age 14 or 15?*

Are they defined primarily in a national context (with reference to rights guaranteed by the State) or an international context (with reference to documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)? Are distinctions made between civil/political rights and social/ economic/cultural rights? Is there attention to children's rights?

13) *What are young people expected or likely to have learned about law and the rule of law, the constitution (written or unwritten), the courts, the national/regional legislature, elections and other institutions of government by 14 or 15?*

What sort of understanding of these matters are young people expected to achieve—one that is largely limited to memorization of facts about the structure and processes of government or one that is analytical in addressing ques-

tions of how well these structures and processes operate?... Are issues such as the relations between different parts of the government, including separation of powers, important? What civic responsibilities are stressed, for example, obeying the law, paying taxes?

14) What sorts of political communication and active political participation are encouraged or likely for those aged 14 or 15 and what sorts are discouraged or unlikely?

Are there certain topics or opinions which students are discouraged from discussing in their classes? To what extent are young people expected to know about and participate in election campaigns and political parties? Are they encouraged, allowed or not allowed to discuss in school the disagreements that exist between candidates or parties? Are they expected to learn to compare positions on political issues? How are they to be prepared to vote in an informed way when they are of an age to do so? Are young people expected or likely to believe that the government is responsive to citizens' expressions of political views and to feel confident or efficacious about their ability to make their opinions heard?

15) What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to know and believe about dissent or protest as a way of changing government policy?

Are they expected to learn that conflict between groups about issues is normal, exceptional or deviant? Are students allowed to express dissent openly in the classroom? More broadly, what kinds of dissent or criticism of the government are to be encouraged and what kinds are to be ignored or suppressed? For example, what is taught about participation in political protests of different types?

16) What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to believe about the mass media as sources of information about politics and government?

Is more emphasis put on the media as reliable and to be trusted, or are the media more likely to be thought of as biased or unreliable? To which media sources are students encouraged to pay attention, and to which are they likely to attend? What are young people expected or likely to learn about freedom of expression and the conditions (if any) under which it can be restricted, and who can invoke such censorship?

17) What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to know and believe about the source and nature of specific local problems, especially those existing in their own communities?

Is there special concern about environmental problems, problems relating to poverty, or problems of violence and disregard for laws (for example)? Does the school provide for or encourage the involvement of students in community action or service to ameliorate such problems in their local community?

Are young people likely to be optimistic or pessimistic about their ability to contribute to solving these problems? Are they encouraged to think about these problems in a broader context (e.g. the global nature of environmental problems or the national economic structure as it relates to poverty), or is that level of analysis ignored or discouraged?

18) What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about the role and influence of extra-governmental groups in governmental and political processes?

For example, what is to be learned about the role of organized interest groups? To what extent are young people expected or likely to believe that elites in the nation (e.g. people of great wealth or high levels of education) possess or deserve special influence or power? Are business organizations, professional organizations, or trade unions thought to possess or deserve special influence or power? What other non-governmental organizations...are young people likely to believe to be important or powerful? Are there social groups that are widely recognized as lacking in power or as disenfranchised?

Note: For points a) through f) to be addressed with respect to these 18 questions, see the last section of Appendix 3.

Appendix 3 Excerpts From IEA Civic Education Guidelines Sent to Country Teams: Core International Domains I-III and Points a) through q)

Core International Framing Questions

Core International Framing Question I:

(Domain: Democracy, Institutions, Rights, and Responsibilities)

Given that democracy is a central concept, what does it mean in the national context and what are young people expected or likely to learn about it by age 14 or 15?...In particular, what is most emphasized as inherent to or distinctive of democracy? In other words, what is of most substantive or symbolic importance to democracy, and what are the most salient perceived strengths and weaknesses of democracy with relation to each of the following subdomains:

1) Institutions and practices: including how governing groups or leaders are selected and held accountable; how laws and regulations are established, interpreted, and enforced; how individuals and groups participate in political processes....

2) Rights of citizenship: including (a) civil and political rights, such as the right to formulate opinions on political issues and express them by voting or speaking publicly, the right to have access to different points of view in an uncensored press, the right to dissent from (and even peacefully protest against) government policies, the right to strike, the right to practice one's religion, and (for foreigners) the right to become citizens; (b) the right to form or join political parties, unions, and other organizations; and (c) social and economic rights, such as the right to a certain minimal standard of living or to employment, medical care, and education.

3) Obligations or responsibilities of citizenship: including voting, military/national service, and more generally expectations for adults to work, pay taxes and obey laws. To what extent is democracy with respect to these rights and obligations presented in an idealized form and to what extent in a way in which young people are given opportunities to experience what it means in a more practical sense? Are young people largely asked to memorize facts about the government structure, or are they encouraged to analyze how well these structures function? To what extent are young people allowed to discuss in school disagreements which exist between candidates or political parties? How much opportunity and what kinds of opportunities do young people get to become directly involved in meaningful ways in the interactions, practices, rights and obligations detailed above? Are

they expected or likely to believe that the government is responsive or should be responsive to citizens' expressions of political views, and to feel confident or efficacious about their ability to make their opinions heard?

Core International Framing Question II:

(Domain: National Identity and Relations between Nations)

What are young people expected or likely to have acquired as a sense of national identity or national loyalty by age 14 or 15? To what degree are loyalty or sense of belonging to the nation, to its various communities, and to its traditions and institutions thought to be important to develop among young people, and how is it developed? What, if any, symbols (such as the national flag) are thought particularly important for students to respect? What are the documents, role models, historical events, national stories, and ideals which are widely believed to be important for all citizens to know about—for example, constitutional principles; national liberators; decisive wars, revolutions or uprisings; national traumas or periods of oppression. Who are the heroes and role models thought to be worthy of national pride, and how are they presented to students? What point of view are young people encouraged to adopt regarding national leaders and major political events in the present and in history? Do these leaders have an almost sacred quality, or are they seen in certain ways as fallible? How much and what kinds of criticism of or scepticism about monarchs or national leaders are thought to be appropriate? Are students encouraged to study and understand, or to ignore events of which many people in the nation are not proud? Which countries or groups of countries do they learn about as past, present, or future threats, and what is the nature of these threats? Which countries are allies? What are young people likely to learn about the nature and appropriateness of the role their country has played and continues to play in global and regional spheres of influence? What supranational structures or international organizations and subnational groups (e.g. ethnic or religious groups) are thought to be important enough to have a place in the young person's awareness, identity, or loyalty? How do these groups involve young people? Are either supranational or subnational groups thought of as presenting a threat to national identity or loyalty?

Core International Framing Question III:

(Domain: Social Cohesion and Social Diversity)

What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about those belonging to groups which are seen as set apart or disenfranchised (as defined, for example, by ethnicity, race, immigrant status, mother tongue, social class, religion or gender)? What groups (if any) are viewed as subject to discrimination in contemporary society? How are instances of past oppression or discrimination dealt with in civic education? If differences exist between men and women or between minority and non-minority groups in

actual levels of political participation or in the extent to which they serve in positions of political leadership, are these matters discussed as issues with young people, or are these differences largely ignored?

Is there tension in the society between perceptions of the need for social cohesion and the need to recognize the cultural, social, political, and economic situation of these groups? How is conflict between these groups or between these groups and the society more broadly dealt with in education? Are attitudes and behaviors of respect and tolerance between these groups encouraged explicitly or implicitly, and how?

Points to be Addressed and Process

The following 17 points are to be addressed for each of the internationally designated questions (Case Study Framing Questions points a) through f) and Core International Domain Framing Questions points g) through q)). Note that we are especially interested in the grades in which 11- to 15-year-olds are found...The purpose of these questions is both to obtain in-depth information about explicit attempts within the schools to transmit information and encourage related beliefs and also to get some information about more indirect learning relating to these topics (in schools and out of schools).

a) An explanation of why, within the country, this Framing Question or topic domain with which it deals is or is not important or valuable as a way of understanding important aspects of civic education.

b) What official (i.e. governmental) national, regional, or local curriculum goals exist related to this topic domain in the school years up to and including the grade in which the majority of 14-year-olds are enrolled? Who (what individuals or groups) decide what these goals are to be?

c) If this topic domain is addressed as part of the official curriculum of public elementary or secondary schools, please specify the national terminology used to designate all the subject matters and courses. If the terminology differs from the traditional historical or social science subjects (e.g. history, geography), the term should be defined (e.g. social studies, education for citizenship, 'études du milieu'). (This topic is covered in more detail in point g); here what is required is only the course names or subject matter designations.)

d) How much public discussion or controversy there has been, if any, over the inclusion of or nature of discussion of topics related to this question in the public school curriculum and what has been the nature of that discussion. It may be necessary to provide a historical perspective, contrasting views in different time periods (in which cases the response will be longer).

e) Which national organizations (non-governmental organizations), if any,

currently take a particularly active or well known interest in what 11- to 15-year-olds should know about this domain. Give both the names of these organizations and a summary of the nature of their positions.

f) What the best sources (documents, interviews) are for obtaining necessary material to synthesize in an elaborated answer to the question?

g) If the topic of this Core International Framing Question is addressed as part of the official curriculum of public elementary or secondary schools, indicate all the subjects and grade levels at which it is likely to be addressed and emphasized...

h) If the textbooks used in public school in the grades which include the majority of 11- to 15-year-olds address the topic domain of the Core International Framing Question, how do they usually approach it in terms of content and method?....

i) What kind of activities during the class period and what kind of assignments to students would be most likely to be found in the grades for 11- to 15-year-olds dealing with the topic in the Core International Framing Question?...Include a discussion of the role of classroom discussion of student opinions and the role of group or individual project work by students. Also include a discussion of any gaps between idealized statements about democracy, identity, or diversity and the realities of students' experience in classrooms.

j) Does the public school have examinations or other formal assessments which address in a substantial way what 11- to 15-year-olds have learned with respect to the topic domain in this Core International Framing Question?...

k) What common extracurricular activities, ceremonies, or other occasions inside the public schools give 11- to 15-year-olds the opportunity to learn more about or gain experience relating to this topic. Please summarize the nature of these activities, ceremonies, or occasions, how they are relevant to the domain of the Core International Framing Question, what students are expected to gain from them, and what proportion of 14- to 15-year-olds are likely to have these experiences.

l) What common activities, ceremonies, or other occasions outside school give 11- to 15-year-olds (including any early school leavers) opportunities to learn more about or gain experience relating to this topic domain (e.g. youth organizations, public ceremonies organized by national or subnational groups, museum exhibitions, religious ceremonies or education). Please summarize the nature of these activities, ceremonies, or occasions and what students are expected to gain from them.

m) What training (pre-service and in-service) are teachers for this age group

likely to have received in the content of the topic related to the Core International Framing Question and in methods for dealing with it in class?...

n) To what extent are 11- to 15-year-olds likely to be active consumers of material presented by the media (television, radio, newspapers, electronic communication networks) with regard to this topic domain? What information and attitudes are they likely to find in those sources that would be especially pertinent to the various aspects of the Core International Framing Question's topic?

o) How much and in what ways do political parties attempt to influence what 11- to 15-year-olds think and do with regard to the topic domain of the Core International Framing Question?

p) What are the most serious obstacles or problems schools face in dealing with the topic domain of this Core International Framing Question?

q) What changes have taken place during the last 10 years in the way this topic has been dealt with in school? Have there been any recent events that have influenced the public's view of the topic domain of this Core International Framing Question?...

Instructions to NRC's Regarding Procedures for Preparing Summaries

To answer these questions (points a) through q) about the Case Study Framing Questions 1-18 and about Core International Domain Questions I - III) will require identifying documentation to be analyzed and informants to be interviewed. Documentation may include curriculum materials, scholarly articles, articles in the popular press and in publications intended especially for professional educators. Informants should be identified from persons with responsibility for civic education (e.g. current or former officials in ministries responsible for related subject matter, educational policy-makers, political leaders, inspectors, curriculum development officers, members of governmental commissions, representatives of teachers' or students' organizations, those who lead youth organizations, those who prepare media or media education). A kind of curriculum analysis is also to be conducted within the country. The specific questions to be asked in interviews should be taken relatively directly from the general questions included below (with attention, if possible, also to the fifteen Policy Questions included in the Phase 2 proposal). The purpose of these interviews is to obtain an elaborated picture of the various perspectives in the society on the three Core International Framing Questions detailed above. Likewise, the framework to be used in examining curriculum and textbooks should be derived from these framing questions. We are interested in the results of both implicit (indirect) and explicit (direct) ways in which young people gain experience in citizenship roles, and the process is designed to obtain some material about both types of influences.

The summaries of points a) through q) relating to the international questions requires careful attention to the data collected along with deliberation by the National Expert Panel.

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This volume reports the results of the first phase of the Civic Education Study conducted by IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement). During 1996 and 1997, researchers in 24 countries collected documentary evidence on the circumstances, contents and processes of civic education in response to a common set of framing questions. They also solicited the views of experts on what 14-year-olds should know about a variety of political and civic issues.

These data were used to build country case studies consisting of information about education on such topics as elections, individual rights and obligations, national identity, relations with other nations, political parties, civil society, ethnic and religious diversity, the role of the media, local problems and links between economics and politics. In several of these areas, detailed information was also collected about curriculum objectives, textbooks, teaching practices and the role of out-of-school groups.

Each chapter provides a summary of these national case studies and highlights pressing issues or themes of current importance within civic education. This volume will give educators and policy-makers cross-national information to enhance consideration of the role and status of civic education within their countries, especially in light of growing concerns about youth participation in democratic society.



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